

Running head: NOW, I'M MAGAZINE DETECTIVE THE WHOLE TIME

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“Now, I’m magazine detective the whole time”:

**Listening and responding to young people’s complex experiences of popular
physical culture**

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Abstract

Popular physical culture serves as a site, subject and medium for young people's learning (Sandford & Rich, 2006) and impacts their relationship with physical education, physical activity and the construction of their embodied identities. This paper addresses the potential of scrapbooking as a pedagogical and methodological tool to facilitate physical education researchers and teachers to listen to, and better understand and respond to extend students' existing knowledge of, and critical engagement with popular physical culture. The data draws from a three year Participatory Action Research project that was undertaken in an urban, secondary school and was designed to engage 41 girls (aged 15-19) in understanding, critiquing and transforming aspects of their lives that influenced their perspectives of their bodies and their physical activity and physical education engagement. In this paper the focus is on the engagement of eleven of these girls in a five week popular physical culture unit. The students' scrapbooks, audio-recordings of classes, a guided conversation, and field notes constitute the data sources. Findings suggest scrapbooking has the potential to allow researchers access, understand and respond to students' perspectives on popular physical culture and their lives in a way that other methods may not. Pedagogically, scrapbooking supported students in critically appraising and making meaning of "scraps" of popular physical culture.

Keywords: student voice, participatory visual methods, critical health literacy, media, bodies

53 Scrapping Popular Physical Culture: Developing Different Kinds of Dialogue

54 with Young People in Physical Education

55 Wright (2004) has defined physical culture as “the meanings, values and social practices
56 concerned with the maintenance, representation and regulation of the body” (p. 183). Popular
57 physical culture then might be understood as the frequently encountered or widely accepted
58 meanings, values and social practices concerned with the maintenance, representation and
59 regulation of the body, and most often disseminated through popular culture, for example television,
60 magazines, popular music, internet. Popular physical culture serves as a site and medium for young
61 people’s learning (Sandford & Rich, 2006) and has an impact on their relationship with physical
62 education, physical activity and on their construction of their embodied identities. Scholars have
63 argued for many years that physical education curricula must better reflect and contribute to popular
64 physical culture (Azzarito & Ennis, 2003; Laker, 2002; Kirk, 1997, 2004).

65 Recently there has been increased interest in the study of young people’s social practices
66 and in particular the impact that their engagement with popular physical culture has on their
67 relationships with physical education and physical activity and on their understandings of
68 themselves and their construction of their bodies. Health and physical education pedagogical
69 activity, it is increasingly being acknowledged, is not solely the preserve of the health and/or
70 physical education teachers. A recent monograph by *Sport Education and Society* dealt exclusively
71 with body pedagogies, meaning all pedagogical actions oriented towards defining and shaping
72 particular types of bodies (Rich, 2010). These pedagogical actions or activities included families,
73 churches, peers, and sites of popular and consumer culture i.e. TV, music, film, newspapers,
74 magazines. This broad interpretation of pedagogical activity resonates with Tinning’s (2008)
75 conceptualisation of sports pedagogy. Tinning (2008) asserts that there is a possibility for Sports
76 Pedagogy to move beyond “a narrow yet important focus on school physical education and PETE”
77 (p.418). He sees “...sports pedagogy as not just applicable to physical education teaching and sport
78 coaching.....not just the pedagogical practices and devices of formal institutions such as schools,

79 universities and sports clubs, but also those of non-formal sites such as families, the media,
80 community etc.”...and suggests that “Sports Pedagogy should enable us to connect the dots
81 between all pedagogical work that is done...relating to physical activity, the body and health” (p.
82 419). This broad pedagogical focus is increasingly evident in physical education curricular efforts.

83 O’Sullivan and Kinchin’s (2005) cultural studies curriculum model was “an attempt to offer
84 physical educators an opportunity to help students appreciate and critique the role of physical
85 activity and sport in their own lives, the life of their schools, their community and the wider
86 society” (p. 104). Similarly, Oliver’s (1999, 2001, 2004) sustained line of inquiry on how girls
87 learn to experience their bodies has allowed us deep insight into how she has facilitated girls in
88 critically engaging with their experiences of physical culture. At a formal curricular level, media
89 and cultural education expectations are increasingly being identified in health and physical
90 education curricula. In Ontario, opportunities for the development of critical media literacy are
91 included throughout the Healthy Living Strand of the Health and Physical Education Curriculum,
92 Grades 1-8 (Ontario Ministry for Education, 2010). The socio-cultural and social justice
93 perspective of the Queensland Year 1-10 Health and Physical Education syllabus encourages
94 students to consider social and cultural contexts, including popular physical culture, which may
95 affect them and others in their lives now and into the future (Australian Education Council, 1994;
96 Rossi et al, 2009). Moreover, one of the five key ideas underpinning the draft Australian National
97 Health and Physical Education Curriculum is the development of students’ health literacy skills
98 (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA), 2012, p. 4). Health
99 literacy, as defined by ACARA is the ability “to selectively access and critically analyse
100 information, and take action to promote their own, and others’ good health” (2012, p. 24). In
101 England, examination courses (A Levels) in Physical Education include a sociocultural element
102 where young people are encouraged to critically appraise key factors (including contemporary
103 products and consumer focused influences) that impact their involvement in sport, physical activity
104 and physical education, with a view to enabling them to become “informed and discerning decision

105 makers in relation to their and other's involvement in physical activity" (Online Curriculum
106 Resources, 2008, p. 4).

107 While physical education curricular frameworks in Ireland do not currently reflect an
108 acknowledgement that physical education must contribute to students' diverse meanings and
109 practices attached to physical culture (Burrows, 2004), Ireland's Social, Personal and Health
110 Education syllabus does support the possibility of undertaking media work around physical and
111 emotional health (Department of Education and Science, 2000). Consultations have also been
112 undertaken in Ireland around a proposed physical education Leaving Certificate syllabus and
113 physical education curricular framework for senior cycle (aged 15-19) students, and short courses in
114 physical education for junior cycle (aged 12-15) students. The Leaving Certificate Examination is
115 the final examination in the Irish secondary school system. In Leaving Certificate physical
116 education, learners have an opportunity to study physical education for their Leaving certificate.
117 The proposed Leaving Certificate syllabus is presented as two units of study, one of which is
118 entitled "contemporary issues in physical activity" and supports students and teachers in learning to
119 question, critique and challenge sport in society (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment,
120 2011). The senior cycle physical education framework is designed for those learners who do not
121 choose to take physical education as part of their Leaving Certificate. The proposed curriculum
122 framework for senior cycle is structured around six teaching and learning models, one of which is
123 "contemporary issues in physical activity" and again the aim of this model is to encourage learners
124 to critically reflect on their own and others' experiences in sport and physical activity.

125 **Student Voice**

126 Paralleling the increasing interest in, and support for engaging with the ways in which
127 young people construct meaning in physical culture, is an expanding body of work around Student
128 Voice, which calls for more student-centred democratic approaches to education. Student Voice
129 "describes the many ways in which youth actively participate in the school decisions that shape
130 their lives and the lives of their peers" (Mitra, 2007, p. 727). The Student Voice movement supports

131 a shift in the status of students in school from passive objects to active participants (Hodgkin,
132 1998), and represents an opportunity for learners, teachers and researchers to explicitly co-construct
133 the meanings of what they do, and how, when and why they do it (Czerniawski & Kidd, 2011).
134 Cook-Sather (2002), a leading Student Voice scholar, suggests that listening to student voice in a
135 way that authorises their perspectives means “ensuring that there are legitimate and valued spaces
136 within which students can speak, re-tuning our ears so that we can hear what they say, and
137 redirecting our actions in response to what we hear” (p. 4). Key to this construction of Student
138 Voice is an appreciation of the importance of listening to young people’s perspectives with the
139 intent of responding to what they say. Creating “legitimate and valued spaces within which students
140 can speak” often requires initiating new conversations and challenging existing power structures. A
141 number of physical education scholars have taken up this mantle and highlighted the ways in which
142 responding curricularly and pedagogically to students’ perspectives allows students, teachers and
143 researchers together to reconfigure power dynamics and discourses and thereby shape what counts
144 as physical education, (Enright & O’Sullivan, 2012; Fiset, 2011; Oliver, 2010).

145 Authorising student perspectives in terms of their lived experiences of physical culture is
146 arguably now more important than ever. Physical culture, like culture writ large, is to some extent
147 fleeting, ephemeral and diverse (Gard, Hickey-Moody & Enright, 2012). The world has changed
148 and continues to change in profound and unprecedented ways, and young people, by virtue of their
149 saturation in information technology and youth culture media, experience and read this rapidly
150 changing world in unique and diverse ways (Cook-Sather, 2002). Emergent methodologies, that are
151 cognisant of emergent theoretical perspectives and research questions, can be useful for listening
152 and responding to these young people in authentic ways (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006).

153 **Participatory Visual Methods**

154 Visual anthropology and sociology are now established academic research subdisciplines
155 (Pink, 2007). The use of visual approaches to data collection is also beginning to gain a more
156 established foothold in physical education research. Visual research in physical education has

157 primarily been constituted by two activities, either 'examining pre-existing visual representations'
158 or 'collaborating with social actors in the production of visual representations' (Banks, 2001). So
159 for example, in relation to the former, Oliver (2001) used images from mass media to engage girls
160 in critical dialogue about body issues. Gard and Meyenn (2000) used video-taped footage to
161 facilitate conversations with boys regarding their reasons for choosing and rejecting certain
162 movement forms. Azzarito (2009) explored young people's social construction of the ideal body
163 using a portfolio of body images drawn from popular health and fitness magazines. These are all
164 examples of researchers working with 'found' images that already exist independent of their
165 research projects (Rose, 2006).

166 Increasingly, we are also seeing examples of research in which participants are recognised
167 as social actors and engaged in producing their own visual representations (Banks, 2001).
168 Participatory visual methods are, participant-centered, image-based techniques that facilitate
169 participants in finding their own language to articulate what they know and help them put words to
170 their ideas and share understandings of their worlds, thereby giving participants more control over
171 the research process (Enright & O'Sullivan, 2012). Oliver et al., (2009) employed student
172 photography as a tool to facilitate her students identifying what prevented them from being active.
173 Pope (2010) used 'photography as voice' to explore young peoples' sports experience. More
174 recently, Hill and Azzarito (2012) undertook a one year collaborative visual ethnography in a
175 predominantly British Asian urban secondary school in the UK, where students were asked to
176 construct a photo-diary to document and reflect on the school and community spaces relevant to
177 their physicality. Participatory visual methods like these make explicit, from the outset, a
178 researcher's efforts to address the power inequalities and differentials between researchers and their
179 participants (Bloustien and Baker 2003; Conolly 2008; Pink 2007; Packard 2008; Woodley-Baker
180 2009), and disrupt traditional ways of knowing, in order to create rich new meanings (Enright &
181 O'Sullivan, 2012).

182 Many media educators and researchers have begun to use scrapbooks, sometimes called
183 media diaries, as their visual tool of choice to better engage young people in articulating their
184 knowledge of popular culture (Bragg, 2006; Bragg & Buckingham, 2008). This paper addresses the
185 potential of scrapbooking as a pedagogical and methodological tool which might facilitate health
186 and physical education researchers, teachers and teachers as researchers to better understand,
187 respond to, and extend students' existing knowledge of, and critical engagement with popular
188 physical culture, and thereby enable students to better connect their informal and formal sites of
189 learning relating to physical activity, physical education, health and the body.

190 **Methods**

191 **Setting and Participants**

192 Ethical approval was granted for this research by the university research ethics committee.
193 This paper focuses on the engagement of eleven 15-19 year old girls from a city-centre, secondary
194 school, in a five week popular physical culture unit. These girls were one intact class and had
195 previously participated with two other classes in a large participatory action research project which
196 saw them design, coordinate and evaluate their own physical education curriculum (Enright &
197 O'Sullivan, 2010) and a physical activity club in their community (Enright & O'Sullivan, 2012).
198 While negotiating their physical education curriculum and physical activity club had a significant
199 impact in terms of the creation of what the girls found to be more relevant and meaningful sites of
200 learning, what was missing from these efforts was a focused space to critically engage with popular
201 physical culture and issues of gender. This was a conspicuous omission for two reasons. First, two
202 of the discourses which the girls consistently identified as having the strongest and most damaging
203 impact on their sense of selves, their confidence and willingness to engage in physical activity and
204 physical education, were those related to body and gender. While there were many examples of
205 dialogue amongst the girls, and between the girls and Eimear during both the curriculum
206 negotiation and club design phases, where issues of gender and body became fore grounded and
207 discussed, evidence that the girls felt in a position to define their identities outside of dominant

208 discourses relating to gender and the body was not compelling. Second, the girls had provided
209 convincing evidence that popular physical culture, and media narratives specifically, had a strong
210 influence on informing their understandings of themselves and their construction of their embodied
211 identities, however we had not to this point engaged the girls in a significant way with critical
212 media pedagogies. With that in mind Eimear sought to engage the girls in one 5 week unit which
213 would hold as its specific purpose to help the girls make better connections between the informal
214 and formal sites of learning which shaped and regulated their lives and bodies. It was hoped that
215 that this unit would provide a pedagogical space within which the girls would be facilitated in
216 reflecting upon and deconstructing discourses of popular physical culture and constructing
217 “alternative and more holistic and inclusive ways of being....girls” (Connolly, 2007, p.345). It is
218 important to reemphasise here that this five week unit occurred after over 18 months of sustained
219 engagement with these girls, where we had worked to help them share their understandings and
220 critique and transform aspects of their lives that influenced their perspectives of their bodies and
221 their physical education and physical activity engagement.

222 The five themes for the weekly scrapbooking tasks were inspired by and named after
223 snippets of dialogue from previous conversations with the girls around the discourses which
224 impacted on their willingness to engage in physical education and physical activity and their
225 construction of their bodies. Although self-selected pseudonyms were used, the students who
226 contributed to the original dialogue were all asked prior to the classes if what they had said could be
227 used as a discussion point. All agreed. The five classes were entitled: (1) “Magazines are
228 criticising us, making us feel bad about ourselves”; (2) “We’ll all stay skinny cos we just won’t
229 eat”; (3) “I don’t go swimming anymore because you never know what feens [boys] will be looking
230 at you”; (4) “Sport is for boys”; and (5) “In the olden days girls didn’t do any sport anyway”.

231 Lyrics from songs, and images and text from magazines and newspapers, screen prints from internet
232 sites, drawings, stickers and student writing all came to be included in the students’ scrapbooks.

233 **Data Collection and Analysis**

234 The data base for this particular paper was constituted by the students' scrapbooks, the
235 audio-recordings of the five scrapbooking sessions (each lasted 70 minutes), a group discussion in
236 which the students were invited to discuss the larger three year participatory action research project
237 with which they were involved, and the Eimear's field notes. Recordings were transcribed and all
238 data were inductively analysed and reviewed repeatedly looking for patterns, themes, regularities
239 and irregularities, paradoxes, nuances in meaning and constraints (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Four
240 broad themes were constructed from the data and Eimear presented these themes and some of the
241 associated data back to the girls six months after the unit to ensure that her interpretation of the data
242 was meaningful to them.

243 **Scrapbooking the Curriculum**

244 Table 1 provides a brief overview of the tasks used to support leaning in each of the five
245 lessons. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide additional detail on all of the
246 scrapbooking tasks used in each of the classes, it is necessary to highlight that the scrapbooking
247 tasks were tailored to the needs, interests and cultural context of the students. These needs, interests
248 and cultural contexts were determined from more than 18 months engagement with these particular
249 students. We offer an extended commentary on the first two classes of the unit here to give a reader
250 a better sense of what the classes looked like. These two classes were selected as there were several
251 different types of tasks introduced during them.

252 The first class entitled "Magazines are criticising us, making us feel bad about ourselves"
253 was specifically focused on the impact the magazines the girls read and the internet sites they
254 accessed had on their relationships with and understandings of their bodies and their engagement in
255 physical activity. The title of the class came from the following conversation between the girls and
256 Eimear and this extract was used to introduce the first class.

257 Jade ... Girls think they have to be skinny because in the magazines of the press,
258 they...what's the word I'm looking for I forget the word now...

259 Shelly – Boys like skinny girls

260 Debra – and girls don't like being fat

261 Jade – no they do like being fat but it's because magazines are criticising them and are
262 making them think bad about themselves

263 The girls were engaged in two tasks during this class. The first task required them to make a
264 collage of the messages the media on their tables was sending them about their bodies and their
265 participation in physical activity. The media made available were the magazines and print screens
266 of the internet sites which the girls said they read and/or viewed most often. The girls had brought
267 some of the materials with them from home and some Eimear had sourced based on girls'
268 previously articulated preferences. During this task Eimear and the girls talked about the nature of
269 these messages and who potentially benefitted from these types of messages and who these
270 messages hurt. The second task required the students to write about, draw or create a collage
271 around the ways in which girls could challenge or resist harmful media messages.

272 The second class focused on the impact of the lyrics the girls listened to on their
273 understandings of and relationships with their bodies and their physical activity practices. The
274 second class was entitled "We'll all stay skinny cos we just won't eat", again a perspective that had
275 been shared with Eimear in earlier conversations and also a lyric from the Nickelback song, Rock
276 Star. The media Eimear made available for scrapbooking in this class was based on feedback from
277 the girls regarding their favourite songs. Each girl was given a booklet of lyrics and asked to
278 consider the messages their favourite songs were sending them about their bodies. They were also
279 asked to consider what messages these songs were sending to other people. They cut lyrics out,
280 stuck them in their scrapbooks and wrote about and drew these messages around them. Eimear then
281 played and shared a hard copy of the lyrics of three songs she had selected (Unpretty by TLC, Ugly
282 by the Sugababes and Video by India Arie) and asked the girls to illustrate in their scrapbooks what
283 messages her selection of songs sent and what messages they challenged.

284 Table 1 Scrapping Physical Culture Unit

Week	Theme	Tasks and Instructions
1	“Magazines are criticising us, making us feel bad about ourselves”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Make a collage in your scrapbooks focused on the messages the media on your table is sending you about your bodies and your participation in physical activity. 2. Write about, draw or create a collage around the ways in which girls could challenge or resist harmful media messages.
2	“We’ll all stay skinny cos we just won’t eat”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Consider the messages the lyrics of your favourite songs are sending about bodies. Cut the relevant lyrics out, stick them in your scrapbooks and write or draw these messages around them. 2. Listen to the songs I play and think about the messages these songs send, and the messages they challenge. <p><i>Homework: Find and list five songs or movies that send girls and young women positive messages about their body and their participation in physical activity. Feel free to ask friends and family to help you complete this homework task.</i></p>
3	“I don’t go to the swimming pool anymore because you never know what feens [boys] will be looking at you”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read the snippets of conversations I have left on your tables. Discuss the contradictions in, and between your selected quotes. 2. Draw a picture, make a collage or write a couple of paragraphs in your scrapbook which illustrate the challenges (things or people) that prevent you from being physically active? 3. Discussion: You all contributed to the development of the Pres Girls Club. How has the Pres Club worked to overcome some of the challenges we have spoken about today? Are there other spaces where you feel supported in being physically active?
4	“Sport is for boys”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do the magazines and newspapers tell you about who sport and physical activity is for? Cut out evidence to support your answers. Stick your pieces of evidence in your scrapbook and write a couple of sentences about them. 2. What does an analysis of the photographs the group took of physical activity in the community reveal? Who’s active in the photographs? Remember sometimes what you can’t see can be as, or even more, important than what you can! <p><i>Homework: Ask two generations of your family or friends about their physical activity participation over time. You could, for example, ask your mother and your grandmother about what helped them and/or made it difficult for them to be physically activity or play sport at different times in their lives. Record their responses as we will discuss them in the next class.</i></p>
5	“In the olden days girls didn’t do any sport anyway”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Consider the photographs provided of female sports teams over time. Put them in chronological order (oldest image first) and then discuss in your small groups why you chose to order them as you have. 2. Record your thoughts in your scrapbooks. 3. Class discussion of student interviews/homework. 4. Discuss in your small groups what changes might occur in the next fifty years in terms of female sporting participation, and the ways in which positive changes that support girls’ physical activity participation might be facilitated.

285 Each class therefore began with a task that sought to uncover the girls' pre-conceived
286 perspectives about the body and the messages they were receiving about their bodies and physical
287 activity engagement through popular physical culture. Subsequent tasks within each class worked
288 to provide opportunities for the girls to critically appraise, deconstruct and challenge these messages
289 and perspectives.

290 **Findings**

291 The findings from this study are divided into four broad themes. The first two, “where
292 students learn about their bodies and physical activity” and “what students learn about their bodies
293 and physical activity”, relate to the data generated around students' initial understandings of popular
294 physical culture and their engagement with the first scrapbooking task in each class. The third
295 theme “students thinking differently” is informed to a greater degree by the data generated during
296 the second and third scrapbooking tasks in each class, although as the weeks progressed data for
297 this theme were increasingly generated at earlier stages in each class. The final theme “students'
298 perspectives on scrapbooking” is constructed from the data generated during the last two classes
299 and the final group discussion and relates to the students' perspectives of scrapbooking as a
300 pedagogical learning site and a useful methodological tool.

301 **Where Students Learn about their Bodies and Physical Activity**

302 A key theme that emerged in initial work with the students was the value students placed on
303 popular physical culture, and specifically the media, as a pedagogical tool to learn about popular
304 culture and ways in which to navigate their presence in that culture. Sarah acknowledged in a page
305 from her scrapbook that “we learn a lot more about our bodies in magazines than in school” (see
306 Figure 1).

307 Similarly, in a conversation with Eimear during class, Shelly highlights how magazines are
308 a source of information for her about fashion and Mia and Deirdre point to the role of the media in
309 relationships and sex education.

310 Eimear- Do you think you learn anything from these magazines?

311 Shelly– Course we do. We learn what's in fashion and not, like what the latest celebs are
312 wearing so that we can be up to date

313 Mia – And we learn more about sex than anywhere else

314 Deirdre – I know I've said this before but I definitely learn from the problem pages
315 especially, like about what to do you know when your fella does the dirt or one of your
316 friends is wrecking your head...

317 Advertisements were also rated highly amongst the girls as sources of knowledge. Daniella
318 noted “ads on the telly and in mags are how we keep up to date on how to get rid of bags under our
319 eyes and toning up and what the new potions, my mother calls them potions, you know creams like,
320 are”. When asked where else she received knowledge about her body and physical activity, Sarah
321 noted “the internet, now that's the fountain of knowledge on everything these days”. Interestingly
322 in a later conversation Shelly and Sarah begin to discuss the possibility of the internet replacing the
323 teacher. Shelly argues that at a certain point the role of the teacher becomes redundant:

324 Well why would we need teachers then, if you think about it. You'd probably need them in
325 the beginning when you're young to show you how to read and stuff but then once you
326 know how to read and how to work a computer you'd be fine like... Like if I'd to pick one
327 over the other, teacher or the internet, it would be the internet every time.

328 When asked why then do we still have schools and teachers, the girls reply was that teachers needed
329 jobs and “why would [teachers] do themselves out of a job?” In response to questions regarding
330 what people influenced their relationships with their bodies, the resounding response was their
331 peers. While two students mentioned efforts by their mothers to try to make them feel good about
332 their bodies, these seemed to be disregarded based on the perception that “mothers have to say those
333 things”.

334 Evidently, the girls were very aware of the pedagogical influence of popular physical culture
335 and the media specifically on themselves and on society. Physical education was way down the list
336 when it came to ranking the spaces and places where they learned most about their bodies.

337 Worrying in some ways was the positioning of the media as the primary source of information for
338 these girls when it came to their understandings of and relationships with their bodies. The only
339 other significant influence noted by all of the girls were their peers, and so the girls by and large
340 seemed to be left to themselves to make sense of popular physical culture and potentially harmful
341 messages around their bodies, health and physical activity without the mediation and/or support of
342 adult allies.

343 **What Students Learn about their Bodies and Physical Activity**

344 Unsurprisingly perhaps one of the messages most discussed related to the pressure students felt
345 to acquire or retain a slender, flawless body (Bordo, 1993). This was the most popular topic of
346 dialogue and one of which the students never seemed to tire. Kelly and Jade articulated some of the
347 key tensions that emerged through the scrapbooking tasks:

348 Kelly- It's hard being a teenage girl under all this pressure [laughing]

349 Jade – Cry me a river

350 Kelly – Shut up Jade, it is like, you're either, too skinny, too fat, too muscly, too pale, too
351 orange [reference to fake tan usage], too small and too tall isn't great either is it. That's what's
352 in all of these [scrapbooks].

353 Clare- Tall can be fine though as long as you've a taller fella.

354 Jade– You forgot spotty, like its normal for teenagers to have spots. Why didn't God give spots
355 to old people, like real old people, even older than you [laughing], who don't care about the
356 state of themselves? And then we've to put on make-up to cover spots and Mam is roaring at
357 me that make-up makes spots worse, and sure you're saying that being afraid of ruining our
358 make-up shouldn't stop us exercising, so what do you do?

359 Eimear- Are you agreeing with Kelly now then, is it hard being a teenage girl?

360 Jade – I'll give it to her, it's a hard life...Boys have it way easier.

361 This conversation clearly illustrates the complex and contradictory messages these girls negotiated
362 on a daily basis.

363 Eimear made an effort to challenge the girls' generalisation that all boys have easier lives
364 than girls and to get the girls thinking about ways in which teenage boys are also increasingly under
365 pressure to conform to ideals of masculinity. During this conversation there was recognition by the
366 girls that all boys did not have easier lives than all girls as had been previously suggested however
367 collectively the girls still felt that it was more difficult to be a girl. Grace's rationale for this was
368 that usually with boys "it's bulking up that the problem is and that's way easier to do and I should
369 know and Daniella added "boys don't read magazines like we do and they're just watching soccer
370 and hurling and rugby the whole time so they don't have it in their faces as much". While clearly
371 aware of the ideal masculine identity as one embodying muscularity and strength (Connell, 1995)
372 and of the fact that boys too feel pressure to conform to ideals, there was shared acknowledgement
373 that girls experience greater pressure and consequently greater dissatisfaction regarding their
374 bodies. In a later conversation and in an effort to get the girls thinking about the narrow feminine
375 ideal offered to them through various media texts the girls were asked what kinds of girls "had it
376 easier":

377 Jade: Stunning ones

378 Eimear: What's stunning?

379 Jade: You know, great body, skinny like, size 6 or less, beautiful glowing skin, no spots,
380 thick shiny blonde hair, good teeth, straight and white....

381 Debra: It's what's in the magazines

382 Eimear: So there's only one type of girl in the magazines?

383 Mia: Yep!

384 The girls were clearly very conscious of the monocultural ideal of the white feminine body which
385 was made available to them through various media (Azzarito, 2010). Initially however there was no
386 evidence of a critical consciousness around this ideal or of media texts generally. While there were
387 some snippets of conversation which evidenced that the girls were thinking about and engaging in
388 some decision making around the images that were presented to them, this decision making seemed

389 to occur within a very narrow frame of reference. Grace, in documenting how the magazines “put
390 you under pressure to look a certain way” shared some of her perspectives through her scrapbook
391 and in conversations around her scrapbook (see Figure 2). Interestingly, when she first created this
392 scrapbook entry she wrote “She is too skinny here” in reference to a picture of Victoria Beckham.
393 Later however in the same class when discussing her scrapbook with Eimear and her peers she
394 explained, “Well, it’s harder to get skinny than to get fat so as long as you don’t overdo it then it’s
395 better like, it’s nicer and you’re not seen as lazy as much. Like Posh is ok here like I wouldn’t mind
396 looking like her but the other girl is too bony” (Grace). While again a perspectives that being
397 overweight is synonymous with laziness is evidenced in Grace’s response and this was a
398 perspective that was articulated repeatedly (see Figure 3), what is also very clear is that in
399 discussing her scrapbook with the group Grace had changed her positioning in relation to the image
400 of Victoria Beckham. We observed this revisionist work on numerous occasions, and it highlighted
401 for us in a very obvious way how peer interaction can mediate and shape girls’ understandings of
402 their bodies.

403 When we began discussions around what the mass media teaches you in terms of losing weight
404 and attaining the ideal body, dieting immediately became the focus of conversation.

405 Shelly - The magazines even tell you, it you know, it’s way easier to lose weight by just not
406 eating or only eating diet coke or weight watchers biscuits and yogurts and things or going on
407 good diets like with the models who just eat ten apples a day or you know the GI diet or the
408 California Beach diet or cabbage diet so you’re only allowed eat some foods...

409 Kelly- or like before a communion or wedding or something and starving yourself to fit into
410 your dress, like Lose 2 stone in 2 days, but that doesn’t stay off, you know my sister did it after
411 having Lily, for the Christening and you’d never even know she was the mother like, lost it all
412 in a week she did, by just smoking and not eating anything only protein food and they were all
413 asking her how she did it

414 Jade- not healthy though, the fags will kill her [all laughing].

415 Shelly and Kelly articulated their sophisticated knowledge of dieting practices and revealed
416 scepticism around some of the diets and weight loss practices with which their family have
417 engaged. We asked Kelly how was she so knowledgeable about diets: “They are everywhere.
418 Everyone knows about diets and everyone knows someone who’s on them. They’re on the telly, the
419 internet, the mags, at the chemists” (Kelly).

420 Some of the most animated conversation occurred in the “Sport is for boys” class. In a
421 previous task, when asked to take photographs in response to the prompt “physical activity in my
422 community”, one of the girls had noted:

423 “Its way easier to get photographs of the boys doing sport around the place cos they just do
424 more sport and soccer specialy. They’re syco bout soccer. There’s just more stuff for them.
425 Sport is more for boys”.

426 The difficulty in getting photographs of girls doing sport tracked through into one of their
427 scrapbooking tasks which required them to undertake a gender analysis of sport and physical
428 activity coverage in the newspapers and magazines they read. Leah visibly became frustrated after
429 about 10 minutes of engaging with this task: “This is pointless. I have 35 pictures cut out of boys
430 and 2 of girls. There are more pictures of horses and dogs doing sport”.

431 Every sentence and conversation allowed multiple levels and layers of insight into the girls’
432 perspectives about their bodies and inequalities in physical culture. What became challenging for
433 Eimear was identifying what perspectives should be immediately interrogated through focused
434 questioning and prompting and what would have to wait until later classes. The field notes from
435 class one captured this dilemma:

436 Once they began scrapbooking they began talking: talking about their families and their
437 bodies and diets and boys and make-up. At the beginning I didn’t know where to start
438 questioning and probing and prompting. There was so much stuff circulating, so many
439 potentially harmful preconceptions around bodies, and weight and physical activity and
440 gender and life! It was like a bad interview, where you know that you’ve missed too many

441 entry points, too many opportunities to gain a better understanding of what it is you're
442 trying to gain some clarity on but you're struggling to pull it back. There was too much
443 going on and at one point I made the decision to just go with it and trust the tasks.....and
444 trust myself to ask the questions that might help the girls to critical engage with popular
445 physical culture and come to know and respect themselves a letter better.....but knowing that
446 I could not catch it all either in this class or in the next four. What I do think I can do over
447 the coming weeks is scratch the surface... (Field notes).

448 **Students Thinking Differently**

449 As the tasks within each class and the classes progressed students came to articulate and
450 develop a more critical interpretive lens towards the tasks assigned.

451 The biggest thing I got from today was that I think the magazines don't put pictures of girls
452 doing physical activity in them because that doesn't make them as much money as putting in
453 ads for diet coke in them and as well because exercising is harder, like not a quick fix, like
454 smoking or stopping eating so it's not as good to read about because it's not as easy to do
455 but it's healthier and better...well that's what we think. And airbrushing their bodies and
456 faces and putting in whiter teeth, knew that already but I really started looking for it
457 now....Talking about it makes you know you're not a complete dog because you cop on that
458 these aren't real girls and they probably aren't happy (Shelly).

459 Shelly has clearly begun to make connections between media agendas and her own relationship
460 with her body. The data are replete with examples of "connecting the dots" conversations, in which
461 the girls explore the messages they receive through popular physical culture, the rationale for these
462 messages, their personal and local context and their collective understandings and interpretations of
463 popular physical culture.

464 Shelly – It's hard like to find pictures of girls actually doing exercise and not just modelling
465 bikinis or watching the fellas playing. It's kind of like when we couldn't get any photos of
466 girls doing physical activity around where we live...

467 Kelly– Yeah, it was way easier to find diets, diets, diets, diets and recipes for cucumber and
468 cabbage tarts and ads for diet stuff than it was to find exercising information like on how to
469 get rid of bingo wings for example.... But sure we know anyway we have to be either
470 starving ourselves or running like greyhounds if we want to become Kate size zero
471 Mosses...

472 Jade- We have no healthy role models who do sport, and eat normal like, and are girls and
473 are pretty and that's what doing the scrapping really shows us....

474 In discussions around Figure 3, we attempted to interrogate the girls' widely shared
475 perspective that "overweight children and people eat too much" and "fat people are lazy people".
476 This conversation continued across two classes and was revisited in a third class by two students.
477 The lyric "we all stay skinny cos we just won't eat" was used by Jade to evidence her claim that "fat
478 people eat too much and just need to stop eating to get skinny". When asked whether it was really
479 that simple, Mia suggested that "it's probably not like [that] maybe it's about what their parents
480 feed them". Jade then made a significant U-turn adding that "maybe it's easier to be skinny for
481 some people too because they were born like that.... me and my sister eat the exact same and we're
482 not the exact same weight" and on further prompting Mia also added that "and you know sometimes
483 when people are sad they eat more and if they're fatter first they might be sad and bullied and then
484 sad, and then they eat more because they're sad...so it's not because they're just lazy". Debra had
485 noted in one page of her scrapbook: "Fat is the opposite of skinny. Skinny is size [0] or [2]. Fat is
486 everything above that". When she talked with Eimear and her peers about this entry she shared
487 that this was the media's opinion not her own, and she actually thought that size [0] people were
488 unhealthy sometimes and that the "media has it all wrong".

489 Through questioning and group discussion Eimear worked to help the girls to problematise
490 some of the taken for granted perceptions they had brought with them to class. The girls started to
491 think differently about the media they interacted with and their role in contributing in some ways to
492 the perpetuation of harmful media messages. Grace suggests "It's hard being a teenage girl in

493 today's society with the media making us feel bad about ourselves and ourselves making us feel bad
494 about each other then too". Mia supported Grace's observation: "It's like they [the magazines]
495 want us to have no self-esteem or confidence in ourselves". One of the key take home messages
496 from one of the scrapbooking classes is illustrated in Figure 4.

497 At times in the classes Eimear did not have to do very much questioning or active
498 facilitation. The choice of music for the final task of the second lesson for example was a strategic
499 one. The three songs played represented a counter argument to the dominant discourses evident in
500 the girls' selection of songs. Debra wrote after hearing this selection and pasting the most
501 meaningful lyrics in her scrapbook:

502 Well in this song the message is that it doesn't matter what colour your eyes or your hair or
503 your skin is, or if you're short or tall. It not about being ugly really, it's about being different
504 and what matters more is what you do and your personality not your looks.

505 Debra kicked off the group conversation by sharing her response and then one by one the others
506 contributed to the discussion. Leah concluded this particular class by asking Eimear, "why are you
507 not teaching us and saying anything? We've just been spilling our guts for the last ten minutes".
508 When Eimear replied that she thought they were doing a very good job without her, and asked what
509 did they think they had learned from the task, Grace responded, "...we know that looks shouldn't be
510 that important and that looks have nothing to do with being a good person" and Debra added "and
511 sometimes we sing songs or we like songs that we don't really think about and we don't think the
512 lyrics are true but really we'd never thought about it".

513 While it is clear that in these connecting the dots tasks and conversations about media,
514 gender, body and identity, the girls were moving from being unconscious to being conscious
515 consumers of media messages what Eimear also wanted to do was help the girls to think about
516 alternative realities. The final scrapbooking class was entitled "In the olden days girls didn't do any
517 sport anyway". We hoped that through discussing some elements of women's sport history we
518 might facilitate the girls in coming to appreciate the positive changes that have impacted on

519 women's sporting lives and imagine ways in which we might build on this progress and support a
520 better future for all women in physical activity and sport. We scrapbooked and engaged in dialogue
521 with the girls around images of Camogie teams over time depicting the move away from restrictive
522 dress, behaviours, laws and customs. Camogie is an Irish stick and ball team sport, very similar to
523 the game of Hurling, but it is played only by women and girls and there are some minor variations
524 in the rules.

525 During this final class Grace cut out an image that depicted a 1904 Camogie Team and
526 provided the following commentary underneath it in her scrapbook: "This picture was taken over a
527 hundred years ago and the ladies aren't wearing clothes that will help them to play Camogie good
528 and they all have to wear bows and they're not happy because of that, because no one is smiling
529 really". Deirdre was one of the students who was very quick to connect our conversations about the
530 "olden days" to our more recent media work:

531 You're telling me that there were even less opportunities to do sport in the olden days and
532 how women were seen as weaker....and they had more rules like about dressing because
533 they were girls... and we're moaning about the state of things now. So it's bad now but it's
534 defo [definitely] not as bad as before.

535 Looking at the past made the girls aware of some of the flawed assumptions that existed historically
536 around women and sporting participation, and the progress that had been made in relation to
537 women's freedom to make decisions around their sports and physical activity participation. While
538 the girls believed that many of the flawed assumptions and constraints that inhibited girls'
539 participation in physical activity had been successfully challenged, that is, the widely held Victorian
540 perspective that girls and women were weak and unable to participate in sport no longer existed to
541 the same extent, there was still a strongly held and shared perspective that some "stupid thinking"
542 did still exist in relation to women and sport. Leah suggests, "It's not as bad as hundreds of years
543 ago but it's different now. Sport is still seen as more for boys and you're still a better girl, like

544 more a nice girly girl if you don't do rough sports". Eimear tried to get the girls to think about how
545 things might be different and how this "stupid thinking" might be challenged:

546 Eimear: Ok, you're all saying it's better but we're not quite there. So Leah has said "sport is
547 still more for boys", what could we do or anybody do to make it better for girls?

548 Shelly: Better media coverage. If you look at our scrapbooks so far and the songs and the
549 magazines and the internet pages there's no coverage of girls.

550 Mia: And we could do stuff too, like only buy stuff that is good about girls but that's going
551 to be hard because I don't know if that's out there.

552 This idea about increasing and improving media coverage was not new. In the last task of the first
553 class the following conversation took place:

554 Eimear- So we've all been able to highlight some of the good and bad things about the
555 media, is there anything you think we need to do to make it safer and healthier for girls to
556 read these magazines?

557 Mia – I think there needs to be more girl role models who are not stick insects and we need
558 to see more girls doing sport in magazines too...

559 Jade – And more healthy options and stop talking about crazy dieting all the time...

560 Eimear – Is there anything you think the magazines should stop doing?

561 Shelly – Make a law against airbrushing yeah and make the only pictures allowed in
562 magazines be ones that are real...

563 Debra – yeah, it's awful for the younger girls like who can't cope with the pressure...

564 Kelly– The celebrity gossip and problem letters need to stay and horoscopes too, love
565 reading those. I think just more real girls in them would be the main thing...

566 Jade– If we designed our own magazine like we did with the club like, that's be a good idea,
567 like if we picked the pictures and wrote the stuff...

568 What is encouraging in both of these passages of dialogue is the willingness to take some individual
569 and collective responsibility for how they interact with popular physical culture, either through
570 consciously selecting the media they read or through contributing to the creation of new media.

571 **Students' Perspectives on Scrapbooking**

572 The data discussed under the previous three themes evidence the nature of the conversations
573 that the scrapbooking tasks facilitated, and how the scrapbooks were used to understand and
574 transform one group of young people's engagement with physical culture. What was also
575 interesting however were the benefits and challenges the students themselves associated with
576 scrapbooking popular physical culture. The feedback in this regards was overwhelmingly positive.
577 Asked about her thoughts on the process, Natasha replies "I suppose you could say we like our
578 bodies more or maybe we just hate our bodies less, after talking about this stuff and that's important
579 for girls our age and the younger girls with all the anorexia and bulimia going around". This
580 perspective was shared quite often, the girls recognised our five week unit as a necessary
581 pedagogical space, a space where they could have discussions about things that were important to
582 them. Jade shared, "it makes you realise you're not alone and that we all have the same kinds of
583 things we worry about". The girls also started to see themselves as part of something bigger:

584 It makes you think about how things can change....Looking at the photos of the Camogie
585 players and the outfits was a bit freaky cos you're imagining what it was like for girls in the
586 olden days and what it might be like in fifty years for girls like.

587 Cutting apart media messages and piecing together their responses to lyrics and photographs
588 seemed to be something that was initially seen as fun, as a novelty and a change from some of the
589 regular class routines. By the end of the unit these perspectives had changed. Mia notes, "After the
590 scrapping stuff I was like you know a few classes isn't going to make any difference but now like
591 it's like I'm magazine detective the whole time" (Mia). Similarly, Grace notes,

592 ...we think different about why don't love our bodies and why we don't like going to
593 swimming pools and why we buy diet stuff even when it's dearer and doesn't even taste as

594 good and the power of the media to make us feel bad about ourselves even when we're fine,
595 normal like.

596 Helping the girls to become media "detectives" and think differently about their bodies and about
597 inequality in popular physical culture was part of what this unit was supposed to be about and the
598 girls, through their feedback, illustrate that the unit was successful in that regard.

599 Finally, and importantly there was a barrage of comments relating to how much fun the unit
600 was. Natasha highlights how this fun was connected to the tasks the girls were engaged in: "I was
601 totally into it. It was a right laugh at times..... but we weren't messing laughing, but we were really
602 laughing because of how ridiculous some of the things we were finding were" (Natasha). Mia
603 shared a similar perspective: "We were cutting things up, and pasting and drawing and writing and
604 talking and thinking. We weren't just sitting there listening the whole time and it was good craic
605 and we learned loads". The novelty of some of the tasks was seen as an important feature of the
606 experience: "The atmosphere was good and we were all around our tables....they were a mess with
607 all the papers and glue and we were listening to music in class, there's a first but you know what,
608 we all looked forward to it like" (Shelly).

609

Discussion

610 There were clearly many profoundly disturbing data generated prior to, and during this unit
611 that highlighted the significance of popular physical culture on teenage girls' self-perceptions.
612 While this may not be surprising, considering what we have learned from work on media influences
613 and girls' body image (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006), the degree to which these girls saw physical
614 appearance as a barometer of worth is certainly a cause for concern. The knowledge and ways of
615 thinking about their body (re)produced through pedagogical encounters with various expressions of
616 popular physical culture, most notably popular media, had taught them to hate their bodies and
617 themselves. These pedagogical encounters had also taught them that physical activity is hard and
618 "not really for [them]". Interestingly, the importance of physical activity for health was a message
619 that did not feature strongly in the media the girls shared or the conversations this media inspired.

620 Indeed the pedagogical work on/for bodies supported by the media texts these girls regularly
621 accessed endorsed a variety of novelty diets and cosmetics as the most effective ways to shape the
622 'ideal' body. This is all the more worrying because these girls clearly identified the media they
623 accessed as the primary 'pedagogical player' when it came to knowledge and dispositions towards
624 their own bodies.

625 There is something horribly wrong when teenage girls' dialogue with themselves is often
626 one of self-loathing. There is something horribly wrong when girls are choosing starvation and
627 smoking to support their pursuit of thinness. There is something horribly wrong when girls are
628 being schooled daily in the many ways in which to judge and criticize their own bodies (against a
629 narrow, unhealthy and often unattainable 'ideal') and adult allies are not working harder to help
630 them love their bodies. Considering some of the data we have shared in this paper, it would seem
631 nigh on impossible for young girls to develop a positive attitude towards a healthy body image
632 without mediation and support. Adult allies need to begin "to take girls' education about physical
633 culture seriously" and start talking to children at a younger age about media images and working to
634 help children and young people develop critical health literacy skills (Azzarito, 2010, p. 263).

635 The unit described in this paper was an effort to take both girls' understandings of and
636 engagement with popular physical culture seriously. It is necessary to highlight here that we spent
637 over 18 months learning to listen to these girls, developing relationships with them and challenging
638 each other's deeply inscribed way of thinking about who has authority in the physical education
639 space, before we initiated this physical culture unit. Developing relationships that lead to
640 meaningful and relevant educational opportunities takes time. Time alone is not enough however.
641 We need also to create new spaces within which newly informed conversations, pedagogies and
642 curricula can be supported. The choice of scrapbooking as methodology and pedagogy in this unit
643 was not an arbitrary decision. St. Pierre and Pillow (2000) remind us that the task of feminist
644 educators is "to ask questions that produce different knowledge and produce knowledge differently,
645 thereby producing different ways of living in the world" (p.1). We have argued elsewhere that this

646 task should not be the preserve of those who identify as feminist educators but rather a possibility
647 for all educational researchers (Enright & O'Sullivan, 2012). We also believe that our questions can
648 never be considered independent of our method, and methods therefore influence how and what
649 knowledge is produced and which ways of living in the world we access. Scrapbooks helped us to
650 produce different knowledge and produce that knowledge differently. Through a series of
651 scrapbooking tasks we were able to better relate to and draw upon, the girls' diverse experiences of
652 popular physical culture (Sandford & Rich, 2006). One of the first things we needed to do was
653 facilitate the girls in exposing their interior scrapbooks of popular physical culture. We needed to
654 understand how particular discourses of popular physical culture worked to transmit, represent and
655 reproduce dominant beliefs and values and how the girls in the study made sense of their social
656 worlds and constructed their embodied identities based on these discourses. It seemed logical that
657 we would not only talk about popular physical culture, we would also look at it, hear it, feel it and
658 respond to it through writing, images, drawings and music. The scrapbooks provided a unique
659 space for this to happen and became a record of the girls' embodied learning in, through and about
660 popular physical culture. Scrapbooking provided a mode of tactile and visual expression and
661 learning (Williams & Lent, 2008). The girls became absorbed by their scrapbooking efforts and
662 their sense of engagement with the tasks was palpable. We learned just how influential the
663 magazines they read, the songs they listened to, the advertisements they watched and the internet
664 sites they visited were in terms of their efforts to produce specific identities, behaviours and values
665 (Kellner, 1992). The scrapbooks allowed us insight into the girls' lived experiences in ways that we
666 know we would have struggled with using more conventional methodologies.

667 The scrapbooking approach to this cultural studies unit recognised learning as socially
668 constructed, situated and embodied (Kirk & Macdonald, 1998). The tasks required the girls to
669 intentionally engage in a critical process as they worked to select images and text which best
670 represented their ideas, feelings, and opinions around their experiences of popular physical culture.
671 They were facilitated in responding to, interrogating and making meaning of their selected cultural

672 materials. The girls easily identified contradictions and inconsistencies in popular physical culture
673 which they suggested had a negative impact on their relationships with physical education, physical
674 activity and with their own bodies. “Scrapping” aspects of their visual and aural culture opened up
675 new spaces for “cutting bad media messages” apart and thinking about their embodied identities in
676 generative ways that offered the students a place, where as one student summarised, “...we think
677 different about why don’t love our bodies and why we don’t like going to swimming pools and
678 why we buy diet stuff even when it’s dearer and doesn’t even taste as good and the power of the
679 media to make us feel bad about ourselves even when we’re fine, normal like”. This thinking
680 differently was supported by a methodological and pedagogical tool, which was perceived by the
681 young people as a safe, practical, enjoyable and relevant method of not only communicating but
682 also of coming to understand their own complex relationships with popular physical culture a little
683 better.

684 The scrapbooking tasks enabled insight into different understandings of students’ existing
685 perspectives and values and promoted the development of counter understandings and perspectives.
686 The physical task of cutting up cultural material paralleled the deconstruction of some of the girls’
687 preconceived perceptions about the body and inequalities in physical culture. Through some of the
688 tasks the girls came to appreciate that meaning is historically and culturally specific and changes
689 over time. Whole class questioning and discussion around individual scrapbooks reflected our
690 broader theoretical commitment to the notion that meanings are socially and collectively
691 constructed and enabled us to focus on the ways in which social interaction mediated the girls’
692 understandings of their bodies and physical activity (Kirk & Macdonald, 1998). The scrapbooks
693 themselves provided a bridge to conversation and while this was very clearly a principal value of
694 scrapbooking in this study, the physical scrapbook also served a later purpose as a tangible reminder
695 of the unit and some of what had been learned throughout the experience.

696 **Conclusion**

697 The findings of this work present a strong case for embracing scrapbooking as a methodological
698 and pedagogical tool. From a methodological perspective scrapbooking has the potential to allow
699 researchers access to, and understanding of, students' perspectives on popular physical culture and
700 their lives in a way that other methods may not. More than ever we need to help students develop a
701 sense of critical discrimination and judgement of the value of the information received. A popular
702 quotation reads, "when life gives you scraps make something of them". Pedagogically,
703 scrapbooking allows teachers and researchers to facilitate young people in making meaning of the
704 scraps of popular physical culture which they are picking up and to help them to interrogate and
705 critically appraise these scraps and their impact on their understandings of their bodies and of
706 popular physical culture. Scrapbooking popular physical culture with students helped us, and has
707 the potential to help other teachers and researchers, to listen and respond in meaningful ways to
708 their discourses, priorities and perspectives and support the development of critical health literacy
709 skills. There are an increasing number of pedagogical players impacting on what students know and
710 how they feel about their bodies, physical activity and physical education. Cook-Sather (2002) has
711 suggested that "because of who they are, what they know, and how they are positioned, students
712 must be recognised as having knowledge essential to the development of sound educational policies
713 and practices" (p. 12). Because of who teachers are, what they know and how they are positioned,
714 they need to be supported in authorising students' perspectives and supporting students' critical
715 engagement with the pedagogical work on/for the body undertaken by other pedagogical players. In
716 many cases, this will require a revisioning of the focus, the structures and the participants in
717 physical education pedagogical and curricular decision making.

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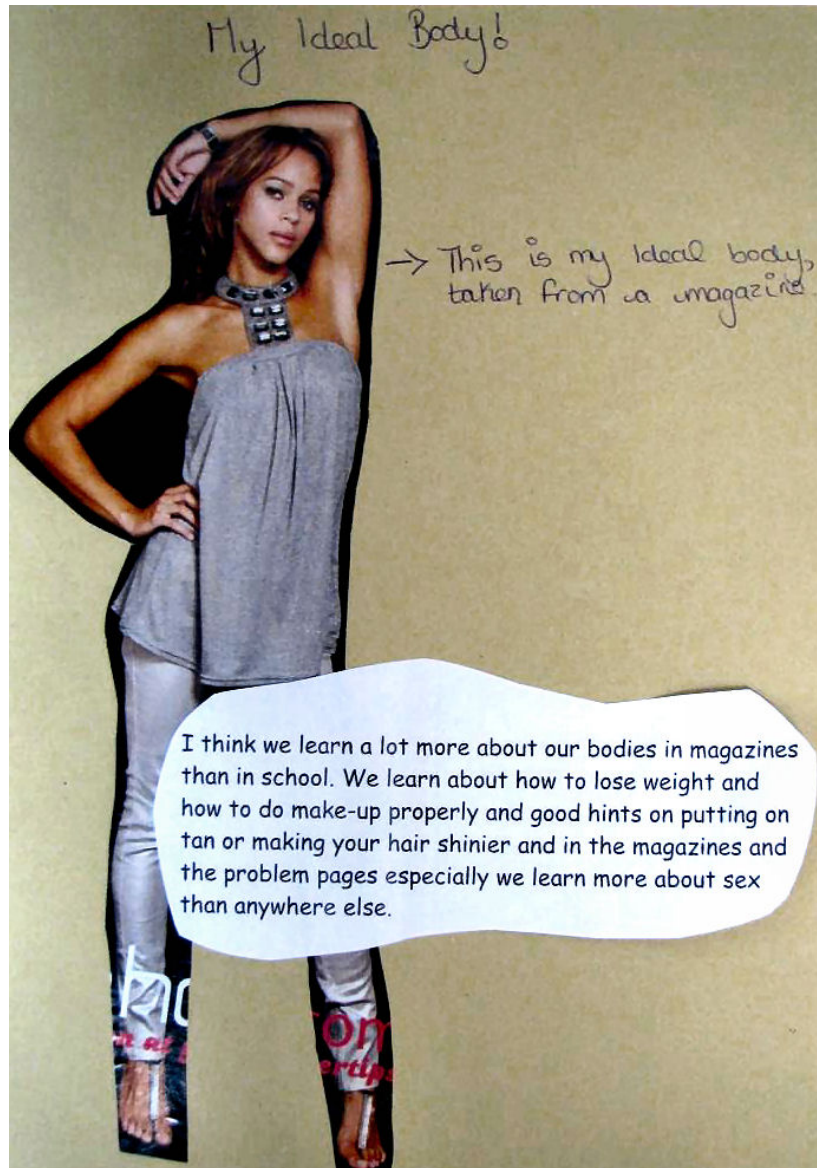


Figure 1. "My ideal body".

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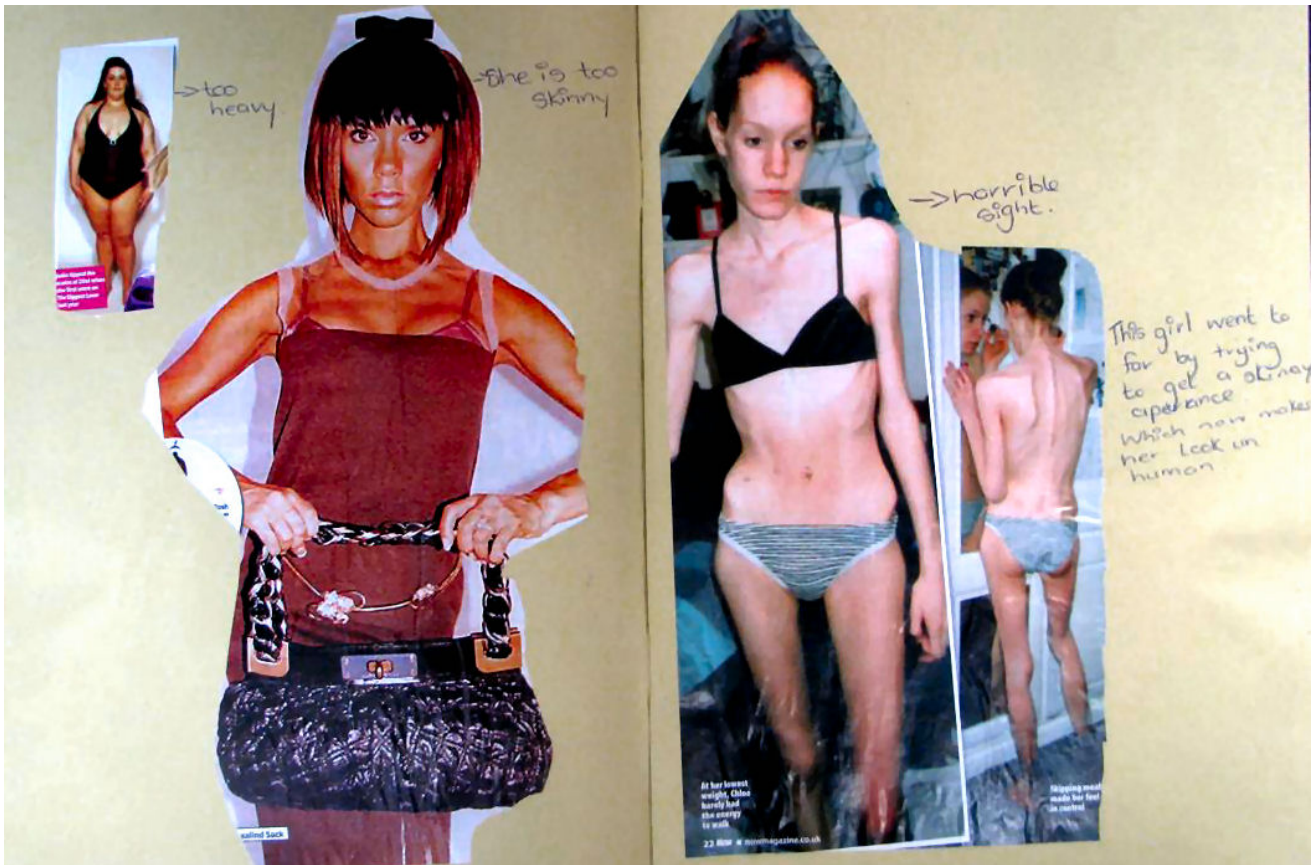
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Figure 2. "Posh is ok here".



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Figure 3. "Overweight children eat too much".



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Figure 4. "Magazines hurt all teenage girls".