

**The three-legged race: A history of Physical Education,
School Sport, and Health Education in New South
Wales public schools from 1880 to 2012.**

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I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.

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Abstract

Despite the burgeoning contemporary interest in education history, there has been an absence of literature documenting the histories of Physical Education (PE), School Sport (SS), and Health Education (HE) in New South Wales (NSW) public schools from 1880 until 2012. This gap was significant in the wider context of the NSW education system as all three subjects were operating throughout this period. Another noticeable gap in the literature was that of a combined history of these subjects, which could be explained based on the lack of clarity, until now, concerning the nature of the relationships between them, despite their coexistence in the NSW public education system. The literature that does exist reflects histories of the subjects in isolation, with a notable prominence of research into PE compared to SS and HE; however, these histories tend to be narrow in scope rather than situating developments and changes in these subjects within broader political and social contexts.

Therefore, this study filled these gaps by chronicling the individual and collective histories of these subjects in the NSW public education system, spanning from the introduction of compulsory schooling in this state in 1880 up to the release of the draft Australian Curriculum for Health and Physical Education in 2012 (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2012a, 2012b), which marked the first official shift from a state-based to a national approach to curriculum in this subject area. These rich and comprehensive histories of PE, SS, and HE were produced by addressing the following two major research questions: (1) what factors influenced the historical development of the individual subjects in NSW public schools from 1880 to 2012?; and (2) how did the factors driving curriculum development and change affect the relationship and status of these subjects from 1880 until 2012?

A history of education methodology was used to record the curriculum developments and changes in PE, SS, and HE through the analysis of primary and secondary documentary sources. The implementation of the theoretical framework of curriculum history by Goodson (1983) and Musgrave (1973, 1978, 1979, 1988) enabled this study to present a timeline of the events in light of past traditions and factors influencing the subjects as individual and combined entities from 1880 to 2012. Together, the application of a history of education methodology and curriculum history theory provided the opportunity to delve into the interplay of the relationships between these

subjects, their shifting status over time, and the broader contexts shaping them during the span of this history. It was the application of theory to the historical analysis that revealed the subjects were socially constructed and in turn elicited the major themes of this study.

By viewing PE, SS, and HE as social constructs, this thesis signposted significant politico-social contexts and events in NSW, Australian, and international history as driving curriculum developments and paradigm shifts in these subjects in the NSW public education system. Consequently, a key finding to emerge was the consistent link between the influence of political and social factors at a state, national, and global level and the thematic preoccupations in the subjects' over time. The second theme acknowledged that although the subjects' originated as discrete entities in 1880, as time progressed they developed partnerships and were re-defined to better service politico-social agendas of policy makers, educationists, and society at large. It was investigations into the shifts in the status of the subjects that revealed the third theme, which was that PE was the dominant subject of the three from the outset of compulsory schooling in NSW through to the 1970s. From the 1970s until 2012, HE was more prominent given its capacity to serve the politico-social priority of public health, whilst PE was re-defined to overtly encompass health-supporting endeavours to remain educationally relevant and maintain a place in the school curriculum. Throughout the span of this history, the subjects were found to be 'cooperating to compete' with one another and other subjects, especially amidst the climate of an increasingly crowded curriculum from the 1970s.

Extending the individual subject histories and recording a collective history of the subjects in the context of broader politico-social factors has not been heretofore attempted in a combined analysis, even though there was widespread evidence suggesting that the three subjects have rarely sat separately in the NSW curriculum since 1880, based on their synergetic pedagogies and rationales. This combined history also contributes original scholarship by highlighting the subjects' longstanding struggles for dominance and status as part of their coexistence in the NSW public education system. Upon reflection on the emerging themes, there is scope for future studies to investigate the individual and combined histories of these curricula Australia-wide and/or specific to other types of education systems, such as the private or Catholic

school system, to determine whether the subjects in these environments were equally influenced by politico-social factors.

Abbreviations

ACARA	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority
ACHPER	Australian Council of Health, Physical Education and Recreation
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
ASC	Australian Sports Commission
ATSI	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders
BOS	Board of Studies
CHS	Combined High Schools
DET	Department of Education and Training
DOE	Department of Education
DPE	Daily Physical Education
FMS	Fundamental Movement Skills
GPS	Great Public Schools
GSSSA	Girls' Secondary School Sports' Association
HE	Health Education
HPE	Health and Physical Education
HPS	Health Promoting School
HSC	Higher School Certificate
KLA	Key Learning Area
NESA	New South Wales Education Standards Authority
NSW	New South Wales
PA	Physical Activity
PDHPE	Personal Development, Health and Physical Education
PE	Physical Education
PEB	Physical Education Branch
PETE	Physical Education Teacher Education
PSAAA	Public Schools' Amateur Athletics Association
PSSA	Public Schools' Sports Association
SS	School Sport
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald
WHO	World Health Organisation
WWI	World War I

WWII

World War II

Glossary of key terms

Although it is difficult to thoroughly define certain terms and phenomena, such as *curriculum*, the following operational definitions offer parameters for these concepts consistent with references to these terms in the disciplines of PE, SS, and HE. These definitions are contextualised in light of traditional and contemporary understandings depending on the term's use and relevance to the focus of this study.

Term	Operational definition
<i>Curriculum</i>	A body of knowledge, information, or content commonly communicated through interactions between teachers and learners located in institutionalised cultural, political, and social contexts (Kirk, 1988).
<i>Eugenics</i>	As defined by the founder of the subject and inventor of the word, Sir Francis Galton, 'eugenics' in this study refers to the science, component of religion, and social practices that 'deal with all the influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage' (Blacker, 1947, p.56). Galton's theory of eugenics attempted to replace notions of Natural Selection, as proposed by Charles Darwin, by asserting that 'Man ... has the power of preventing many kinds of suffering' (Blacker, 1947, p.56). Therefore, this study will examine the impact of the rise and fall of the eugenics movement between 1920 and 1950 in response to threats undermining the survival of the population that were felt in Australia and across the world post-WWI and WWII. The practice of eugenics claimed to 'raise the average quality of [a] nation' and the 'general tone of domestic, social, and political life' through the values guiding health, ability, energy, manliness, and a courteous disposition (Blacker, 1947, p.56).
<i>Health Education (HE)</i>	Learning experiences designed to help individuals and communities improve health outcomes through increased knowledge and/or changed attitudes and behaviours (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2017).
<i>Key Learning Area (KLA)</i>	The reference to the grouping of syllabi according to the curriculum content, teaching, learning, assessing, and reporting procedures specific to a subject in NSW schools, established as part of the <i>Education Reform Act</i> (1990).

<i>Muscular Christianity</i>	The origins of Muscular Christianity can be traced back to the New Testament; however, the explicit use of this term is related to the contribution of participation in sport to the development of Christian morality, physical fitness, and ‘manly’ character from the mid-nineteenth century, as witnessed in Anglo-American Christians and Victorian Britain (Watson, Wier, & Friend, 2005). The term will be used to reinforce that sport in Australia was positioned as a medium that could promote the health and wellbeing of the nation following the Industrial Revolution, which led to sedentary lifestyles and a rise in cardiovascular, respiratory, and occupational diseases. The promotion of Muscular Christianity through sport also supported the need to produce spiritually, morally, and physically developed and educated individuals amidst a growing understanding of health as holistic and associated with the body and mind connection (Watson, Wier, & Friend, 2005). Following the alignment between these functions of sport with the ideals of British imperialism, notions of Muscular Christianity manifested in sport in Australia post-WWI and WWII as a means to encourage the rebuilding of the nation’s character. This movement was consistent with Barron Pierre de Coubertin’s core message of the modern Olympic movement, wherein ‘the importance of ... Olympiads [was] not so much to win as to take part’ and by extension ‘the important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle. The essential thing is not to have won but to have fought well’ (Widund, 1994, p. 11).
<i>NSW Public School</i>	A school that was under the control of the Board of National Education (1848-1866), the Council of Education (1867-1880), and/or the Department administering education from 1880 through to 2012 in NSW. Private, subsidised, and denominational schools, even when they received government aid and were subject to some form of government control, are not included in this definition unless such schools were later absorbed into the government school system. While the term ‘government school’ may be used interchangeably with the term ‘public school’ (NSW Department of Education [DOE], 2017a) in the literature, this study will use the term public school.
<i>Paradigm</i>	The basic way of perceiving, thinking, valuing, and doing in line with a particular vision of reality and set of rules and regulations (written or unwritten) (Kuhn, 1962) which establish and/or define boundaries and tell individuals how to behave within those boundaries in order to succeed (Baker, 1996).

<i>Pedagogy</i>	This study upholds the common reference to this term as the ‘science of teaching’ (Mortimore, 1999, p. 2) and extends it to also include ‘the institutional forms that serve to facilitate society’s and the individual’s educational aims’, which when applied to the specific disciplines within this study encompasses ‘the development of the health and bodily fitness, social and moral welfare, ethics, and aesthetics’ (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 178).
<i>Personal Development (PD)</i>	A school-based program focused on developing characteristics contributing to students’ personal identity and recognisable stages of growth and development such as perceptive understanding, mature judgement, self-direction, and moral autonomy (NSW DOE, 1978). Although the topics falling under PD were found to overlap with a variety of short programs in NSW schools, such as ‘Growth and Development’ and ‘Human Relationships’, this thesis acknowledges that PD was not a pseudonym for Sex Education (NSW DOE, 1974). Instead, the term is used to reflect the formal programs of PD that evolved from the mid-1970s through to the 1980s and covered topics associated with individuals’ knowledge and understanding of themselves and the world around them (NSW DOE, 1974), such as self-esteem, values, decision-making and communication skills, and self-awareness. From 1990, this thesis positions PD as a subject area that aims to support students’ social and emotional well-being and enhance the protective factors that help to build resilience and lessen the impact of adverse life events (NSW Board of Studies [BOS], 2003).
<i>Physical Activity (PA)</i>	Bodily movement that is produced by the contraction of skeletal muscle and substantially increases energy expenditure (NSW BOS, 1999a). In the context of this thesis, PE and SS are mediums facilitating opportunities for PA.
<i>Physical Culture</i>	A health and fitness movement that began in Europe during the nineteenth century and spread to England and subsequently Australia and the United States and continued until the mid-twentieth century. The first wave of European Physical Culture in the early 1800s emphasised callisthenic and bodyweight styles of exercise. This wave gathered momentum in the late nineteenth century and emerged as a Physical Culture movement in response to the Industrial Revolution and the corresponding shift from rural agricultural economies to urban industrial economics (Hunt & Lautzenheiser, 2011), which resulted in a more sedentary society and the emergence of health issues tied to obesity, high blood pressure, and gout (Pfister, 2003). European Physical Culturists took a scientific interest in

exercise and health and encouraged systems of Physical Culture in the form of the Swedish System of Gymnastics, PE, physical therapy, sport, and exercise science (Pfister, 2003). In Australia, particularly NSW, it was Hans Bjelke-Peterson that orchestrated a system of Physical Culture for the invention and propagation of new concepts of the body, which meant a reorientation of PE was unavoidable through structured provisions for sport, exercise, and active leisure pursuits (Bjelke-Peterson [BJP], 1901).

Physical Education (PE) The agent and means to bio-psychological health and fitness, which incorporates the idea that the subject adopts an acculturative function as a means to social ends and acts as a domain that encompasses sporting activities, exercise, games, and dance (Osterhoudt, 1991).

Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) A program developed and administered by universities or other higher education providers that supports quality teaching in NSW schools and advances the status of the teaching profession (New South Wales Education Standard Authority [NESA], 2017a) in the subject of PE. Traditionally, these programs have been referred to in the literature as institutions that only provide teacher-training in PE; however, this thesis acknowledges that PETE providers and courses also delivered instructions on HE and sport

Physical training The term ‘physical training’ is used loosely and interchangeably with physical exercises throughout the literature. In the context of this thesis, it will be used to describe the different types of organised, and disciplined free movements and forms of play such as games, sport, recreational activities, and corrective exercises that have physiological and mental benefits such as strength and power, resistance to fatigue, and development of morals, character, and public spirit (Stupart, 1914).

School Sport (SS) The extra-curricular sports program conducted during and/or after the school day in the form of competitions between schools (Lubans, Morgan, & McCormack, 2011).

Sport The reference to sport and its expressions in NSW schools reflects the modern sport movement in England’s private schools during the end of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century. The rise of modern sport during this period means that the term ‘sport’ also encompasses the advent of team games such as football and cricket and competitions that led to the creation of a greater number of playing fields and competitions, and the endowment of a national instinct for

'fair play' and growth of athleticism (Mangan, 2010, p. 155). The rise and diversification of sport was closely connected with the education system reforms carried out in the schools and the competitions between schools (Pfister, 2003). For instance, the popularity of organised games and sports with well-defined rules made 'sport' a form of social control, while its universalisation and globalisation saw countries including Australia, ethnicities, and groups appropriate sport (i.e. introduce it and change it according to local needs) and use it as a weapon at the Olympic Games against the countries from which the sport originated. Therefore, the term will be used to encompass the rise of 'sport' in schools and its symbolism of political and economic power through international sporting success (Pfister, 2003).

Strands The organisation of syllabus content and grouping of topic areas to be studied in the curriculum (NSW BOS, 1999a).

Subject A distinctive purpose-built and targeted operational unit defining the field of knowledge and practice for teaching and learning, as prescribed by syllabi in response to varying demands and challenges prompting institutionally defined educative ends (Deng & Luke, 2008; Stengel, 1997).

Swedish System of Gymnastics A form of Physical Culture founded in the early 1800s by a Swedish physician named Henrik Ling as a response to the nation's loss of territory to Russia during the Napoleonic War. Ling recognised that physical conditioning sessions could improve the physical degeneration of the nation's citizens through fencing initially and then a developed system of Swedish Gymnastics that prescribed exercises chosen for their effects on the body and health (Pfister, 2003). Ling's system of Swedish Gymnastics was formally endorsed by the Royal Central Institute of Gymnastics in Stockholm in 1813, which saw the establishment of four branches of Swedish Gymnastics: educational gymnastics (physical education), military exercises (fencing), medical gymnastics, and aesthetic gymnastics including dance. The Swedish System was recognised as a form of PE in Australia when it was enriched by formal curriculum from 1900, based on its origins in military practices and potential to provide therapeutic and medical effects in the lead-up to and following WWI and subsequently during the Depression. For instance, free-standing exercises such as arm circling along with physical exercises including games, running, swimming, climbing, walking, and

somersaulting were found to develop flexible joints, cardiovascular and muscular endurance, and good posture in children.

Syllabus

An official written document of a map of a school subject that provides teachers with a rationale and outline of the school curriculum for a particular learning area. This written document provides an overview and specification of the preferred and expected content to be taught and learned and provides a description of operational approaches to standards for gauging student performance (Luke, Weir, & Woods, 2008). In NSW, each syllabus has a set of aims and objectives that are organised as a set of outcomes reflecting the knowledge and understanding, skills, values, and attitudes pertinent to a subject.

Chapter One: Introduction

The bureaucratic nature of schooling and curriculum has meant a general policy amnesia and a lack of due regard for curriculum history in the Australian research setting, with the net effect creating gaps and silences in the archives of histories of education (Green, 2003). The impending study therefore produced comprehensive histories of the subjects Physical Education (PE), School Sport (SS), and Health Education (HE) from 1880 to 2012 in New South Wales (NSW) public schools to overcome silences in the academic literature. The start date of 1880 coincides with the introduction of compulsory schooling in NSW. The *Public Instruction Act* (1880) passed that it was ‘obligatory upon parents or guardians of all children between the ages of 6 and 14 (unless just cause of exemption [could] be shown) to cause such children to attend school for a period of not less than 70 days in each half-year [for the first time in this state’s history]’ (“The compulsory clauses of the Public Instruction Act”, 1880, p. 8). Meanwhile, the end date of 2012 coincides with the release of the draft Australian Curriculum for Health and Physical Education in 2012 (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2012a, 2012b), which marked the first consolidated shift from a state-based to a national approach to curriculum in this subject area (Lynch, 2014). To contextualise the study, this introductory section will provide important information concerning the following areas specific to this study: (1) the research questions, (2) background to the field of a history of education, (3) a social constructivist perspective to curriculum, and (4) a rationale for focusing on the NSW education system. This chapter will conclude by outlining the overall structure of the thesis to help navigate a history of education of the subjects both separately and together.

1.1 The Research Questions

To address the gaps in the histories of PE, SS, and HE in the NSW public education system, this thesis explores the following two primary (and sub-set secondary) research questions:

1.1.1 Research Question 1 (RQ1):

RQ1: What factors influenced the historical development of PE, SS, and HE in NSW public schools from 1880 to 2012?

RQ1a. What factor(s) determined the focus of each subject?

RQ1b. Were there any attempts to link the subjects?

1.1.2 Research Question 2 (RQ2):

RQ2: How did the factors driving curriculum development and change affect the relationship and status of PE, SS, and HE from 1880 until 2012?

RQ2a. Which subject of the three was conceived as most valuable in each period of history and why?

RQ2b. How did the subjects become recognised as overlapping in the school curriculum?

RQ2c. How did the interrelated nature of the subjects affect their individual and collective status in the context of the broader school curriculum?

This study addresses the gaps in literature and research questions by chronicling the individual and collective histories of these subjects in the NSW public education system, spanning from the introduction of compulsory schooling in this state in 1880 up to the release of the draft Australian Curriculum for Health and Physical Education in 2012 (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority, 2012a, 2012b). The release of this draft curriculum marked the first official shift from a state-based to a national approach to curriculum in this subject area, thus signifying the end date of the histories of these subjects specific to the context of NSW.

1.2 Background to the fields of a history of education

The field of education history has developed in maturity, sophistication, and innovation in the Australian research context following growing engagements with new theoretical perspectives (Baker, 1996; Musgrave, 1987). A notable development in the history of education methodology was its growing connections with theories of curriculum history, resulting in ‘quite a different picture of the education system’ (Kliebard & Franklin, 1983, p. 140). Not only did this connection enable the history of education methodology to evolve as one of the most important sectors of contemporary research scholarship (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995), but the application of curriculum history theory allows histories of education to move beyond investigating history for its own sake to understanding fundamental issues and generating insights

about past and current work in education (Goodson, 1983). The links between a history of education methodology and curriculum history are thus discussed in the literature, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Three. However, at this point it should be acknowledged that theories of curriculum history enabled histories of education, including this study, to explore the challenges faced by education systems during times of curriculum reform and change (Briant & Doherty, 2012) by taking full account of the complex relationships between the past, present, and future (Seddon, 1989).

This history of PE, SS, and HE in the NSW public education system took advantage of growing scholarship in the fields of both education and curriculum history in contemporary Australian research. In the past, historians have simply provided snapshots of subjects in isolation and these brief histories were commonly tied to debates questioning the make-up and legitimacy of the subjects in the wider school curriculum (Goodson, 1988). However, the history of education methodology has moved away from the need to simply understand the past to presenting an understanding of the internal nature of schooling and its changing forms in different locales and time periods (Goodson, 1988). The reason for this was that academics had become increasingly aware that curriculum work exists in time and a historical examination of the content taught under the various subject labels should also investigate the complex practical situations contemporaneous to the curricula (Musgrave, 1988). This feature of curriculum history thus provided this study with the opportunity to understand ‘how and why topics and activities acquire [or lose] educational significance’ (Musgrave, 1988, p. 5). Accordingly, this history of education went beyond simply recording a timeline of events to examining the factors influencing the developments and changes in the subjects in the context of the NSW public education system.

To construct an understanding of the factors influencing curriculum developments and changes, a number of parameters were established for this history of education focused on PE, SS, and HE within NSW public schools. Firstly, the scope of this study spanned from the year 1880—to coincide with the commencement of compulsory schooling mandated by the *Public Instruction Act* (1880)—until 2012. The later date was chosen as the cut-off period of this research because it reflected a time characterised by the shift away from the state-based Key Learning Area (KLA) of Personal Development,

Health, and Physical Education (PDHPE) to discussions of the *Australian Curriculum: Health and Physical Education (HPE)* (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority [ACARA], 2012b). The proposed Australian HPE Curriculum suggested that the next version of a syllabus in the areas of the subjects of focus will be informed by a national consensus.

Although the Australian HPE Curriculum will not be examined, it is important to make reference to the nature of this curriculum to demonstrate that some of the major themes that emerged throughout the history of these subjects from 1880 to 2012, particularly post-1990, found their expression and set the foundations for the National Curriculum in HPE. Firstly, the proposed *Australian Curriculum: Health and Physical Education* captured a significant milestone in the history of the learning area, as this was the first time that students' experiences in PE and HE classes were within the same subject across all Australian states (Meldrum & Peters, 2011) even though this had been the case in the NSW for some time under the KLA of PDHPE. Most notably, the *Australian Curriculum* was the first syllabus in this country to formally 'recognise the unique interrelationship between movement and health' (ACARA, 2012, p. 3) by requiring the two Strands—'Personal, Social and Community Health' and 'Movement and Physical Activity'—to be taught simultaneously. Since this curriculum advocated that learning in one strand could achieve the outcomes of the other strand, practical and classroom-based lessons could achieve both PE and HE outcomes simultaneously. The value of HPE in the Australian Curriculum and the interconnected nature of the subjects of HE and PE were reinforced by ACHPER (2009, p. 1), which urged the Federal Government to formally acknowledge that:

HPE is the area of the curriculum that provides education for children to learn how to lead healthy lifestyles now and in the future; that is, lifestyles characterised by and recognising the importance of health and physical education and physical activity for physical, social, emotional and spiritual wellbeing.

Secondly, in line with this study's focus on the influence of political and social factors on curriculum development, the interrelated nature of HE and PE was positioned to complement contemporary policies attempting to address state and national health, social, and educational goals. For instance, a projected outcome of the HPE curriculum

was to support students' understanding that 'movement and physical activity promotes wellbeing across the multiple dimensions of health and provides an important medium for learning within, and across, the two strands' (ACARA, 2012, p. 3) to promote healthy citizenship. In this way, the integrated Australian Curriculum in HPE saw a shift from the harm minimisation approach to a strengths-based approach, which encourages students to learn to prioritise 'what keeps people healthy' and 'what keeps people active' so they are able to competently recognise the community's structural facilitators, assets, and constraints (Macdonald, 2011, p. 100) in promoting healthy lifestyles.

Thirdly, the longstanding struggles for status encountered by the subjects have been accounted for as part of the intense lobbying for HPE to be named solely 'Health' to raise the profile of the subject areas. However, these interests were challenged, and the learning area was formally referred to as 'Health and Physical Education', which reassured stakeholders that PE was a valued subject in the curriculum for its own merits and not solely because of its ability to contribute to improved health (Penney, 2006, p. 10). The naming of HPE also reinforced that PE was not in danger of disappearing from the National Curriculum altogether (Penney, 2006), despite the prominence of HE over PE evident in discussions of PDHPE.

Finally, the omission of SS as a compulsory aspect of the *Australian Curriculum: Health and Physical Education* appeared to be a continuation of the diminished state of SS during the post-1990s period in NSW, as will be demonstrated throughout this thesis. Although HPE was distinguished from 'physical activity' and 'sport' by virtue of its core focus being centred on learning (ACHPER, 2014, p. 1), as an inferred attempt to retain the status of HPE, there was still evidence that the political and social function of SS meant sports activities still featured in the National Curriculum. For instance, provisions for sport in the Australian HPE Curriculum were well-positioned as a response to the nation's 'heat of lost Olympic dreams' and effects of the under-performing Australian team at the 2012 London Olympics (Stevenson & Robertson, 2012). Thus, the rationale and aims of the *Australian Curriculum* reiterated the importance of students' acquiring movement skills, concepts, and strategies through the HPE curriculum to provide:

a foundation for lifelong physical activity participation and enhanced performance. [Specifically, this curriculum claimed to support] students [to] develop proficiency in movement skills, physical activities and movement concepts and acquire an understanding of the science behind how the body moves. In doing so, they develop an appreciation of the significance of physical activity, outdoor recreation, and sport both in Australian society and globally. (ACARA, 2014, p. 3)

Hence, the foreshadowing of the content covered by the Australian Curriculum in HPE highlighted the value of a history of education methodology, as it demonstrated the continuing themes of the prominence of HE and the diminished nature of SS amidst a longstanding history of the interrelated nature of the subjects and their struggle for status, which was particularly evident at the end date of this thesis in 2012. In doing so, it was clear that the impending history of education complemented the work of Goodson (1983) by providing the opportunity to generate insights about past and current work in education and changing forms in different locales and time periods.

1.3 A social constructivist perspective to curriculum

According to Stenhouse (1975), studies that offer historical perspectives on school curriculum should arrive at a clear definition of curriculum. Curriculum is ‘a multifaceted concept, constructed, negotiated, and renegotiated at a variety of levels and in a variety of arenas’ (Goodson, 1990, p. 229). Therefore, this study reviewed the work of the leading theorists of curriculum history, Goodson (1983, 1984, 1988, 1993) and Musgrave (1973), to arrive at the parameters defining curriculum. In particular, the research on curriculum by Musgrave and Goodson had implications for this study as their theories recognised moving beyond defining curriculum to examining the political and social factors at play when considering the nature of curriculum development and change over time. In line with these theorists, this study is informed by notions of curriculum as a social construction at the levels of prescription and practice.

Musgrave (1973, p. 8) defined curriculum as the transfer of purposefully arranged ‘stocks of knowledge’ to the next generation of students through formally arranged, relevant, and accessible experiences. Musgrave’s perspectives on curriculum aligned with social constructivist notions as the goals of curriculum tend to reflect a social

system of a set of values, ideas, and patterns and these ‘social relations of production are [then] replicated in the schools’ (p. 8). Curriculum from this point of view performs a socialising role, as it is designed to meet contemporary social needs. Curriculum was also found to be commonly determined by dominant parts of society other than the education system, but learnt by all those who practice and experience curriculum such as lecturers, teachers, and students (Musgrave, 1973, p. 8). Accordingly, the impetus for most changes to the curriculum originated from outside the education system to support evolving social structures (Musgrave, 1973).

Similarly, to Musgrave, Goodson (1983) viewed curriculum as culminating from socially constructed processes that inherently determine what constitutes measurable knowledge within a specific discipline. However, Goodson (1983, 1984, 1988) extended Musgrave’s (1973) perspectives on the influence of social relations by further emphasising the premise that curriculum is shaped by the interplay of power relations that determine what and whose knowledge is valued in curriculum design and implementation. Goodson (1988, p. 9) therefore concluded that curricula are not tangible products, but rather reinforce ‘the values of dominant interest groups at the time’.

The most authoritative history of PE by Kirk (1988, p. 13) corroborated the work of these curriculum theorists and conceptualised curriculum as a ‘historically produced social reality’. Kirk agreed with curriculum historians that viewing curriculum through a social constructivist lens offers perspectives and insights to political standpoints and cultural ideas during specific periods (see also Brady & Kennedy, 1999; Penney & Evans, 1999). Thus, in this study, following the application of curriculum as a social construction as per the history by Kirk (1988), the parameters defining curriculum refer to:

a body of knowledge, information, or content that was commonly communicated through interactions between teachers and learners ... [and] commonly located in more or less institutionalised cultural, political, and social contexts. (p. 47)

Traditionally, histories of education have been criticised for their narrow focus (Goodson, 1988). However, adopting a social constructivist perspective to curriculum

not only positions this historical study in the social context of events that could not be envisaged in their own time (Gardner, 2003), but offers a lens on the present through revelations of past traditions in these subjects (Popkewitz, 1987).

Goodson's (1993) later work provided insights into curriculum change through a social constructivist lens to conclude that school subjects were a field of knowledge representing 'articulatory practices and hegemonic processes in varied manifestations of conflict and alliance' (p. xi). For instance, the establishment of school subjects and associated university discipline-based subjects were able to promote pedagogic traditions, as the curriculum development processes were debated in terms of status, resources, and territory amongst interest groups actively at work in the creation of a subject's intentions and motivations. Of particular significance to this thesis is the social constructivist perspective that 'once a discipline has established a university base it is persuasively self-fulfilling to argue that here is a field of knowledge from which an "academic" school subject can receive inputs and general direction' (p. 5).

Similarly, Goodson, Anstead and Mangan (1998) extended the work of Esland (1971)—which suggested the knowledge that a teacher can assume 'fills up' a subject is legitimated in training courses as 'official' statements and paradigms—by highlighting that some school subjects such as those studied in this thesis 'chronologically precede their parent discipline' (Goodson et al., 1998, p. 23). In such circumstances, 'the developing school subject actually brings about the creation of a university base for the discipline so that teachers of the subject can be trained' (p. 23). It is for this reason that the establishment of teacher training courses in PE, SS, and HE are positioned as part of the historical developments in the curricula of these subjects, rather than positing university courses as dictating directions in these subjects. At the same time, this thesis acknowledges an opening for an investigation into the links between PETE and the equivalent curriculum changes in PE, SS, and HE over time.

Specifically, the adoption of a social constructivist lens as part of the analysis elucidated that the factors influencing curriculum developments and change in PE, SS, and HE over time represented major paradigm shifts in the subjects in the NSW public education system. Hence this study turned to research by Kuhn (1962) on paradigms as it aligned with social constructivist perspectives. In particular, Kuhn's conceptualisation of paradigms was used as a way to record the dominant themes

emerging from the histories of the three subjects, as paradigms symbolised the boundaries between different types of knowledge. Moreover, Kuhn's theories on paradigm shifts highlighted that substantial changes in subjects were usually tied to the motivations of dominant and subordinate stakeholders such as policy makers and educationists. Therefore, recording the markers of paradigm shifts within a subject provided an account of the theoretical and substantive knowledge of the methods, tools, and concepts considered problematic, taken for granted in a discipline over time, and/or driven by those with power (Kuhn, 1962) in the decision-making process. As such, paradigms could be identified by reviewing the reputable frameworks expressed in the textbooks and accepted classics of a discipline. In this study, the classics defining the disciplines of PE, SS, and HE are the various curriculum documents, government and media reports, and magazine periodicals informing the teaching and nature of the subjects. Consequently, these documents were analysed as part of the data collection process, as justified in the methodology.

Overall, the social constructivist view of curriculum informed this study's observations and separated this historical perspective of curriculum from traditional histories of education that have been criticised for being narrowly focused (Goodson, 1988) by signposting significant political, educational, and social contexts as drivers of curriculum developments and change.

1.4 A rationale for the study's parameters of the NSW education system

The researcher's interest in the history of these three subjects manifested following her specialist study as an undergraduate at the PETE institution at the University of Sydney. Franklin (1977, p. 73) argues that curriculum history is 'a specialty within the curriculum field, distinct from educational history. [Thus], its practitioners should be individuals whose primary training is in curriculum [such as that of the researcher], not educational historians who happened to be interested in the nature of the course of study within the schools'. Therefore, the researcher was well-positioned to undertake this study. It was during her undergraduate study of the Bachelor of Education (Human Movement and Health Education) that she became interested in the fact that the PE pedagogy units were heavily focused on the teaching of the skills specific to certain sports in PE, such as dance, gymnastics, swimming, lacrosse, soccer, and hockey. Her acknowledgement of the strong focus on sport in PE resembled Kirk's (2010, p. 7)

conceptualisation of the durability and universality of ‘physical education-as-sport-techniques’. Following the researcher’s employment as a PDHPE teacher in NSW schools, she experienced first-hand that PE was used as a means to promote physical activity, hence promoting HE outcomes for students. This motivated the researcher to examine the relationships between PE, SS, and HE given their overlapping rationales, which ensured all three subjects remained educationally relevant in the NSW curriculum.

The NSW public school setting provided a rich focus for a history of education for a number of reasons. Firstly, NSW is the nation’s oldest and most populated state, with one-third of the national population residing here (Sweller, Graham, & Van Bergen, 2012). More specific to the context of this study, the public school sector of NSW is Australia’s oldest and largest state education system (Sweller et al., 2012), thus providing a rich setting to base a history of education. Secondly, the NSW education system has a well-regarded reputation for the academic rigour of its curriculum. In turn, it has been reinforced throughout history that the NSW education system has a strong reputation for its leading role in curriculum development, as early reports accompanying the growth of public schools—such as that by the *NSW Education Gazette* (NSW Department of Education [DOE], 1892 December, p. 127)—captured that the NSW public education system was ‘without a doubt, one of the finest systems of education in the world’. Over a hundred years later, it was acknowledged that teachers in other states and territories have often referred back to the NSW syllabi, as their curriculum documents have tended to lack the depth of pedagogical support provided by NSW curriculum documents (Reid, 2005).

Another major reason that the NSW education system provided a rich and appropriate context for a combined history of PE, SS, and HE was the fact that the subjects have developed more prominent co-relationships in curricula at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels within this system since the advent of public schooling in 1880. In contrast, in other states such as Tasmania, the HE derivative ‘Health and Wellbeing’ (Department of Education Tasmania, 2007) was taught separately to PE right up until 2012, when all states except NSW were trialling the implementation of the exact or slightly modified version of the *Australian Curriculum: Health and Physical Education (HPE)* (ACARA, 2012a, 2012b). This study went one step further to recognise that the

three subjects co-existed in NSW public schools long before the 1990 *Education Reform Act* (ERA, 1990) prompted the establishment of the Key Learning Area (KLA) of Personal Development, Health, and Physical Education (PDHPE). Although ‘sport’ was not included in the naming of this KLA, the nature of provisions in PDHPE were consistent with Kirk’s (2010, p. 7) acknowledgement of the durability and universality of ‘physical education-as-sport-techniques’, which implied the premise that sporting activities were widely accepted and conducted as part of the PE components of PDHPE. Finally, the researcher was based in NSW; therefore, the archival resources relevant to the history of these subjects in this state were readily accessible.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Following this first chapter, which has defined the nature of curriculum from a social constructivist perspective and situated the NSW public education system as the context of this history of education, Chapter Two presents an overview of the literature relevant to this study and concludes by detailing the primary and sub-set research questions driving this study. Chapter Three moves to establishing the practice of a history of education methodology and its approach to documentary sources as the means to addressing the research questions. Chapters Four, Five, and Six present comprehensive individual histories of PE, SS, and HE sequenced in that order to reflect the chronological emergence of these subjects in the NSW formal school curriculum. Chapter Four, the history of PE, is of greater length than Chapters Five and Six as it details the background information and influence of political and social conditions on educational reforms and curriculum developments such as eugenic ideals. Since these conditions were common to the history of SS and HE, the detail need not be repeated in these chapters; instead, these historical events are treated in terms of their effect on the shifting nature and focus of SS and HE over time in Chapters Five and Six. It is important to acknowledge that the histories presented in Chapters Four to Six each span from 1880 to 1989, to reflect the individual curriculum developments and changes in the three subjects from the outset of compulsory schooling in NSW according to the *Public Instruction Act* (1880) to the establishment of the KLA of PDHPE following the *Common and Agreed National Goals for Schooling* (Australian Education Council [AEC], 1989)

Although these history chapters indicate the three subjects co-existed, and developments in one subject often implicitly or explicitly influenced another, it is not until Chapters Seven and Eight that the interrelated nature of the subjects is examined in a combined historical analysis. These chapters will also shed light on the changing status of the subjects compared to one another and other KLAs from 1880 to 2012 in presenting a history of the subjects together. Chapter Nine positions the study's overarching findings in connection with a history of education methodology tied to the theoretical framework of curriculum history. Finally, Chapter Ten concludes this research with the overarching thesis statements representative of the history of the subjects in the wider context of the NSW and Australian education systems.

Chapter Two: Literature review

This chapter presents an overview of the literature pertinent to: (1) the theoretical framework of curriculum history, (2) Physical Education (PE), (3) School Sport (SS), (4) Health Education (HE), and (5) the relationships and status of the subjects in the context of curriculum history. By drawing attention to the critical literature, gaps in scholarship will be identified to situate the context of the study's research questions.

2.1 Theoretical framework: Curriculum history

Curriculum history provided a relevant analytical framework for producing a history of education, as it highlighted the ideological shifts in 'what is to be taught' (Musgrave, 1979, p. 27) with consideration to political and social factors. In particular, Musgrave's (1973, 1978, 1979, 1988) perspectives on curriculum history, which were established based on studies into education systems in Australia and internationally over time, offered a theoretical framework for this study that aligned with social constructivists' notions of curriculum. A major theme to emerge from Musgrave's (1973) work noted that educationists have paid attention to sociological perspectives of curriculum from the 1960s more than any other approach. This trend emerged as sociological perspectives provided a relevant analytical framework to contemporary education mediated by the influence of social factors and local conditions (Musgrave, 1979). For instance, viewing Australia's education system's gradual disconnection from British influence around the time of Federation and post-World War Two (WWII) through a sociological lens suggested it was political influences, such as the strive for nationalism, that instigated rapid curriculum developments in response to societal changes (Musgrave, 1979).

Musgrave's (1979, p. 27) theories on the political and social nature of curriculum history also provided insights into 'how' ideological shifts in 'what is to be taught' transpire at the school level. By acknowledging that education systems are social institutions bound to a network of interactions centred on the values perceived as important to the society under scrutiny, Musgrave (1978, p. 29) conceptualised that 'what' is taught in schools essentially reflects the 'stocks of knowledge' projected by curricula. It is these 'stocks of knowledge' that represent what is agreed upon as 'normal science' (i.e. the prevailing paradigms) and reproduced in the curriculum over

time by those with power in a specific discipline (Musgrave, 1978, p. 29), and ‘managed with an aim in view’ (Musgrave, 1979, p. 17). Since the curriculum was found to define school subjects downwards, it followed that the directions pursued by teacher-training institutions guiding teachers’ stocks of knowledge shed valuable light on the history of these subjects (Musgrave, 1979). Thus, the history of teacher-training institutions and guiding manuals preparing teachers to instruct in PE, SS, and HE were also accessed, to provide a more insightful reflection of curriculum development and change.

Musgrave’s (1979) theories on the interplay between power and the nature of curriculum which reinforced that it was appropriate that this study only focused on one ‘type’ of school in NSW, namely public schools. For instance, Musgrave conceived that the nature of curriculum was ‘differentiated’ and politically conceived to reflect the dominant ideologies of those with power to corroborate his earlier conclusions that education systems were characterised by specific organisational frameworks according to the type of school. It was the political nature of curriculum that reasserted ‘how’ certain prerogatives were to be achieved; for example, the curricula of technical [public] schools were found to prepare students with a narrow base of academic knowledge to ensure they were more attuned to receiving orders and seeking employment. In comparison, the curriculum delivered in elite schools was to educate private school students to give orders and create their employment opportunities (Musgrave, 1973). Consequently, it was appropriate that this study only focused on the NSW public education system, given that the nature of curriculum varied between school systems based on the social structure of the society concerned (Musgrave, 1979).

From the mid-1960s, it was also found that curriculum histories attempted to trace the impact of external influences on internal changes at a specific time within a particular subject to help those working in the field of education to be better prepared for curriculum change (Musgrave, 1988). Although those in power tended to either allow or generate curriculum change within the bounds and pressures of the current education system to maintain the status quo, more often than not the traditional curriculum assumptions were not changed; rather, they were extended or elaborated with respect to political and social situations (Musgrave, 1979). Hence Musgrave (1973) confirmed that curriculum history should not be preoccupied with changes to the content (i.e. the ‘what’), but rather the political and social process involved in the ideological shifts

associated with curriculum change (i.e. ‘how this is to be achieved’). Following the work of Musgrave (1973), curriculum history was a suitable theoretical framework for studying developments in a subject because:

once subjects have been accepted into schools they do not easily disappear from the curriculum but adapt to social circumstances and change their value with the ebb and flow of education theory and practice, which are in turn influenced by general ideological shifts. (p. 49)

Similarly to Musgrave (1978, 1979), Goodson (1983) noted that curriculum change was related to a society’s political and social conditions, which aligned with this study’s social constructivist definition of curriculum. In particular, Goodson highlighted that the dominant interests and groups in society were a major influence on the priorities in a curriculum, which led to the deduction that ‘subjects are not monolithic identities but shifting amalgamations of sub-groups and traditions’ (p. 3). Goodson’s (1988) later work corroborated this position through investigations focused on the promotion of subjects as they were established in the school curriculum. His work understood that the history of a subject provided meaning to the patterns of change and conflict in the development of school curriculum. Consequently, Goodson (1988, p. 5) conceptualised that curricula were ‘socio-historical constructs of a particular time’ that provide interpretations of the often-confounding changes of the twentieth century worlds. Hence, Goodson (1988) concluded that curriculum studies which adopted a socio-historical approach were able to move beyond simply offering a general explanation of curriculum history to understanding the fundamental issues generating past and current work in education.

In keeping with the socio-historical nature of curriculum, Goodson (1983, p. 26) suggested that a complete ‘social’ history of a school subject was tied to debates over curriculum and conflicts regarding status, resources, and territory within and amongst subjects. He added that for subjects to develop and sustain ‘academic’ status they generally needed to be positioned as contributing to the ‘furtherance of the subject or the actions of particular groups involved in the continuance and promotion of school subjects over time’ (p. 5). It followed that the status quo of a subject was preserved through prevailing academic rather than pedagogic and utilitarian traditions. Therefore,

it was found that in climates of curriculum change, traditional subjects often viewed the proposal of 'new' subjects 'as a threat to the integrity and status of their own subject' (p. 195). Since the school curriculum seemed to be in a 'constant flux', subjects gained or retained a position by taking-up and promoting certain stocks of knowledge to 'accord with the status position of the subject' (p. 5).

Accordingly, histories of education such as this research were able to use generalisations about how curriculum adaptations were a reflection of the education system as a whole by considering the relationships between the nature of the curriculum and other social institutions (Musgrave, 1973). Thus, Goodson (1983) concluded that the parameters of curriculum history also illuminated that a subject's status was influenced by the relationships between subject traditions as part of the patterns of their internal evolution. This premise was drawn from evidence suggesting that the hierarchy of subject status was found to be disrupted by the various kinds of relationships between the sub-categories of knowledge within a subject, leading Goodson to infer that the longstanding traditions and continued dominance of subject ideologies arising from the politics of the school curriculum were testimonial to the fundamental structures of curriculum withstanding comprehensive re-organisation. In accordance with Goodson's (1983) perspective, an exploration of the relationships and interactions between subjects and their status compared to the more traditionally academic subjects of English and Mathematics in the subject hierarchy presented a truer history of the evolution of PE, SS, and HE in the context of the NSW public education system and at different time periods.

Overall, it was the theories of Musgrave (1973, 1978, 1979, 1988) and Goodson (1983, 1988) on curriculum history that reinforced the necessity of focusing on the political and social contexts influencing curriculum development and change, which coincided with social constructivist notions of curricula adopted by this study. In turn, this study recognised that the process of producing a curriculum history was associated with tracing particular events that influenced 'why' specific topics were taught at certain periods in education history, and 'how' these events set new agendas throughout a curriculum's history (Goodson, 1983). That is, the 'who' and the 'why' became as important as the 'what' in constructing a history of PE, SS, and HE in NSW public schools. Goodson (1983) further noted that curriculum changes are part of the 'social'

history of a subject and are exemplary of ideological shifts—which Kuhn (1962) coined ‘paradigm shifts’—and a direct function of political and social factors. Therefore, the paradigm shifts tied to the factors influencing curriculum development and changes were landmarked as part of this history of education.

2.2 Physical Education (PE)

Upon reading through key texts, it became evident that although there is no single comprehensive history of PE in NSW public schools, the history of this subject has attracted the attention of scholars more than the histories of SS and HE. The impression from the literature on the history of PE was that there was an over-reliance on Military Drill as the focus of these studies. As a result, this section will note the strong presence of literature documenting the ties between PE and Drill-like activities—since the military made ‘no bones about their intent in using schools as a training ground for Australia’s citizen army’ (Kirk, Nauright, Hanrahan, Macdonald, & Jobling, 1996, p. 233). This section will also make reference to the few studies that suggested the subject involved more varied activities that moved beyond simply preparing a nation for war. These bodies of work were significant to this study as they highlighted key markers throughout the history of PE, and in turn acted as stimuli for the construction of a comprehensive history of this subject in NSW public schools.

The most authoritative attempt to document the history of PE was undertaken by Kirk (1998) in his pioneering book and subsequent articles investigating the schooling practice and public discourse of PE shaping bodies in Australia, with a particular focus on schools in Victoria, from 1880 until the 1950s. Kirk concluded that formative expressions of PE preoccupied with Military Drill were ‘valued most’ and ‘favoured’ by those ‘groups who had a stake’ in the regular physical training provided in public schools (p. 33). The reason for this was that Military Drill offered a means to discipline the potentially unruly bodies of youths by ensuring they were ‘subjected to coercive regimes of regulation’ (p. 136). Kirk found the practical Military Drills conducted in PE during the first half of the twentieth century coincided with Australian military requirements and the Junior Cadet Training (JCT) scheme compulsory in schools from 1911 to 1931. Consequently, Kirk positioned Military Drill as the dominant paradigm of PE, as it was a well-established and demonstrably effective practice for controlling

large numbers of soldiers while also possessing the capacity to confront the problem of social order amongst youths.

Although Kirk (1998, p. 85) was preoccupied with the associations between PE and militarism, his work did acknowledge that PE had given way to ‘comparatively liberalised forms of movement’ in parallel with movements in the British education system. For instance, the Swedish System of Gymnastics was being used as a form of PE, as it offered ‘broadly educational, rather than narrowly instrumental, activities’ common to drill (p. 32). Specifically, Australia modelled Britain’s preference for the more therapeutic forms of physical training according to the Swedish System of Gymnastics following WWII, since its prescriptions for rhythmic activities, games, and sports including swimming for boys and girls supported politically-driven attempts to repair ‘the national physique’ (p. 137). For instance, Kirk drew attention to the fact that a typical lesson according to the Swedish System involved a systematically sequenced set of exercises that developed major joints and muscle groups of the body. A typical lesson of Swedish Gymnastics started and ended with breathing exercises and progressed through activities such as trunk bending, balance and shoulder blade exercises, running, jumping, and games and marching (Kirk, 1998).

Amidst such acknowledgements, Kirk’s references to the Swedish System remained focused on its military undertones to reassert Military Drill as the favoured and dominant paradigm in PE. For instance, Kirk highlighted that the Swedish System of Gymnastics implemented from 1900 was common practice in elementary schools by the 1920s throughout Australia as it resembled the physical training programs used by various armies and navies. Kirk’s descriptions of the nature of the Swedish System also stressed that this form of PE was ‘deeply embedded in a discourse of discipline and regulation, thus presented close affinities with the technology of power represented in drill’ (p. 35). Kirk (1998) acknowledged that PE in Australia had evolved to include ‘a few flexion and extension exercises drawn from the various systems of gymnastics available’ (p. 36); however, such physical training methods that stressed the free-standing exercises, which had become popular with institutions including schools, still ‘embodied a formal and militaristic pedagogy, despite [their] remedial and therapeutic uses’ (p. 84). Specifically, Kirk drew attention to the similarities between these free-standing exercises and the nature of traditional Military Drill: both were performed by

large groups in confined spaces, both consisted of a set of systematic and progressive exercises, and both provided a foundation for ‘all-round symmetrical physical development’ in the schooling of the body to produce a nation of men fit for war (Kirk, 1998, p. 43).

Hence the running theme of Kirk’s (1998, p. 95) work was that the practice of PE in schools was tied to processes of corporal discipline. While confirming that the body had not ‘necessarily become any less important strategically as a site of regulation and normalisation’ through evolutions in PE that saw a focus on therapeutic exercise, physical fitness, health, and practical skills, Kirk did acknowledge that PE had started to play the role of ‘building the body beautiful’ (p. 95). This premise was particularly evident amidst a climate of lobbying for combatting the deterioration of the population post-WWI and repairing national physique in the 1930s and 1940s. However, Kirk’s (2010, p. 2) later work highlighted that ‘regardless of where we look and with only a few exceptions’ are there histories of PE dating back to the late 1880s that ‘show differences’ and ‘nuanced detail’ in the subject beyond Military Drill. In cases where nuances were noted, ‘for the most part [they were] less significant than the similarities’ to conceptions of Military Drill practices in PE (Kirk, 2010, p. 2). Ultimately, Kirk (1998, p. 3) confessed that there was no ‘comprehensiveness’ to his history and stressed the need for a study in the field that captured the history of alternate formal sanctions beyond Drill practices in school-based PE as a reflection of the social construction of student bodies and other related issues. Above all, the research by Kirk (1998, 2010) provided an opening for this thesis to move beyond a focus on Military Drill to consider curriculum developments in this subject in light of wider political and social factors driving more varied forms of PE, as Kirk did not explore this premise in any great detail.

In line with the emerging theme that literature on the history of PE was mainly focused on its associations with Military Drill, there was a sub-branch of research detailing the evolving nature of the compulsory Junior Cadet Training (JCT) scheme. A study by Kirk and Twigg (1993), for example, captured that although Military Drills appeared in schools from as early as the 1850s, it was significant historical events such as the introduction of the JCT scheme in schools in 1911 that gave rise to and consolidated Military Drill as the dominant form of PE during the formative years of compulsory

schooling. Since the JCT scheme was a branch of the national military scheme, it became clear that PE in schools served a broader political agenda, as this scheme was in support of Australia's defence building strategy that required all males aged 12 to 26 by law to participate in a set number of hours of drilling and exercising as part of school and community-based activities (Kirk & Twigg, 1993). The fact this scheme was mandatory for twenty years up until 1931 in schools, and coincided with the WWI and WWII years, exemplified that provisions and preoccupations with Military Drill in PE complemented the nation's political priority of defence.

Under the same sub-branch of literature, Stockings (2007) provided a much more comprehensive history of the Army Cadet movement in Australia from its colonial genesis in 1866 up until 2006, when Cadet training was still conducted predominantly in private schools throughout Australia. Stockings corroborated that much of the history of the JCT scheme in schools was focused on providing military training, particularly during the compulsory years (1911–1931), and Cadet training was conducted in schools, including public schools originally, to encourage young boys to serve in the Australian military. Stockings reported that the highest number of Cadets in Australia was reached during the first year the JCT was made compulsory in schools in 1911, reinforcing the premise that military-style activities in PE were able to serve wider political and social goals, such as those posed by the Australian military to use schools as a training ground for army recruits. However, Stockings also noted that the activities conducted under the JCT scheme after WWI were not solely preoccupied with training army recruits and disciplining Australia's youth; provisions under the JCT scheme could also be used to improve the health and physique of Cadets and army recruits (Stockings, 2007). Such evidence motivated this study to trace why these evolutions in PE occurred in light of wider political and social factors.

Although the aforementioned studies focusing on Military Drill hinted that the history of PE had evolved to include other activities from 1880 to the 1950s, there were only a handful of studies that captured the explanations for these historical revelations. Rodwell's (1999) research, for instance, documented the influence of eugenic and political dynamics on the history of PE from 1900 until 1950. Amongst other vast and complex solutions in the whole eugenic spectrum, it was projected that the nature of PE could support the strong political imperative focused on arresting and protecting

Australia from racial degeneration following WWI (Rodwell, 1999). In particular, Rodwell highlighted that PE movements in schools and the wider Australian community were driven by ‘the intermeshed eugenic motives of concerns held by middle-class Australians for the general fitness of the race ... and by fears of political radicalism, seen to be arising from unemployment post-WWI and during the Depression’ (p. 94).

Thus, Rodwell (1999) concluded that it was the progressive eugenic reformers who were to be credited for the establishment of government-sponsored school PE programs as ‘preventative medicine’ (p. 98) in attempting to promote the racial hygiene of the Australian population during the post-War reconstruction periods from 1920 through to 1950. This key marker in history meant that PE had become viewed as an agent providing ‘to the coming generation increased ability to do work with the body and brain’ in anticipation of promoting ‘greater prosperity, better health ... and greater happiness’ amongst the nation’s citizens (p. 98). Rodwell also inferred that PE was a necessary ‘adjunct to sex-hygiene and mental hygiene’ and ‘eugenic cause associated with race motherhood’ (p. 112) following the social upheavals of the Great War. Thus, Rodwell’s study implied PE in Australian public schools was influenced by wider factors extending beyond the agenda of the army forces, such as supporting health outcomes, which prompted this study to investigate the history behind the relationship between PE and HE.

The research by Wyndham (1996) specifically focused on the expression of eugenics in Australia from 1910 to the 1930s as part of striving towards national fitness and in response to the nation’s fears and hopes following Federation in 1901. Wyndham (1996, p. ii) confirmed that during this period, the nation embraced eugenic ideals based on concerns about the declining birth rate. Most notably, Wyndham’s study highlighted that ‘while mainly derivative, Australian eugenics had several distinctly Australian qualities’ (p. 330). For instance, Wyndham traced the concerns over racial vitality and decay as a preoccupation of Australian eugenicists from as early as 1871, following evidence suggesting that the stunted growth of an increased number of Anglo-Australians could be explained based on Darwin’s theory of survival of the fittest (i.e. the Anglo-Australians had become an ‘Aboriginal type’ and ‘stunted in their growth [similar to] the former possessors of the soil’ (p. 20).

To preserve the taint of convict blood, as noted by Turtle (1991 cited in Wyndham, 1996, p. 20), and in line with the *White Australia Policy* (1901), the nation's politics and social movements were committed to progressivism. Specifically, policy makers 'aimed to increase national efficiency and vitality through enlightened state intervention in programs such as sanitation, town planning, and quarantine' (p. 330). For instance, the Commonwealth report on the Sterilisation of Mental Defectives published in 1933 furthered the objectives of the *White Australia Policy* by addressing issues related to mental deficiency and increasing the state's responsibility for 'managing the whole of an individual's physical life' (p. 331). Furthermore, Wyndham concluded that eugenics in Australia impacted upon many disciplines such as family planning and public health, reflecting the nation's hope to avoid racial suicide or decay through improving national fitness to create a 'paradise of physical perfection' (p. ii). In turn, this study was motivated to examine the influence of eugenics on the curricula of PE, SS, and HE given the ties between family planning and Sex Education in HE, as well as the goals of public health and physical perfection, which were common to all three subjects.

In support of the impetus of eugenic ideals, Macdonald (2011) provided a historical account of the National Fitness movement in Britain and its impact on PE in Australia from 1935 to 1960, narrowly overlapping but extending the years studied by Wyndham (1996). Distinctively, Macdonald noted that the *National Fitness Act* was introduced in 1941 in Australia to improve the health and national citizenry of the population. One of the factors driving the National Fitness movement in Australia was the widely publicised and effective eugenics-driven approaches utilised by Nazi Germany, as demonstrated by their success at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games (Macdonald, 2011). Since Germany positioned PE programs in schools as a government strategy that supported the physical state of its citizens, this subject also represented a national strategy to promote ideals of physical fitness and sports in Australia and received government funding. Therefore, a running theme throughout Macdonald's text was the significant influence of the eugenics-driven National Fitness legislation on the nature of PE. She explained that the subject had evolved to encompass a variety of activities including organised, competitive, and/or participation-based recreation and sporting pursuits at local, national, and international levels in line with progressing social notions on what it meant to have a 'modern' body (p. 12). Notably, Macdonald also

pointed out that the notion of citizens being strong and fit carried currency in politics and culture; as a result, it could be inferred that PE adopted a pivotal role in achieving the broader political and social goal of National Fitness. However, the work of Macdonald did not explore the ways in which the influence of eugenics shaped the focus of PE in the NSW public education system, which left an opening for this thesis.

The documented histories of PE, such as those by Kirk (1998) and his colleagues, were produced post-1980s; however, there was one earlier attempt to capture a history of PE offered by Gordon Young in 1962. Young (1962) presented the history of PE from its inception until 1956, with the view that the history of PE involved a more complex story beyond Military Drill. Young explained that key shifts in the history of PE were dictated by external political and social factors rather than definitive dates; for example, the primitive years of PE saw a focus on training in hunting skills as a reflection on apprenticeship to manhood amongst the first Aboriginal Australians. Meanwhile, the Junior Cadet Movement was explained to have stimulated the diversification of PE to include various sports and coincided with the coming of White society following the federation of Australia and subsequent demand for citizens characterised by high levels of physical fitness to support colonialisation (Young, 1962).

The value of Young's (1962) work to the context of this thesis was twofold; firstly, as noted above, Young organised the history of PE conceptually rather than defining the subject through key start and end dates. In doing so, Young highlighted significant features of the history of PE that intrigued the researcher. For instance, Young found that PE had 'lived on only accidentally, with little planning and organisation, in the form of military drill and sport' (p. ii). Not only did this finding reinforce Military Drill as the dominant paradigm in PE, it insinuated the subject's struggle for status in the curriculum as part of its history. Moreover, Young inferred that the subject's struggle for status extended to that of Physical Educators, which was tied to a longstanding 'bogey' that it is impossible to make a living working as a Physical Educator (p. 219). This theme of the struggle for subject status was reinforced throughout Young's work, as he noted that it was only when PE was newly conceived as supporting wider national physical fitness goals during the 'Coming of Age' period of PE [the late-1930s] that the subject was viewed as serving a valid place in the Australian education system (p. 219). At the end date of Young's thesis in 1956, he noted that the subject was still

challenged by the 'reluctance of traditional education to accept, absolutely, and without reservation that PE is an essential ingredient of mind training' (p. 209), and thus a valuable component of the school curriculum. However, Young predicted that eventually 'the day will come when PE will be generally regarded as making an outstanding contribution to the pattern of Australian education' (p. 209). Therefore, Young's work stimulated this study to consider the interplay of subject status and developments and changes in PE over time, to present a more comprehensive history of PE, and to investigate the accuracy of his prediction, given the time passed since the publication of his research in line with Goodson's (1983) theory of curriculum history.

Secondly, Young (1962) pointed to the fact that much of the story of PE was buried in parliamentary reports, minutes of meetings, and publications in allied fields such as sport. In addition to reinforcing that the archival work of documentary sources presented some very important pieces in PE history, Young's examination of historical records from allied fields such as those published by the NSW Public Schools' Amateur Athletics Association (PSAAA) signalled that sports were conducted in PE and in turn provided the stimulus for the building of playing fields and swimming pools in NSW schools and communities. Such a finding was significant to the combined history presented in this study, and in line with the work of Goodson (1983), which suggested that curriculum history revealed the nature of relationships between subjects. As a result, this study drew on preliminary research, such as the work of Young that suggested the connection between PE and sport to present a more accurate account of the historical developments in this subject.

In summary, the histories of PE presented in this section all referred to, implicitly and explicitly, the influence of political and social agendas on the nature of PE curriculum; however, they did not present in any depth the effect of the interplay of these agendas on curriculum history as theorised by Musgrave (1973, 1978, 1979, 1988) and Goodson (1983, 1988). The prominent literature on the history of PE also overlooked the contributions of sport and its value to HE as part of its expressions at various points. Hence, this thesis built on the work of Kirk (1998) and others to fill the identified gap in the production of a comprehensive history of PE in the context of political and social factors, and went one step further to examine its relationships with SS and HE over time.

2.3 School Sport (SS)

Unlike the numerous yet isolated histories of PE, the literature on the history of SS in the NSW public education system is limited to two very similar books by the same authors (Collins, Aitkin, & Cork, 1990, 1991). These books provide a broad-brush overview of SS, as distinct from PE, in the NSW public school system from 1889 until 1989, and were published to capture the ‘remarkable story’ of SS as part of its centennial anniversary (Collins et al., 1990, p. 11). Since the works by Collins et al. were predominantly based on the Annual Reports of the NSW Public Schools Sports Association (PSSA) and Combined High Schools (CHS) organisations, these publications were only able to provide a snapshot of ‘who won, what, where’ of the sporting achievements in NSW public schools. However, the works of Collins et al. also served an academic purpose by presenting a record of SS while at the same time positioning the absence of a comprehensive history of this subject in opposition with its illustrious and longstanding presence in the NSW public education system.

The limitations of these books have been demonstrated in the literature highlighting the gaps in the history of SS. For instance, Georgakis (2011) and Wright (2011) contend that the relationships between SS and major social and political events such as the impact of the World Wars, Olympic Games’ results, and educational reforms have not been explored a part of SS history. There were only minor instances where Collins et al. acknowledged the growth of competitive SS in the context of broader social change; for instance, the promotion of girls’ sport was found to be a response to the *Sex Discrimination Act* (1984). More commonly, the history of SS presented by Collins et al. recorded developments in the subject in terms of ‘what’ types of sports were introduced into the NSW public sports system and ‘when’, rather than examining or explaining the evolution of the nature of SS. For example, at the outset of compulsory schooling SS reflected drill events, displays, and marches, while during the post-WWI years sports such as cricket, swimming, and the two rugby codes of league and union were played by NSW public school students. By 1960, students also had the opportunity to participate in lacrosse, hockey, basketball, and tennis competitions as part of the NSW public school sport system, but the reasons for the growth of this system were not illustrated in any great depth (Collins et al., 1990, 1991).

However, the history of SS produced by Collins et al. (1990) clearly presented that the NSW public school sport system provided many of Australia's great athletes with their first sporting opportunities and contributed to understanding the role of gender constructs in this subject. Therefore, a theme to emerge from their research was that competitive SS in the NSW public school system was credited for making 'heroes and legends out of ordinary boys and girls' (p. 12). This quality of NSW public school sport was a major focus of Collins et al.'s history of SS, as exemplified by their recordings of the names and achievements of Australian representatives and gold medal winners at the Olympics such as Shane Gould and Dawn Fraser, both products of this sports system. Given Collins et al.'s (1990, 1991) preoccupation with SS competitions, there was scope for this thesis to reorganise the history of SS into eras against a background of the dramatic political and social changes driving the subject and its expressions in formal school curriculum, rather than rehashing the 'who won, what, where' portrait of SS competitions in NSW public schools provided by these authors.

Another major theme to emerge from the literature on SS was the strong presence of citations referring to the place and histories of games and sport traditions in elite (i.e. private) male schools tied to notions of athleticism. In contrast, there is an absence of scholarship exploring the expression of games and sport ideologies in public schools in any great depth or documenting whether the public education system had established its own sporting traditions, which is a gap filled by this thesis. The most definitive research on the English 'obsession' with games in private schools during the late nineteenth century through to WWI was conducted by Mangan (1981, 1983, 1988, 1992, 1998). Mangan (1981, 1992), for instance, asserted that the cult of athleticism was so popular that compulsory games were the norm in elite schools, as these schools were responsible for building particular kinds of athletic citizens in line with notions of muscular Christianity for the British Empire. His research was found to be relevant to this study as the games ideologies were transplanted into Australia's schools, since its education system was modelled on the English system.

It was clear that the games ideologies of sport supported wider political and social agendas, such as preparing men for war in a similar way to PE, but this premise had only been explored as part of the history of SS in private schools. However, these works provided insights into how games and sport have been socially constructed to produce

and reproduce male hegemony. Mangan (1981, 1992), for instance, found that the ideology of games was positioned as an integral part of schooling life in elite male schools, as it prepared students for leadership roles and helped with the training of young men for war, while also attempting to counteract social issues, including youth delinquency on the streets. Elite schools were devoted to encouraging students to play organised team games because doing so aligned with notions of athleticism that complemented dominant notions of heterosexual masculinity, such as ‘physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, [and] the ability to both command and obey’ (Mangan, 1981, p. 9). Mangan conceptualised that linking notions of athleticism prominent in sporting circles with the schooling of elite males was thus ‘a highly effective means of inculcating valuable and impressive educational goals’ in these types of schools (p. 9) and preparing their students to be moral citizens.

Despite signs the ideologies of games were embedded in SS activities in NSW public schools, local historians such as Kirk and Twigg (1995), Horton (2006, 2009), Sherington (1983, 1986), and Stewart (1992) had only traced the transplantation of such ideologies into the elite private and Catholic schools in Australia. Sherington (1983) was the first to report that the critical features of English games ideologies—including notions of athleticism and principles of muscular Christianity, as noted by Mangan (1981)—were part of the history of SS in elite schools in Australia. Sherington’s (1983) research went on to credit the playing of games and sport in elite male schools as giving rise to Australia’s era of modern sport by instilling ‘the honourable qualities of games players, inaugurating competitions, and acquiring large areas of playing fields’ for sport in schools (p. 16). For example, inter-school sport competitions were established amongst these types of schools across a number of sports and first-class sporting facilities were built in elite male schools to cater for these sports competitions, emulating the transplantation of games ideologies into Australia (Sherington, 1983). Accordingly, Sherington (1986) also noted that athletics, cricket, rowing, and rugby union had become important parts of the private school curriculum, which reinforced Mangan’s (1983, 1998) assertions that playing certain sports contributed to the private schools’ ethos and the formation of their pupils’ characters.

Continuing the theme of the translation of games ideologies into Australian schools, research by Stewart (1992) also showed that the growth of SS in elite schools represented a class-divide in the types of sports played in these schools compared to public schools. This observation led to the stereotyping of the types of sports played within respective jurisdictions; for example, private school boys played rugby union while boys in public schools played rugby league (Stewart, 1992). Similarly, a smaller study conducted by Kirk and Twigg (1995) analysed the influence of the games ethos and sport on civilising Australian bodies in Victorian public schools, and found that SS from 1904 to 1945 simply ‘consolidate[d] the value system in which games playing was embedded’ (p. 3). In turn, the institutionalised nature of sport in schools reinforced that the longstanding culture of competitive SS in private schools was tied to notions of social class-divide (Kirk & Twigg, 1995); however, studies have therefore not captured evolutions in the culture of SS in NSW public schools.

More recent studies by Horton (2006, 2009) drew on the ideals of the games ethos already presented to corroborate that concepts of class-divide, muscular Christianity, athleticism, and masculinity projected by the cultural hegemony of British imperialism were transplanted into the elite schools of Australia during the nineteenth and twentieth century. With specific reference to Mangan’s theories (1981, 1998), Horton’s (2006, 2009) work examined the influence and expression of these notions in Queensland schools, with minor references to NSW schools. He found that certain sports including rugby union, Australian rules football, cricket, and rowing from 1874 to 1949 consolidated the ‘games cult’ of the English schools as an established feature of private secondary schooling in this country (Horton, 2006, pp. 1344–1345). Horton’s (2009) study also reinforced the work of Stewart (1992) and Kirk and Twigg (1995) by acknowledging that certain sports were associated with specific social classes; again, it was noted that Queensland’s rugby union players and supporters tended to come from private schools and wealthy families, while rugby league players and supporters were ‘working class’ and had a ‘state [public] school education’ (p. 1618). While Horton (2009) acknowledged that assumptions could not be made concerning the fact each of the sports were predominantly played by a certain class, religion, race, or educational status, his work concluded that the two rugby codes were:

ardent rivals, diametrically opposed based largely on the dichotomy between amateur and professional sport but amplified into and

through class or a perceived sense of class, education (private vs. state schools), occupations, and surprisingly on actual sporting grounds. (p. 1620)

Most notably, Horton's (2006) work was the first scholarship to imply that the games cult did infiltrate into the 'state [public] secondary schools' to 'promote the hegemony of the white middle-class male' (p. 1345). Specifically, Horton found that inter-school sport competitions between public schools did promote a sense of 'parochialism, competitiveness, and premiership' (p. 1345) amongst these types of schools. Despite acknowledging that inter-school sports competitions amongst public schools were popular spectator events, Horton (2006) was another scholar who did not explore the expression of games and sport ideologies in public schools in any great depth or document whether these expressions supported the public education system to establish its own sporting traditions. Consequently, Horton's (2006, 2009) work hinted at the opportunity for this study to investigate the traditions of public school sport in more depth, which in doing so helped to construct a more comprehensive history of SS in NSW public schools than that offered by Collins et al. (1990, 1991).

Given the preoccupations with notions of athleticism, games ideology, and hegemonic and Christian masculinity in the literature on the history of SS, it followed that evolutions in sport were of interest to gender studies scholars such as Connell (1995, 2008) and Proctor (2011). These common themes in the SS literature reinforced that a history of SS should consider the influence of social factors such as gender constructs on curriculum developments and changes over time. For example, Connell (1995, p. 37) reported that 'in certain schools, the masculinity exalted through competitive sport is hegemonic, which meant that 'sporting prowess is [considered] a test of masculinity, even for boys who detest the locker room'. Accordingly, Connell (2008) found that sporting contexts are an example of a gender regime in schools that may be deliberately constructed to produce effects on masculinity specific to an economic and cultural setting. Meanwhile, Proctor (2011, p. 843) acknowledged that the concept of masculinity played a significant role in maintaining social class division and traditions in sport while producing 'young Christian gentleman' at elite Australian boys' schools. Since men were expected to be tough and play sport at an extremely high level to be socially accepted in this stratified social class, hegemonic masculinity was constructed as the gender norm and sporting traditions of elite male schools were established

(Proctor, 2011). It was clear from reviewing the work of gender studies scholars that the history of SS was socially constructed, thus the influence of social factors on directions pursued in SS should be considered as part of a history of the sporting traditions of NSW public schools.

This section has demonstrated that literature on the history of SS has focused predominantly on examining sport in elite male schools following the work by Mangan (1981, 1983, 1988, 1992, 1998). Given that the sporting traditions reflecting the identity of elite male schools were emblematic of superior athleticism and hegemonic masculinity, it was little wonder that literature on the history of SS focused on expressions of sport in these types of schools. Such a focus in the 1980s ultimately meant very little was said on sporting traditions in public schools barring a few exceptions, including the ‘who, what, when’ histories provided by Collins et al. (1990, 1991). The absence of literature that considered curriculum developments in SS in light of wider influences was contrary to the longstanding presence of SS in NSW public schools, as well as the fact the subject was ‘locked in a social, cultural, and indeed a sporting space’ in the wider community (Horton, 2009, p. 1624). Therefore, the history of SS presented in Chapter Five will consider the influence of wider factors on developments in inter-school sports competitions and expressions of games and sports that were often played in PE, thus hinting at the overlap between the nature of SS and PE outcomes.

2.4 Health Education (HE)

It is clear that the history of HE has not been documented to the same extent as PE or SS in either the elite or public school systems. The only attempt to conceptualise the history of HE was research conducted by St Leger (1992), which acknowledged that various forms of HE have been promoted in Australian schools since 1910. This section will demonstrate that St Leger’s (1992) research along with other fragmented studies were preoccupied with specific aspects of HE, commonly Sex Education, and presented their histories thematically. Therefore, the literature offered valuable starting points for producing a complete history of HE in NSW public schools.

The work of St Leger (1992) is the most significant literature in the field of HE history in Australia, as it established that the rise of HE in schools progressed through three

phases. The first phase of St Leger's history suggested that HE was delivered through a set of 'Health Instructions' from 1910 to the mid-1950s, which encouraged students to be healthy by adhering to directives such as refraining from consuming alcohol. According to St Leger (1992), emerging scientific health knowledge stimulated a period of 'Health Education' from the mid-1950s to the 1980s, and was particularly focused on nutrition and biological sexuality (i.e. Sex Education). It was during this second phase that HE was formally incorporated into the curriculum through classroom-based pedagogy. St Leger's (1992) final phase of 'Health Promotion' saw the introduction of health-related interventions in schools from the 1980s through the proliferation of HE not only in the curriculum but also as part of school-based policies and links with the local community to reflect the concepts of the Health Promoting School (HPS) framework. In providing a brief overview of the history of HE, St Leger's categorisation of HE into three thematically-based historical periods offered an important framework for the preliminary work for this study; however, much greater depth of inquiry was needed to contribute substantial scholarship to the history of this subject in the NSW education system.

The diverse range of topics falling under the encompassing term 'Health Education' meant there have been studies conducted into its various sub-branches, none more so than Sex Education, as evidenced by the work of Logan (1991) and Jose (1995) that grouped developments in this subject into themes. Logan's (1991) research on the history of Sex Education in Queensland from 1900 until 1990 took up the cry that situating a history in light of broader factors moved beyond offering a traditional 'who, how, and when' exploration of issues in Sex Education to highlighting that developments and changes occurred in response to debates in this subject (p. 2). A historical analysis of the influence of social changes upon the debates in Sex Education from 1900 to 1990 enabled Logan (1991) to conclude that external factors 'inevitably impact on basic political, economic, and social institutions and the values which sustain them' (p. 77). Consequently, Logan organised the history of Sex Education according to major key themes influencing perspectives in this subject over time. For instance, Logan's history of Sex Education started with the 'Victorian legacy' (p. 3) from 1900–1914, which was dominated by middle-class Christian moral-based education. Since it was thought that sex was a 'constant preoccupation' of societies of the Victorian era, there was a push for the sublimation of sexual knowledge through a focus on developing

one's values in relationships between the sexes to promote moral relationships between a male and female (p. 6). It was thus the widely admired virtues of loyalty, duty, and obedience that were key to broader economic, spiritual, and political issues in Victorian society in general, as reflected in the Sex Education taught in schools during this era. This level of consideration and depth to the 'changing' (p. 41) and 'plural' (p. 45) approaches to Sex Education enabled Logan to arrive at five subsequent themes in the history of this subject based on socio-sexual environmental contexts, such as the influence of two World Wars and the rise of cases of AIDS in Australia.

It was clear from Logan's (1991) research that key markers elicited major themes in Sex Education and highlighted the need to present a history of HE that considered the influence of broader political and social factors common to all Australian states and territories. For instance, Logan pointed to evidence that the proliferation of societal knowledge on the dangers of venereal disease was a priority in HE during the inter-war and post-WWII years to protect the White population and promote racial betterment during the period of eugenics. In the same manner, Logan highlighted that the issue of AIDS in the 1980s was comparable to the 'sudden massive escalation in venereal diseases during WWI' (p. 61), but emerged from varied social contexts that pushed Sex Education, and thus HE, in a different direction. He pointed out, for example, that the conservative philosophies of family and Christian values in the 1980s meant AIDS Education was faced with resistance because it was thought 'the State should not interfere in certain areas of morality' (p. 65). Notwithstanding these debates, the history of Sex Education by Logan prompted this study to consider the impact of external factors on HE and the values sustaining a political, economic, and social institution such as the public education system.

A notable premise to emerge from the work of Logan (1991) was that his history of Sex Education was stimulated by the need to revise and update Queensland's secondary schools' and tertiary education institutions' resources for the teaching of Personal Development (PD) courses, which he noted were introduced into Queensland schools from 1983. Logan defined PD programs as education on 'the mainstream values which are regarded as significant in building healthy families and a strong stable society', such as dealing with peer group pressure, friendships, dating, and love in the wider context of students' physical growth, along with emotional and social development (p. 67).

Logan projected that school programs needed to focus on aspects of PD to reinforce and develop ‘thoughtful and open communication patterns [in students’ homes] so that ongoing education in these [traditionally] sensitive areas will occur in the family’ (p. 67). Although brief, Logan’s description of PD suggested that its content overlapped with the topics covered in Sex Education, as exemplified by the fact the original PD curriculum documents reviewed by Logan were preoccupied with Sex and Human Relationships Education. Therefore, Logan’s acknowledgement that PD courses were taught as part of schooling was significant to this thesis, because it reinforced that historical developments in the area of PD sat within a history of HE more broadly and signalled that PD courses were taught in schools in Australia prior to the establishment of PDHPE in NSW. Consequently, a detailed account of the developments and changes in HE needed to investigate the positioning of PD as part of the history of NSW public schools.

Another recording of the controversial history of Sex Education in Australia was offered by Jose (1995). Similar to Logan (1991), Jose’s study provided a historical overview of political debates accompanying Sex Education but specific to the highly conservative political climate of public schools in South Australia (SA) during the same period from 1900 to 1990. Jose’s key markers in Sex Education could also be generalised as influencing this subject in NSW and other Australian states and territories. For example, it was found that the period from WWI through to the end of WWII was most influential in demarcating the nature of Sex Education due to the growing concerns over the transmission of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) following the return of ex-servicemen (Jose, 1995). Another major finding to emerge from Jose’s study was the strong presence of arguments for and against the inclusion of Sex Education in the formal school curriculum, based on its controversial nature and challenges to social norms such as heterosexuality and traditional gender roles. The consensus amongst the historical insights on the importance of HE to addressing health issues, insinuated as arising from political and social change, highlighted the need to produce a complete history of HE.

Sex Education was a preoccupation in the literature on HE as its controversial and sensitive nature often attracted the attention of various stakeholders, including religious groups, governments, and educationists. Due to this, a sub-theme to emerge from the

history of Sex Education and common to HE generally, as evidenced in isolated pieces of literature, was the seemingly unresolved issue of ‘what’ topics should be taught and ‘who’ should facilitate knowledge in this subject area. Kirk and Twigg (1995), for example, explained it was usually science teachers or outside speakers, such as General Practitioners, who taught HE because it was perceived that Physical Educators were not equipped to deal with the sensitive nature of the material. Similarly, St Leger (2004) ascertained that early in NSW public school history, Health Instructions on basic hygiene to reduce the transmission of certain diseases were commonly provided by visiting doctors rather than schoolteachers because the health professionals possessed specialist knowledge. Therefore, it was important that this history of HE considered developments in teacher-training courses for HE, as doing so provided insights into the nature of its translation in the school curriculum during specific time periods.

Overall, the minor historical references noted in the literature suggested that HE has been a longstanding subject in the curriculum despite the absence of a sustained attempt to document its history. It was also the fragmented nature of the scholarship in HE that signalled key markers in history and at the same time identified an opening for this thesis to present a broad and encompassing history of HE in the NSW public education system.

2.5 The relationships and status of the subjects

By exploring Goodson’s theories in Section 2.1, it was clear that a subject’s relationships with other subjects and its status are a key part of documenting curriculum history; however, this final section will highlight that such literature is missing amongst the noted individual histories of PE, SS, and HE. There was only evidence of a few brief studies that hinted at the connections between the subjects and their impact on maintaining status within the curriculum. Since the gap in the literature of a combined historical analysis of the subjects was acknowledged by prominent historians in the separate disciplines, particularly in the scholarship of PE as already illustrated in this chapter (for example, see Gray, 1985; Kirk, 1998, Rodwell, 1999; Stockings, 2007; Stolz, 2014), this section will document the brief studies on the interconnections and status of the subjects that provided a starting point to fill this gap in the literature.

In terms of the connections between the subjects, research by Green (1995) and Siedentop (1994), for instance, confirmed that PE in the United States of America, United Kingdom, and Australia had consisted of little else but teaching sport since the 1950s. However, Kirk's (1998, p. 3) history of PE was cognisant of the fact 'there are no readily accessible, published book-length accounts of the history of PE and SS in Australia'. Moreover, Kirk detailed that such an account would add to the comprehensiveness of the history of PE, given that:

there can be no argument about the role games and sports have played in shaping school PE ... since the end of the Second World War. Countless surveys of schools practice in Australia and Britain through the 1960s and 1980s have shown that competitive team games dominated PE programs and that sport in school often dictated both the content of PE lessons and the timing, in terms of what activities were offered, in keeping with seasonal variations in sports. (p. 141)

The only research that closely reflects a co-existing history of PE, SS, and HE was a short article by Ramsay (1969). Although Ramsay referred to Recreation rather than SS, the activities grouped under those defined as 'Recreation' (p. 8) resembled skills flowing from leisure time activities similar to those common to SS. Not only did the opening for a combined history of PE, SS, and HE still present itself following the review of Ramsay's study, it was his work that stimulated an analysis of the interactions between the subjects. This was because Ramsay found that the subjects of PE, Recreation, and HE were not only 'inter-related', they were also 'inter-dependent' (p. 10). In particular, Ramsay proposed a 'tripod' analogy, which concluded that the relationships between the subjects were so significant that the three areas should not be 'divorced' from one another, as each aspect [subject] was essential to the 'tripod'. Therefore, this study was motivated to determine whether the relationships between PE, SS, and HE in the NSW public education system were also interrelated and interdependent to the extent that 'if one is missing the structure collapses, [and] if one is weak, then the tripod will be lopsided' (p. 9).

The work by Stolz (2014) furthered Young's (1962) and Kirk's (1998) acknowledgements that PE contributed to the training of the body and mind to validate the place and educational value of PE and sport in the curriculum. Stolz achieved this

through reviewing key debates throughout history and arguing against the ‘mind-body dualism characteristic of that dominant tradition of Western thought which has marginalised body matters on the assumption that it is the mind that makes us distinctly human’ (Shillings, 2004, xvi). Instead, Stolz supported Durkeim’s (1995) view of the body as a prime location for the dominant patterns of social relations and institutions to exert an inevitable effect on the development of embodied subjects. Stolz reinforced that embodiment occurs ‘through a family of physical activities in physical education that rebalances the disproportionate emphasis on the development of the mind and restores to education a balance that has been previously been missing. Anyone disposed to regard the body lightly needs to recognise that the primary of perception elucidates that the basis of our cognition is through bodily experience’ (Soltz, 2014, p. xviii). For instance, Stolz acknowledged the changing conceptualisation of the perceived worth and value of the body from the Middle Ages, whereby the view of the body as a machine and the body and mind as separate (i.e. ‘having a body’) had been replaced by a radical shift of embodiment (i.e. the lived-body experience of ‘being a body’).

Consequently, a major finding of Stolz’s (2014) research was that PE along with sport achieved a unique place in educational institutions and the curriculum, given their alignment with theories of embodiment and with capacities found to develop faculties that enabled students to meet the demands of a more complex and demanding environment over time. Such findings contributed to this study by signposting key factors that provided a justification for the inclusion of PE and SS in the curriculum that overturned theories on the discipline areas’ historical struggle for legitimacy. For example, Stolz highlighted that physical activities in PE and sport fulfilled the need for perfection as part of the classical Greek ideals and the agenda to produce ‘physically educated’ students with rational minds and moral characters during the post-war eras (p. 36). Accordingly, Stolz (2014) criticised earlier accounts such as Peter (1966) that inferred PE programs were only part of the curriculum because they served non-educational purposes, such as maintaining a student’s health and fitness. Given the aim of Stolz’s study was to provide a philosophical defence for the educational value of PE and sport through arriving at conceptualisations of these subjects, there was still an opening for this study to provide a historical analysis of the changing status of PE (and SS) throughout history.

Indirectly, Stolz's conceptualisations of PE not only validated the value of this subject in the curriculum, but furthered this study's interest in the overlapping and unique positions of PE, SS, and HE in education. For example, Stolz's (2014) perspectives on 'PE as sport education' and 'PE as health prevention and health promotion' (p. 17) highlighted the overlapping nature, yet simultaneous confusion concerning the relationships between the subjects of PE, SS, and HE. Stolz noted that definitions of PE as reflecting a range of formal to informal forms of play, such as games governed by rules and involving sporting skills, meant that views on PE 'fail[ed] to take into consideration many of the significant differences that exist between sport and PE, particularly within an educational context' (p. 14). Moreover, Stolz explicitly acknowledged that 'PE is inextricably connected with "health" in contemporary school curricula to the point where it is clearly identified in the formal subject title [i.e. PDHPE in this NSW curriculum]' (p. 16). Given that good health was symbolised by the 'athletic body' (p. 18), which is attainable through SS as well as PE, there was evidence of the inextricable links between all three subjects. Amidst Stolz's justification of PE curricula as a means towards health prevention and improving public health such as addressing risks associated with inactivity (i.e. obesity), it was acknowledged that such a drive had been at the expense of the traditional notions of PE. Therefore, this study was motivated to fill a gap in the literature and bring to light the wider political, educational, and social factors driving curriculum change and the historical relationships between the three subjects.

Following reflections on the interrelated and interdependent relationships between the nature of content covered by the three subjects examined, this study takes Ramsay's (1962) work one step further to consider the nature of the relationships between PE, SS, and HE in the context of curriculum theory. Specifically, the researcher was intrigued to investigate the interplay of the relationships between the subjects and whether certain topics and activities acquired and/or lost educational significance over time according to curriculum history, as theorised by Musgrave (1988). It was this gap in literature that motivated this study to reveal the major causes for the changing nature of the relationships and status of the subjects as part of the research questions dictating the focus of this combined historical analysis.

Chapter Three: Methodology

To address the research questions stemming from the gaps in the literature, this study has adopted a history of education methodology. This chapter will cover: (1) the background to the methodology, (2) the ‘theory’ of curriculum history covered in Section 2.1 as an appropriate framework to support the analysis, and (3) the ‘practice’ of documentary research as the systematic procedure followed by this history of education. The chapter will close by noting the limitations of the study.

3.1 A history of education methodology

According to McCulloch and Richardson (2000), history of education methodology has been used since the early twentieth century in Britain. However, it was not until the late 1960s and 1970s that this methodology generated a great deal of interest and subsequent research, not only on the part of educationists but also amongst academics internationally (Richardson, 2000). While there have been advances in research methodology in recent years with the advent of ethnographies, action research projects, narrative inquiries, and case studies (Green, Camilli, & Elmore, 2006; Wellington, 2015), history of education methodology sustained a significant role in the academic setting as ‘an important means of understanding and addressing contemporary concerns’ (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000, p. 5). The reason for this is that history of education methodology is well-supported as enabling researchers to identify, evaluate, and synthesise evidence to establish the facts, generate insights, and draw conclusions about past events and their relation to present conditions (Creswell, 2003; Goodson, 1983; Tashakkori & Charles, 2003).

As a result, the benefits of implementing a history of education methodology are well-established. For instance, McCulloch and Richardson (2000, p. 6) found that such a methodology is appropriate to contemporary research focused on illuminating ‘the structures and the taken for granted assumptions of the contemporary world, by demonstrating that these have developed historically’ and ‘were established for particular purposes’. Similarly, McCulloch (2004) stated that historical research in education provides access to and facilitates insights into the past, processes of change, and continuity, explaining current structures and relationships in the context of recent and long-term trends. Meanwhile, Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2011) noted that this

methodology is relevant to projects that are focused on investigating the contestations and negotiations occurring in the contexts in which changes or continuities transpire. In light of these strengths, a history of education methodology was appropriate to this study's examination of the factors influencing curriculum development and change and the nature of the relationships and status of PE, SS, and HE from 1880 to 2012.

Another key feature of history of education methodology is that it provides a structured approach to highlighting 'the pervasive and widespread nature of educational experience in different eras' (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000, p. 6). This capacity allowed for the presentation of historical studies according to a chronological trajectory and the application of varying degrees of intensity to different eras of a subject based on their contributions to history (Phillips & Roper, 2006). Accordingly, the structured approach to the presentation of this history of education adopted a trajectory that organised the individual history chapters chronologically in the following sequence: PE, followed by SS, then HE. This was to reflect the order of their emergence in the NSW public school curriculum. Moreover, the periods conceived as representative of major shifts in the development of the subjects meant that the eras of each subject's history were not treated equally once the preliminary evidence was scrutinised.

Despite the strengths of implementing a history of education methodology, there are a number of scholars who have been critical of its operations. For example, Mills (1959, p. 145) noted 'there have been periods in which perspectives were rigid and monolithic and in which historians could remain unaware of the themes taken for granted'. It was later determined that such histories usually evolved from the work of insiders, thus tending to represent reflections of how the ruling class writes about their own society (Stenhouse, 1975). This methodology was also criticised for facilitating elements of bias, as often histories of education only recognised 'the present as a moment of tradition' and in turn were a 'reversal of much of our logic about social life and schooling' (Popkewitz, 1987, p. 2). Contrary to theory, histories of education have also tended to explain a particular set or sequence of events as pragmatic matter through descriptions depending on the context, rather than acknowledging the influence of subject traditions (Musgrave, 1988). Similarly, the research produced by historians has been condemned for not having any 'theory' behind their work; instead, they use the

material to write a history to ‘entertain’ rather than ‘keep the record straight’ (Tosh, 2002, p. xix).

To account for the ‘limits placed on historical knowledge by the character of the sources and the working methods of the historians’ (Tosh, 2002, p. xx), the history of education methodology implemented in this study became embedded in theory and adopted a procedure for the systematic collection of data and an analytical strategy to overcome the identified operating weaknesses and criticisms..

3.2 The relevance of the ‘theory’ of curriculum history to history of education methodology

A history of education methodology is tied to curriculum history given that education in itself is in a constant process of evolution and the ‘most concrete expression of what we mean by education in any period is embodied in the curriculum’ (Kliebard & Franklin, 1983, p. 138). The links between a history of education methodology and the theory of curriculum history were consolidated in research during the nineteenth century, when the rise of mass schooling was accompanied by a greater number of historical studies on the evolution of school curriculum (for example, see Aries, 1960; Hamilton, 1989; Reid, 1990). The growth of these connections was founded on the principle that capturing curriculum history as part of a history of education study is valuable, as it naturally records ‘what counts as knowledge in a given time and place and, more particularly, why knowledge that is taken to be important or even unimportant makes its way into the curriculum’ (Kliebard, & Franklin, 1983, p. 139).

A history of education is able to chronicle, interpret, and ultimately understand the processes used by educational institutions to select, organise, and distribute the knowledge and beliefs of social groups through expressions captured in the curriculum (Kliebard & Franklin, 1983). In connecting a history of education with curriculum theory, this study was also able to reflect on the inclusion or exclusion of certain topics and activities to be studied as part of the curriculum, to determine which, what, and whose knowledge was considered important and possessed symbolic value and status during certain time periods (Aldrich, 2003). A history of education connected to curriculum history is also able to reveal the neglected dimensions of education by sharing perspectives from different people in the past and analysing the contentious

teaching and writing of the professional program, namely the curriculum (Aldrich, 2003).

The relevance of theory of curriculum history to a history of education study was exemplified by the fact this connection was located in a sociological context, which aligned with the lens offered to curriculum in this research. For example, Kliebard and Franklin (1983, p. 140) argued that it was through the historical examination of what is actually being taught in relation to the dominant social class, religious, national, regional, or ethnical concerns under the various subject labels that ‘quite a different picture may emerge’ of the education system. Moreover, histories of education play a central role in understanding curricula by adopting a lens on the present, which inherently subjects ‘the traditions and customs of everyday life to scrutiny’ (Popkewitz, 1987, p. 2). Consequently, a history of education tied to curriculum history was an appropriate methodology to analyse the factors shaping the development, change, relationships, and status of curriculum over time in the NSW public education system.

3.3 The ‘practice’ of history of education methodology

Most research methodology experts agree that ‘the handling of documentary sources ... is widely seen as the hallmark of the professional historian’ (Scott, 1990, p. 1), as these sources act as stable material (McCulloch, 2004). Since ‘historians have not on the whole been active in proselytising documentary research, nor in promoting a wider understanding of the theoretical and methodological issues involved in their use’ (McCulloch, 2004, p. 4), this study determined a systemic approach to selecting and collecting the data sources for documentary research.

3.3.1 Documentary research

There are many different ways of undertaking documentary research to reveal ‘beliefs, traditions, customs, and laws [that] have taken shape in written and authentic documents’ (Durkheim, 1950, pp. 133–134). Amongst the many important works in education research based exclusively or somewhat on documentary sources (for example, see Aries, 1960; Hamilton, 1989; Reid, 1990; Stray, 1994), there was consensus that the most suitable approach to documentary research was one that enabled the researcher to move beyond simply accumulating data to studying the documents selectively and critically. To account for the variables between approaches

to conducting documentary research, contributions by McCulloch (2004), McCulloch and Richardson (2000), Plummer (1983), and Wellington (2015) were synthesised to construct a systematic procedure that consolidated processes for the: (i) archival sourcing of documents, and (ii) data selection and categorisation of primary and secondary sources. In particular, Plummer's (1983) three phases of documentary research offered guidelines to conducting documentary research that were followed throughout this thesis.

3.3.1.1 Sourcing of documents: Archival work

Archives are the most recognised and characteristic source of data for historical and documentary research (Cohen et al., 2011), as they provide the researcher with material which has already been collected, albeit often in a manner unrelated to the research project (Hill, 1993). Plummer's (1983, p. 7) first 'exploratory phase' of documentary research involved gaining 'a feel for the data' to produce 'hunches with respect to the most fruitful ways of conceptualising the history of these subjects'. For the current project, this step involved accessing a wide range of documents to open up the area of history and to sensitise the researcher to the key issues and problems in the education and curriculum histories of the fields (Plummer, 1983), namely PE, SS, and HE. It was through careful and insightful reading of archived documents that the researcher was able to become 'intimately familiar with the situation under study', as recommended by Angell and Freedman (1953, pp. 305–306). Archival research was conducted at various Sydney libraries, including the Mitchell Library and the University of Sydney's Fisher Library, and the contemporary archival method of accessing online sources was also used to gain a feel for the types of documents defining the chronological developments in the three subjects, as will be discussed.

The State Library of NSW housed various books and documents such as the Annual Reports of the NSW Department of Education (and its successors) that were viewed to gain an understanding of the NSW education system in general, but also to investigate the role of sport in public schools given the absence of formal curriculum for this subject until the 1950s. For instance, the review of the Annual Reports between 1890 and 1920 revealed data positioning SS as 'out-of-school work' and connected to community-based sporting organisations, along with the fact it was typically sport-minded teachers who voluntarily took responsibility for the delivery of this subject.

This data was valuable as it provided early indications of the factors influencing the facilitation of sporting opportunities as part of NSW public schooling.

Within the State Library of NSW, the Mitchell Library and Governor Marie Bashir Reading Room became a treasure chest of data that provided historical evidence of the subjects, especially in the context of PE given its longstanding history of curricula. These libraries housed documents that Kuhn (1962) coined classics of a discipline (such as curriculum documents), as they symbolised boundaries between different types of knowledge and reputable frameworks in a subject. It was analysis of the first official curricula informing the teaching of PE, the *1878 Manual of Drill for the Use of the Public Schools in NSW* (Strong, 1878) dating back over 140 years, that suggested a major early paradigm in the history of PE was the influence of the military training regimes. Meanwhile, analysis of subsequent documents, such as the *Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Schools* (Board of Education [BOE], 1911b) and *Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools* (Whitcombe & Tombs, 1943), presented tangible data demonstrating that Military Drill prevailed as the dominant PE paradigm for the first 50 years of compulsory schooling in NSW. At the same time, tracing the developments and changes in PE as expressed in such documents over time provided this study with observations indicating PE provided benefits beyond preparing young men to defend the nation during times of war. For instance, it was the revelations of the diversification of PE as part of the document analysis that enabled this study to reveal that military expressions in PE had evolved following the introduction of the Swedish System of Gymnastics' approach to physical training, which saw the prescription of games, athletics, and swimming from the early 1900s as part of the curricula. It was the nature of the physical activities and their noted health benefits that provided the researcher with 'hunches' indicating that provisions under PE overlapped with notions of SS and HE to a greater extent than recorded in past literature on the histories of these subjects.

In relation to the history of SS, there were specific references to the subject in the archives located at the NSW School Sport Office, the E.S. Marks Collection, and the Davis Sporting Collections (No. 1 and No. 2) at the State Library of NSW. These collections provided a range of data contained in the NSWPSAAA and NSW Combined High Schools' (CHS) championship Meeting Reports and Annual Athletic Meeting Minutes from 1897 through to 1937. For example, amongst the 1,595 programs,

pamphlets, and newspaper cuttings relating to Australian sports, the closed Davis Sporting Collection No. 1 provided data on school Sports Athletics Carnivals in Australia from 1889–1932, while Collection No. 2 contained valuable data on SS from 1880–1936. Such documentary evidence was valuable as it offered reflections on the nation’s sporting culture and the rise and decline of certain sports; however, these records needed to be translated as reflecting wider political and social movements to construct a comprehensive history of SS in NSW public schools.

For the history of HE, the majority of the archival work on the formative years of HE was conducted online due to the absence of formal curricula in this subject until the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952). Although documentary sources such as issues of the *Health and Physical Culture* periodical published between 1929 and 1943 were accessed, historical research in the twenty-first century had evolved to include the archival sourcing of data from online resources (Aldrich, 2003), when in the past access and geographical location of the researcher often restricted the use of print media (Duff, Yoon, Wang, & Aughelcev, 2014). For example, newspaper reports from as early as the 1883 were available online and signified the importance of [Hygiene] education in ‘gain[ing] a certain vantage point’ from which the nation could ‘with some effect deal out blows against the miserable diseases’ such as small pox (“Extinction of small pox and sanitary reform in Sydney”, 1883, p. 13). For the post-1950s, the records for HE were more readily available, as will be discussed in the section on primary sources of data.

Although online artifacts were accessed initially to fill the gap in the history of HE records, the method of sourcing online artifacts was considered to furnish significant data for educational studies and documentary research (McCulloch, 2004). As a result, this data collection process was also applied to investigations into the histories of PE, SS, and the NSW education system in general as many useful sources have been digitised, including Education Acts and newspaper articles. Subsequently, this research used the database Trove, produced by the National Library of Australia, to locate data directly related to the research questions and also broader state, national, and global movements and events. The process of accessing the documentary evidence online involved reading state-based and national newspaper articles. For example, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) (1842–1954), which is the oldest continuously published

newspaper in Australia and national online news brand, acted as a forum for discussing all issues underpinning NSW society (Rowe, 2007). This newspaper was a relevant source as it had considerable prestige due to its combination of serious reporting of national and international news developments and coverage of popular news stories (Rowe, 2007), such as sport and Olympic ideals. To contextualise movements in NSW in light of wider national political and social influences, this study also accessed newspapers such as *The Australian*, which is the biggest-selling national tabloid newspaper in the country (Henderson et al., 2009). Various other newspaper titles will be referred to, such as the *Evening News* (1867–1931) and *The Sunday Times* (1897–1955), but the *SMH* was heavily drawn on as it presented a step-by-step history of the growth of HE before there were any formal curriculum documents representing the subject. As confirmed by Colvin (1971, p. 35), ‘the mass media in general has forced the public at large to become aware of some of the social health problems raised in the syllabus’; therefore, newspaper articles contributed valuable data to the history of these subjects.

The advantage of accessing online archived newspapers for this research was that they, by their very nature, produced data that was varied and contained a range of information (Allen & Sieczkiewicz, 2010; Tibbo, 2002) that would have otherwise been difficult to recognise by relying solely on curriculum documents. For example, there was an abundance of data covering the role of PE in meeting the national agenda of producing fit citizens during the period of eugenics. In addition, while the controversies surrounding Sex Education received significant media attention as a reflection of public fears, especially concerning the emergence of an AIDS epidemic during the 1980s. In regards to SS, there was rich data contained in archived newspaper articles online detailing the activities of the umbrella sporting organisations such as the NSWPSAAA (and its successors) and the CHS, their events, and competition results reflecting the ‘who’ won, ‘when’ it happened, and ‘what’ of sport history, as captured by Collins et al. (1990, 1991). However, there were also newspaper reports that provided insights into the struggles and milestones influencing the status of SS in the curriculum—such as the need to address SS programs following Australia’s disappointing results at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games—that were not considered until this study.

Due to the growing popularity and wide range of edited, ‘hybrid’, and ‘virtual’ data sources accompanying the advent of the internet, contemporary historians have been required to learn how to approach and distinguish between the different kinds of documents conveniently available (McCulloch, 2004, p. 29), which leads to the next step of documentary research focused on data selection and categorisation.

3.3.1.2 Data selection and categorisation

This second step in documentary research involved identifying and categorising the data sources most relevant to the project and reducing the sample to a manageable number of texts (Krippendorff, 2013). The archives identified for this study were repositories of accumulated knowledge that reflected the institutional memories of traditional and modern societies and existed in a number of forms, including minutes of meetings, annual reports, syllabus, schemes of work, books, articles, memoirs, reports, periodicals, and parliamentary debates (Cohen et al., 2011; McCulloch, 2004; Wellington, 2015). To ensure the documents selected contributed to answering the research questions and were pertinent to the analytical problems at hand, relevance sampling—commonly referred to as purposive sampling—was implemented (Riffle, Lacy, & Fico, 1998). The relevance sampling technique was based on a timeline approach, spanning from 1880 to coincide with the commencement of compulsory schooling through to 2012, which reflects the end date of the thesis based on educational shifts towards national-based curriculum. The sampled data was then examined to determine its relevance to the historical developments of PE, SS, and HE in schools along with society in general. For example, *The Future of Sport in Australia* (COA, 2009, p. iii) was a document that captured broader shifts in sport and was viewed with a narrow focus on the state of ‘education and sport’ and the goal of ‘putting sport and physical activity back into education’. Similarly, newspaper articles were screened for their reference to implications for the NSW public school setting. Once the relevant data was determined, the sources were categorised as primary and/or secondary data and examples of these are provided in the following two sections.

3.3.1.2.1 Primary sources

Since a key objective of historical scholars is ‘to uncover as many primary sources as possible to write the best history’ (Zeigler, 1988, p. 248), these types of documents were at the centre of this study. The primary sources of material relating to general

education policy and administration could be found in national and local archives (Goodson, 1981). Curriculum documents, syllabi, and supporting texts were examples of primary sources of literature as they were not only ‘readily available to analyse what was demanded, or what was said to be happening’ in schools (Musgrave, 1988, p. 3), but they also offered insight into the general nature of the NSW and Australian education systems. For instance, relevant primary sources such as the PDHPE syllabi published by the NSW Board of Studies (BOS) for the contemporary histories detailed specific content areas of focus in the school curriculum, and in doing so signalled the major health issues affecting the population at the time. Similarly, media reports reflecting on the need to address rates of mortality and morbidity from infectious disease at a state and national level acted as primary sources for HE history, due to the absence of formal curriculum. For example, the *SMH* reported that practical Hygiene Education lessons covering the nature and causes of diseases such as tuberculosis were projected as the means to ensuring Health Instructions were provided to students in a useful manner in the school setting (“Hygiene in schools”, 1910, p. 4).

The state and national government acts and policy documents also served as primary sources, thus serving as reference points for the development of curricula in this learning area (Penney, 2010). The Public Instruction Acts between 1880 and 1905, in particular, were markers of curriculum change in NSW schools, as they demanded improvements to the quality of education to promote student engagement (Gard & Wright, 2001). Additional examples of federal policy documents filtering down to shape curriculum at a state-level included the *Common and Agreed National Goals for Schooling* (Australian Education Council [AEC], 1989) and the *National Statement and Profile for Health and Physical Education* (Curriculum Corporation, 1994, 1994a). Collectively, these politically-driven documents were significant as they influenced the nature of the curriculum in the subjects and, most significantly, led to the establishment of the KLA of PDHPE in 1990. It is important to note that government-funded programs and reports, such as the *Daily Physical Education* program (Australian Council of Health, Physical Education and Recreation [ACHPER], 1984) and the *Senate Inquiry into Sport and Physical Education* (COA, 1992), also provided insight into the directions pursued in these subjects in the NSW and Australian education systems.

For the history of PE, there were primary documents located at the State Library of NSW such as the *'I Must be Fit!'* *Manual for the Student* (Stanton, est. 1936–1940), and various teacher bulletins and supporting resources, including the *Health and Physical Education Bulletin for Teachers in Secondary Schools* (1968–1972) and the *Handbook for Teachers of Physical Education in Primary Schools* (NSW Department of Education Physical Education Branch [DOE PEB], 1960). The *Education Gazette* (1858–1951) also contained significant data for educators that indicated the nature of the pedagogical practices covered in PE lessons. There were also magazine periodicals, such as *Health and Physical Culture* and *Physical Fitness*, which were targeted more towards the general public but were classified as primary sources, as they covered the nature of school PE and also SS in response to the Physical Culture and National Fitness movements. Following the publication of formal school curriculum in 1952 by the NSW Department of Education, this formal curriculum document and subsequent curriculum documents (including curriculum revisions) governing all levels of schooling were accessed to trace the history of PE, and also SS and HE, from the post-WWII period until 2012.

Since a formal written curriculum for SS has not been established in the same way it has for PE and HE for NSW public schools, the primary data compiled for the history of SS chapter drew more heavily from the documentary sources of manuals, evaluations, and Annual Reports, as they documented the number of competitions held in specific sports and the number of schools, teams, and/or students who participated. Policy documents related to SS and sport in general were also accessed. As Swabey and Penney (2011) explained, it was inquiry processes into sport that established long-term policy directions defining the history and future of SS. The NSW State Library also housed a sport history film produced by the NSW Department of Education School Sport Unit that used Australia's sporting heroes to encourage students to emulate their success as part of participation in SS. As noted, the documentation of SS in newspaper reports such as the *SMH* was also accessed to create an awareness of the nature of the activities and sports competitions conducted by the NSWPSAAA and CHS. Meanwhile, the publication of specific manuals such as the *Sportmaster's Handbook* (DeptPE, 1960) also contributed data on this subject given the specialised role of a Sport Teacher. For the 1990s onwards, reports and policy documents such as the *1997 NSW Schools Fitness and Physical Activity Survey* (Booth et al., 1997) and *National*

Junior Sport Policy (ASC, 1994) were accessed as they were representative of the nature and recommendations shaping more recent directions in SS.

Accessing archives to write a history of HE presented a more difficult situation, as the sources of data were not centrally placed; the reason for this was that the subject only officially emerged after WWII. Like SS, the early history of HE from 1880 until the 1920s was accessed via the medium of newspapers as they presented information affecting the general health of the population, with the view that schools could help address these issues. Similarly to PE, the history of HE during the period of the Physical Culture and National Fitness movements was captured in the *Health and Physical Culture* periodicals, which informed the public of healthy behaviours in line with eugenic ideals. Following the gradual realisation of the importance of HE, the history of HE post-1950s featured in curriculum documents and was more readily available across a variety of primary sources such as the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) and later consolidated in PDHPE curriculum. At the same time, national and global health charters were accessed, mostly online, to capture the broader social movements influencing contemporary HE history.

3.3.1.2.2 Secondary sources.

Although interpretations of ‘curriculum’ and ‘history’ have differed according to the cultural interests of the interpreters (Baker, 1996, p. 113), this study holds that a history of education would be generalised, universalistic, ahistorical, and uni-dimensional if it did not consider the many struggles between different interest and/or power groups reported in secondary literature. As a result, secondary sources were accessed as they provided ‘meaningful matter’ that helped produce a rich understanding of a unique culture of the research field (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 25). Secondary sources were also accessed as they reflected a common and most important source of material for historians and provided a high level of coverage on very specific state and national issues not readily available in primary sources (Tibbo, 2002). Accordingly, analysing secondary sources enabled this study to move beyond producing a merely surface-level history to constructing a history of education that considered factors outside of the prescribed written curriculum documents on the nature of PE, SS, and HE in the broader context of state, national, and international movements.

This study also acknowledged McCulloch's (2004) conceptualisation of the obscured differentiations between primary and secondary sources, which found that particular artifacts could act as both primary and secondary sources. For example, scholarly literature in a book or research paper contributing to a field may initially assume the role of a secondary source but at the same time might also provide a reflection on attitudes towards issues in a particular context or period, consequently doubling as a primary source (McCulloch, 2004). The inverse relationship was also true and considered by this thesis as the key topics inferred from primary sources such as the NSW syllabi (both electronic and print) provided starting points for the identification of secondary literature such as newspaper articles, photographs, history books, and scholarly literature (Polley, 2007) for purposes different to the one currently being considered (Cnossen & Smith, 1997).

3.4 Analytical procedure of documentary research

In line with Mills (1959, p. 145), the consideration of the historical contexts surrounding the production and issues pervading the use of documents demands explicit attention to much more than 'the facts', to ensure that the writing of history is backed by 'theory'. Therefore, the final step in documentary research involved the analysis of the content, themes, and varying contexts found in the sources and applied at the time the documents were produced (Cohen et al., 2011). This analytical phase coincided with Plummer's (1983) 'concluding' stage, whereby the documents begin to enrich the history of education, as it became known that these historical creations came into being and were established for specific reasons concerned with their cultural surroundings (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000).

To ensure this study was 'aware of the themes taken for granted' (Mills, 1959, p. 145), a systematic set of procedures for critiquing the collected documents was established. The adherence to set procedures offered a logical way to synthesise a large number of documents and ensure the inferences and main messages drawn from the primary and secondary sources were valid given the context of their use (Flick, 1998; Krippendorff, 2013, Mayring, 2002). The following table presents an overview of the systematic process that enabled the researcher to review and draw meaning from the primary and secondary sources. This process was based on the work of academics in the field of

documentary research and content analysis, including Cohen et al. (2011), Krippendoff (2013), Mayring (2002), Osgood (1959), Platt (1981), and Weber (1990).

Table 1: The systematic documentary research and content analysis process.

Phase	How and why the procedure was conducted?
1. Contextualising the data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nature/purpose: acknowledged how the documents were understood in the context of their time • Relevance: assessed the worth and identity of the historical material identified in the origins of the documents • Audience: determined ‘what’, ‘how’, and ‘to whom’ the antecedents were inferred, and ‘why’ and ‘with what effects’ (Krippendoff, 2013, p. 27).
2. Assessing the reliability of the data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognised the availability of relevant sources that have survived (i.e. were stored safely) to be researched and those that ‘may never have existed ... been lost or destroyed, and others that still exist but one cannot get access to them’ (Platt, 1981, p. 32) • Accepted that sets of documents from the same author were valuable to the research in this study, as they provide insight into the reconstruction of ideas and changes as part of an entity (i.e. syllabi documents produced by the NSW BOS).
3. Determining the relevance of the data to the research questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enabled judgements on the typicality (or otherwise) of evidence to determine the generalisability of the data based on the identification of the dominant themes/patterns emerging from the documents over time • Assessed how typical and/or atypical the evidence is of the surviving material • Categorised/grouped the key constructs/features of the text according to emerging themes viewed through a social constructivist lens • Identified the prevalent paradigms in the histories and enabled comparison between historical periods.

<p>4. Interpreting the data based on a thematic analysis</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pinpointed the major themes, issues, and controversies found in the data and positioned these as explanations for the key events and their causes • Systematically categorised the data based on the frequency of a concept, and in turn its significance in one or many of the subjects and at a certain period of time • Created a framework to draw meaning from the socially situated documents, thus inferring an interpretative outlook on the nature of the social phenomena influencing education and curriculum history • At some points, the researcher needed to fall back on human interpretive abilities to summarise and inductively allocate the data to the generated categories • Inferred the ‘re-presentations of the intention or purpose of the original texts’ (Krippendoff, 2013, p. 181) in light of political, educational, and social agendas as reasons for curriculum developments and change and/or paradigm shifts.
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The application of this systematic procedure revealed patterns on institutional and societal matters as part of the thematic analysis (Weber, 1990), in line with Goodson’s (1983, p. 5) theory that ‘socio-historical’ studies which consider fundamental issues influencing ‘constructs of a particular time’ extend traditional histories to produce a more authentic history.

3.5 Limitations to the study

Given the span of this study was 130 years of the history of three subject areas, this section will acknowledge limitations in terms of the methodology of sourcing documents and also the focus of the data collected and analysed, such as the parameters of the NSW public education system, the treatment of the nation’s first people, and the interplay of gender with curriculum developments and changes in PE, SS, and HE.

Although archival research has a number of strengths over other forms of research, there are a number of restrictions to this methodological approach. Firstly, the careful handling of fragile archives and documents was necessary to effectively uphold the standards of professional and ethical conduct for historical research (Cohen et al., 2011). Secondly, every effort was made to ensure the design of the methodology allowed the study to be conducted with minimal bias (Neale, Thapa, & Boyce, 2006). There were no issues ascertaining the authenticity, reliability, and credibility of curriculum documents or policies mandated and endorsed by governing educational bodies such as the NSW BOS; however, there were additional sources accessed in this study produced by specific stakeholders such as discipline experts and education policy makers. Therefore, the researcher was cognisant that at the centre of their use were concerns about bias which raised ‘many questions about stakeholder representation, legitimacy, participation, power, and knowledge—essentially “who’s in, and why?”’ (Reed et al., 2009, p. 193). Thirdly, the researcher was conscious that the analysis of documents should not be too selective, partial, and deterministic (Alford, 2015; Blommaert, 2005). To subdue the previous two special considerations, the researcher was obliged to draw samples from a much larger pool and range of document types to ensure alternative viewpoints were represented (Krippendorff, 2013). However, this study acknowledged that eliminating all potential matters of bias and reliability by drawing from a wider sample was not entirely attainable, based on the need to ensure the data size allowed for manageable analysis.

At the analytical phase of documentary research, Tosh (2002, p. 86) acknowledged the difficulties associated with the mastery of the sources, which was perceived as generally unattainable because documents were ‘not an open book, offering instant answers’, ‘may not be what they seem to be’, and ‘may signify very much more than is immediately apparent’. For example, the degree of change promoted by documents may be interpreted from entirely different perspectives when examined in relation to circumstances (Tosh, 2002), such as the practical implementation of the curriculum at the classroom level and the professional dialogues of Physical and Health Educators captured in secondary literature. To help master the content, a systematic approach to reviewing documentary sources was prescribed in line with the established principles of experts in the field of documentary analysis such as Cohen et al. (2011) and Krippendorff (2013), as presented in Table 1..

Another limitation of documentary research relates to the constraints of relying on written archival work, rather than including oral history as part of the data collection process. The researcher recognised that there was potential to implement an oral history project to yield further recollections and memories about the events, beliefs, and feelings of the past (Neuman, 2011). Although the researcher acknowledged that doing so would enrich the re-writing of the past to make it more consistent with current beliefs (Neuman, 2011), only recollections and memories that already existed as documentary evidence were included to ensure the data sampling size was manageable, given that the history presented spanned over 130 years across three subjects. In turn, the researcher recognises the potential for gathering oral histories, as part of a typical process of unstructured interviews, would capture a more interpretive history of the lived experience of the curriculum (Neuman, 2011) in subsequent studies.

In terms of defining parameters, this study was narrowly focused on the histories of PE, SS, and HE in the context of the NSW education system; the reasons for this were justified in Section 1.2. Although the rich findings presented here will refer to other states and frame the histories in the context of national policy and directions pursued in education, the extent to which the findings can be viewed as typical of all states is limited based on the unique nature of the relationships between the subjects in NSW schools. This study connected the curriculum histories of these subjects in NSW public schools to larger educational debates and theories about curriculum; however, the extent to which the conclusions can be applied to other jurisdictions such as the Great Public Schools (GPS) and schools of the Catholic Education Office (CEO) is limited. This constraint provides an opportunity for future research into these education systems in NSW and/or Australia-wide, as part of a larger history of education project.

Moreover, this study would like to acknowledge that the treatment of Australia's first people, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (ATSI), in light of broader Australian and NSW political and educational policies and social patterns is a complex issue that requires further investigation. Due to the length constraints placed upon this thesis, discussion of the treatment of ATSI people within the Australian and NSW education systems is limited and references to the implications of policy on this population group are only made with regards to: a) the *White Australia Policy* (1901) and its legislation and punitive practices, b) eugenic philosophy and interpretations of Darwinism as

explanations for the treatment of ATSI people, and with reference to Sex Education, and c) the absence of provisions for Aboriginals in education in NSW until the *Education Reform Act* (1990). This Act identified ‘provision of an education for Aboriginal children that has regard to their special needs’ and the ‘development of an understanding of Aboriginal history and culture by all children’ [see Sect 6 (1)(f)(g)] as objectives of the NSW education system. It was thus not surprising to see the inequities endured by the ATSI population studied as part of the formation of the KLA of PDHPE in 1990. A useful observation of this thesis is that the place of the nation’s first people and their experience of the history of PE, SS, and HE creates an opening for further study.

The final limitation noted in this study is related to notions of gender. Throughout this thesis, there are references to the ways in which the three subjects have been socially constructed and thus influenced the experience of boys and girls in the NSW public education system and wider society differently. In the history of PE, for example, the onset of war saw provisions for PE preoccupied with preparing young men for war, yet at the same time a number of males exited the teaching profession to serve the nation and female teachers were increasingly responsible for teaching PE. Meanwhile, in SS, there was initially an absence of sports available to females; however, there was a notable shift in attitudes to girls in sport in line with societal changes and an increase in the number of female teachers educating students on sport, particularly during WWII. This shift in societal attitudes towards girls in sport sparked an increase in participation rates in SS amongst girls and stimulated a move for gender balance in terms of opportunities in SS. Meanwhile, a major issue tied to social construction of HE and gender was noted during the period of Sex Education in HE. For instance, the second wave of feminism gave rise to the rights of women and was accompanied by the introduction of the contraceptive pill in 1961, while HIV/AIDS was presented as a homosexual disease prevalent amongst males as part of HE in the NSW education system. Given the length restrictions placed upon this thesis, this study only briefly analysed how the subjects influenced the construction of gender amongst students as part of NSW public schooling. For instance, the content and learning experiences addressed under the subjects clearly distinguished between the biological, behavioural, and socio-cultural differences across the genders (Dewar, 1987); however, this study only alluded to references to the role of gender at certain times throughout history. In

doing so, this study highlights that there is plenty of evidence to suggest that gender constructs have both influenced and been influenced by the developments in curricula of these three subjects over time; consequently, there is an opening for deeper analysis of the robust links between the subjects and gender constructs over time.

Summary

The overarching purpose of a history of education is to understand the origins of phenomena, the ways in which they were regarded, the alternative forms and principles they reflect, and the reasons for their continuity or decline (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000). The collected data was analysed according to a systematic procedure to illuminate curriculum development and change (i.e. paradigm shifts) as a reflection of 'notions of school and education ... [which] are historical creations that came into being and became established for specific reasons that have much to do with their cultural surroundings' (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000, p. 6). Accordingly, the history of education presented in this thesis moved beyond just recording the various paradigm shifts amongst the subjects in NSW public schools to producing an accurate and authentic history with consideration to broader political and social contexts driving those shifts.

Chapter Four: The history of Physical Education (1880–1989)

This chapter fills the gap in the history of PE from its inception in NSW public schools in 1880 through to 1989. During this period, PE was an independent subject that developed in accordance with the dominant political and social priorities and movements of the day. This development falls into three major periods: firstly, a focus on Military Drill-based pedagogies, as Australia was concerned with issues of defence and preparation for war up to the end of WWI (1880–1919); secondly, a concern with the genetic quality of the nation's citizens, expressed as part of wider eugenic ideals to emerge from the economic and political crises following the Great War (1920–1949); and thirdly, the consolidation of PE in the school curriculum as part of the rebuilding of the nation post-WWII and the widespread acknowledgements of the benefits of PA to public health (1950–1989). It will be demonstrated that all three periods reinforced the value of PE in schools and society, as the subject became increasingly recognised as playing a significant part in creating a healthy nation. In the sections that follow dealing with each period, there are two emphases: the diversification of versions of the subject and the political and social events and movements that complemented and influenced each version of the subject. Consequently, this history of PE in NSW public schools from 1880 to 1989 will be structured under the following major themes: (1) traditional Military Drill and progressive expressions (1880–1919), (2) eugenic ideals promoting PE (1920–1949), and (3) the pinnacle of PE (1950–1989) to show the enlarged status of PE in NSW public schooling.

4.1 Traditional Military Drill and progressive expressions (1880–1919)

As stated above, the period between 1880 and 1919 coincided with a dominant political concern for the colonies and then the Commonwealth to establish and maintain a strong, capable military force that could take its place in defence of the British Empire. Accordingly, PE in schools took on the appearance of military-style Drill activities with a view to establishing disciplined and strong young men fit for war and this form of PE was predominant in this first period. Following the turn of the twentieth century, however, there could also be forms of PE discerned from the traditional Military Drill paradigm identified by Kirk (1998) and subsequent emergence of the Cadet Movement confirmed in the research by Stockings (2007). Therefore, the major theme to emerge from this first period of PE history was that the literature preoccupied with Military

Drill expressions in PE obscured the appearance of more progressive influences such as systems of Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics, which clearly impacted on the nature of PE delivered in NSW public schools. In particular, this section will demonstrate that the popularity of these systems of PE was due to the fact their nature complemented the political impetus for national solidarity following the economic depression, industrial revolution, federation of Australia, and WWI. Accordingly, this section will cover the foundations of traditional Military Drill dominant at the outset of compulsory schooling and reiterated later in the form of the Junior Cadet Training (JCT) scheme and the diversified nature of PE following the introduction of the systems of Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics, which were features of the history of this subject underestimated by Kirk (1998).

4.1.1 Traditional Military Drill in NSW public schools.

The ties between traditional Military Drill and PE have a long history in NSW public schools, as the Department of Public Instruction and various state *Education Gazettes* dating back to 1858 recounted that school PE consisted of the endless repetition of forming lines and exercises in unison. For instance, the NSW Council of Education, as noted in the *NSW Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings* (1872, p. 230), acknowledged that:

the introduction of Military Drill into our schools ... cannot fail to raise the character of the order. Already the schools visited by the Drill Instructors begin to show a more even and a more healthy discipline; and, as arrangements are in progress to extend the course of Drill to as many schools as possible, substantial benefits may be expected to result from the measure.

As noted by Kirk (1988), Britain's loss to the Afrikaners in the First Boer War in 1881 prompted Australia to reflect on its own defence capabilities. In response, Military Drill was officially sanctioned in NSW public schools (*Education Gazette*, 1884) close to the outset of compulsory schooling as a priority before reading, writing, and arithmetic and thus emerged as the major paradigm in PE. Since the expressions of traditional Military Drill were covered extensively by Kirk (1998), predominantly in relation to movements in schools throughout Victoria, this section will provide insight to unexplored themes related to traditional Military Drill and those specific to the context

of NSW as guided by the provisions set by Strong's (1878) *Manual of Drill for the use of the Public Schools in NSW*.

The *Manual of Drill for the use of the Public Schools in NSW* (Strong, 1878), for instance, confirmed that schools in this state were responsible for training and recruiting thousands of 'future fellow colonists in the manly exercise associated with the use of arms and military drill' (p. iii). The underlying impetus for this focus of PE in NSW was to maintain a well-established system of discipline, order, respect, ambition, and proficiency amongst young boys in preparation to defend the nation during times of war (Strong, 1878). Although prescribed by H.W. Strong, Captain of Commanding Public School Cadets (formally NSW Infantry Corps, 1871–1889), it was teachers rather than military personnel who were responsible for conducting drill activities that required the performance of movements 'exactly in unison ... with the utmost steadiness and precision' (Strong, 1878, p. 9). In this manner, it was found that Military Drill activities were also prioritised to help address the problem of order and obedience amongst 'ill-disciplined' and 'riotous children' in society in general, as later conceived by Smith (1974, p. 92). In particular, it was prescriptions under traditional Military Drill—including recruit drill, squad drill, company drill, and rifle exercises—and playground orders such as marching and 'standing at ease' (Strong, 1878, p. 3) that supported the imperative for students to be receptive to instruction and obedience under the Military Drill paradigms in PE.

A theme overlooked by Kirk (1998) was the capacity for Military Drill—as the predominant form of PE—to support the development of the body and the mind, hence the health of citizens. Notably, the *Manual of Drill for the use of the Public Schools in NSW* (Strong, 1878, p. iii) emphasised that its guidance on the technical points and types of drill activities contributed to the production of 'a race of healthy, intelligent, educated men'. Consequently, there were signs early that Military Drill 'accruing from the educational system of this Colony' had the capacity to move beyond the goal of producing a disciplined army for defence purposes to ensuring the citizen army was also 'healthy' (p. iii). This premise was reinforced by Strong's (1878) reference to the fact that Military Drills were also responsible for:

developing alike mind and muscle, feeding the brain and stimulating
the body, strengthening the intelligence and setting up the physique,

preparing a race of healthy, intelligent, educated men, capable of rendering good service to the State, and of forming, if need be, the foundation of a disciplined army of citizen soldiers, having alike the *will* to defend their hearths and homes, and the knowledge of military formations which alone can render an armed mass efficacious for the purpose of warfare. (Strong, 1878, p. iii)

Such evidence pointed to the theme, clear from early in its history, that PE was shaped by wider imperatives beyond simply preparing young men fit for war; indeed, its imperatives extended to enhancing the physical health of the nation's defence force and more broadly its citizens. This premise was echoed in media reports noting that the Medical Officers of the NSW Military Force made particular enquires 'as to the weight of the carbines with reference to the size of some of the lads', in addition to putting students through manual exercises ("The inspection of public schools and Artillery Cadet Corps", 1884, p. 5). The importance of the health of army recruits was also exemplified by the fact that Military Drill training had evolved to include education on the 'elementary principles of physical anatomy and hygienic laws' to inform citizens of the wider factors governing one's physical existence ("Original contribution", 1882, p. 4). Finally, the capacity for PE to support health outcomes also signified that traditional histories in this subject had largely overlooked the overlapping nature of PE and HE, a gap that will be filled by the combined history presented in Chapter Eight.

4.1.2 Physical Culture

During this first period, there was evidence that Physical Culture, a form of PE that emphasised callisthenic and bodyweight style of exercises, was 'being correctly and satisfactorily done in our great public schools' ("The making of men", 1904, p. 7). Despite its progressive nature, there were a number of facets of Physical Culture that aligned with the methods of traditional Military Drill to reinforce its prominence as the dominant paradigm in PE between 1880 and 1919. For instance, Physical Culture prescribed Department Drills that led to improved levels of concentration, self-control, discipline, will-power, power of decision, presence of mind, and personal courage (BJP, 1901, p. 13), which were qualities favoured by militarists. It was for this reason that Kirk (2010, p. 21) concluded that the purpose of Physical Culture echoed the philosophical approaches of traditional Military Drill, as its methods also allowed for

the regulation and normalisation of ‘working-class children’s bodies through precise formal exercises carried out in unison with large groups or classes’. However, a premise overlooked by Kirk (1998) was the capacity of Physical Culture to support the development of the mind as well as the body. Therefore, this section will draw attention to the similarities between Physical Culture and traditional Military Drill approaches to consolidate the latter as the dominant paradigm in PE during the formative years but will also explore the progressive approaches to PE initiated by Physical Culture that likewise contributed to the history of this subject in NSW public schools.

The Physical Culture Movement originated in Europe during the nineteenth century and spread to England—and thus Australia and the United States—from this time until the mid-twentieth century (Pfister, 2003). It is widely accepted that this movement evolved from the Prussian and German Johann Gut Muth’s book, which formalised a systematic approach to modern gymnastics through 29 exercises centred on Ancient Greek Pentathlon, traditional dancing, and military exercises. Gut Muth’s holistic approach to education positioned gymnastics as ‘culture for the body’ through developing one’s character and intellect through the senses (Lempa, 2007, p. 240), which led to the first wave of Physical Culture during the early 1800s and promoted a set of callisthenic and bodyweight style of exercises based on Gut Muth’s work. It was the global effects of the Industrial Revolution that resulted in Physical Culture emerging as an international movement, particularly infiltrating the PE teaching conducted in Europe, Britain, and the United States from the early nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century (Lempa, 2007)

It was during the late-1800s and early 1900s that systems of Physical Culture were adopted in Australia and its schools, given that this nation modelled its education system on that of Britain. The introduction of Physical Culture into Australia and more specifically NSW public schools was a counter strategy to the widely acknowledged and experienced effects of the Industrial Revolution’s push towards urban industrial economies. The shift from rural agricultural economies resulted in more sedentary societies and the emergence of health issues such as obesity, high blood pressure, and gout (Hunt & Lautzenheiser, 2011; Pfister, 2003). As a result, societies became increasingly interested in exploring health and physical activity (Pfister, 2003) and entrepreneurs created systems of Physical Culture as products for popular consumption

following the Industrial Revolution (Todd, 1995). The implementation of the global health and fitness movement of Physical Culture was adopted in NSW to help prepare a child for the ‘battle of life by facilitating physical, moral, and mental qualifications through movements that demand alertness and rapid work’, similar to the nature of traditional Military Drills but with the intention to make the ‘slow inactive child ... quick in action’ (BJP, 1901, p. 3) during this period of industrial change.

There is strong evidence contained in media reports from the era that Physical Culture was ‘obligatory’ in public and private schools, given that its general physical exercises provided a creditable form of ‘judicious systematic physical training’ for boys and girls (“How to cultivate the body”, 1894, p. 4). Even though there were a number of organisations conducting Physical Culture, including the Young Men’s and Women’s Christian Associations, it was during the early-twentieth century that the Physical Culture movement took hold in NSW public schools following the appointment of Christian Bjelke-Petersen, the pioneering anthropometrist of the Physical Culture Institution from 1902 to 1906, to train teachers in the physiological principles of Physical Culture. Accordingly, the NSW state government supported the implementation of Bjelke-Petersen’s (BJP) approach to Physical Culture in schools, as confirmed in media reports at the time capturing that:

Physical Culture has not been a fashion these many years without evolving many different ‘systems’... therefore, supplementary to the systems of physical culture are the typical “school”, that of the Peterson Bros—certainly the greatest in Australia, spreading as it does, over more than one state ... the record of this one school [BJP] (whose headquarters are in Sydney) alone shows the extent to which physical culture is pursued in these days. (“Physical Culture”, 1908, p.113)

Even before the appointment of Bjelke-Petersen to the NSW DOE, the BJP system of Physical Culture had been introduced into over 120 schools based on its ‘intrinsic merits’ compared to ‘older methods in all the great essentials of a system of Physical Culture’ (BJP, 1901, p. 3). The value of Physical Culture in general also received significant support throughout the early 1900s, given that the German education system ‘which has already been in the lead [in term of the physical health of its citizens and prevention of racial decay], has, by making bodily culture an essential part of the

curriculum, proved a notable factor in raising the physical and intellectual standard of the people' ("Physical Culture in schools", 1906, p. 6).

A major explanation for the rise of the BJP system of Physical Culture was that its 'pedagogic and physiological' exercises (BJP, 1901, p. 51) were increasingly acknowledged as serving broader political and social goals. During the industrial age in Australia, for example, there were high rates of unemployment, a 'growth of pauperism', and a reduction in active movement following 'the substitution of the factory [manual labour] for the domestic systems of manufactures' ("The industrial revolution", 1909, p. 12). In the same way that Physical Culture supported the physical development of citizens in Europe following the Industrial Revolution, it was anticipated that the translation of the ideals of Physical Culture could make local people healthy, strong, and graceful ("How to cultivate the body", 1894). Specifically, its provisions for rhythmical exercises and games were validated as a means of addressing concerns about the state of contemporary minds and bodies (BJP, 1901). At this point, it is important to acknowledge games and sports have been an everyday presence within schools from the outset of compulsory schooling in NSW. For instance, reports on Crown Street School at the introduction of this 'entirely new educational scheme' of compulsory education in NSW public schools in 1880 noted that organised and unstructured breaktime saw the children in the playground engaging in games and songs that 'amused' and brought their muscles 'into action', as part of developing their mental and physical capacities ("The Kindergarten at the Crown Street School", 1882, p. 6). It was, however, following the permeation of the Physical Culture system into PE that games and sports took on a much broader role in the students' well-being, including social inclusion.

Thus, the BJP system picked up that the body and mind should be developed in PE as mutually dependent. For example, *Lone Hand* ("Physical Culture", 1908), in writing about the nature of Physical Culture, noted:

The passion for physical culture among even the most highly-educated shows a sane striving for the old pagan ideal of a healthy mind in a healthy body ... and is another encouraging sign that a great deal of the young Australian race has made up its mind to be 'fit' and well. It's a healthy spirit, and to be encouraged, for it means less loss to the

community from disease, and less expenditure on gaols and reformatories; for the sound body usually shelters a sound mind and healthy ethical sentiments. (pp. 112–113)

The nature of the Physical Culture exercises that treated the mind and body as interdependent gained credibility as a system of PE, as the ancient Greeks ‘gave the important subject of physical culture very careful attention’ in perfecting the development of the mind and body like no other had achieved (“How to cultivate the body”, 1894, p. 4).

Given the need to develop the mutually dependent body and mind in PE, the exercises prescribed by Physical Culture included but also extended those prescribed by traditional Military Drill. For instance, Physical Culture prescribed physical activities such as swimming, fencing, wrestling, boxing, jujitsu, athletic sports, and gymnastic training (BJP, 1901). The inclusion of more varied activities under Physical Culture was based on knowledge that Ancient Grecian perfection was achieved through athletic sports and gymnastics training. As confirmed by Kirk (2010), this method supported bodily practices through organised and institutionalised activities such as sport, exercise, and active leisure. Similarly, the media reported that Physical Culture prescribed active leisure pursuits such as walking, swimming, games, and rhythmical exercises, including dance, focused on ‘the production of perfect symmetry in the form and action of the body ... and completeness of the effect’ (“The making of men”, 1904, p. 7). The nature of the outcomes and ways to conduct Physical Culture were very similar to the emphasis placed on performing Military Drills in unison to produce a disciplined and fit army. Hence, it was clear that the repetitious and disciplined nature of Physical Culture meant this method of PE, like the Swedish System of Gymnastics covered in the next section, evolved as a specialised form of corporeal discourse to reinforce Military Drill as the dominant PE paradigm.

During the industrial age, educational authorities had realised that ‘the dry school book and the rod as a dynamic force no longer appealed to average children’ (BJP, 1901, p. 10) amidst the economic and social effects of the industrial revolution, which saw a ‘dependence on the modern workman’ and a ‘great increase in the productiveness of human labor’ (“The industrial revolution”, 1909, p. 12). Consequently, the exercises prescribed by Physical Culture could stimulate a boy’s desire to excel and gain mental

qualifications—which required students to spend long hours sitting at their desks—but at the same time not jeopardise the physical outcomes tied to warfare. This premise was corroborated by media reports stating that:

it must be borne in mind that with a compulsory education, there must be provided for the young thorough training for the body [through Physical Culture] so as to furnish a remedy of the effects of confined and of more or less cramped positions inseparable from schoolwork. (“The making of men”, 1904, p. 7)

In remaining consistent with the theme of the Military Drill undertones to Physical Culture, it was the BJP system’s set of Health Drills that were viewed favourably by policy makers and educationists as they claimed to support students’ physical, mental, and moral qualifications. As indicated by references to these sets of ‘scientific physiological exercises’ as ‘drills’, these exercises were to be repeated and practiced on mass to invigorate ‘the dull brain’ and ensure students’ bodies and organs were functioning effectively (i.e. without physical and mental defects) (BJP, 1901, p. 23) to achieve the ideal ‘picture of health’ (p. 7). Examples of the Health Drills prescribed by Physical Culture were exercises that ‘exhilarate[d] without exhausting’ and ‘naturally include[d] movements which could be applied to daily uses’ (Bailey, 1892, p. 26), such as breathing, poise, and walking exercises, as they did ‘much to restore one’s figure and ... prevent losing it, for to breathe well one must stand well’ (p 29). Therefore, the BJP prescribed set of Health Drill consisted of those exercises that had an important effect on health along with exercises that freed and relaxed the thighs, ankles, hips, neck, and arms and reinforced drill-like approaches as the dominant paradigm in PE.

Although the implementation of Physical Culture in schools was ‘obligatory’ and only guided by the *BJP Book* (BJP, 1901), the health benefits of such Physical Culture drills ensured that the media consistently reported on the need for the adoption of a thorough system of Physical Culture:

our [NSW] public schools, not as an extra, but as part and parcel of the routine teaching ... [and] every penny spent by the government in providing efficient teachers and instructors [of Physical Culture] would be repaid to the State a thousand fold by the increased

effectiveness and health of its individual citizens. (“Physical Culture and the State”, 1904, p. 2)

In picking up on the idea that Physical Culture was able to instill in students the will to try harder to improve not only their physique but also their health (BJP, 1901), media reports supported that there was ‘no lack of sound physical culture for our coming manhood and womanhood’ (“The making of men”, 1904, p. 7). This widespread public support for the practice of Physical Culture in society and schools served the political and social need to address the increased diagnosis of students with physical and mental defects following the period of industrial revolution. Specifically, it was the prescribed set of remedial exercises under the BJP’s system of ‘Medical Gymnastics’ centred on preserving mobility, rectifying deformities (i.e. flat foot, wry neck), and preventing stiffness (BJP, 1901, p. 7) that exemplified the remedial and corrective role fulfilled by Physical Culture. As confirmed by the Physical Culturist Colonel Bjelke-Peterson, the natural health outcomes of being physically active included diminished physical defects and fewer deformities requiring medical attention, such as spinal curvature or obesity (BJP, 1901).

Overall, it was clear from the early-1900s that Physical Culture occupied a valid position in the PE curriculum, as it was viewed as ‘the most effective of modern means of fitting the child mentally and morally for life, for success, [and] for happiness’ (BJP, 1901, p. 10) given its alignment with the Ancient Grecians’ methods of perfecting bodies. Although more progressive forms of PE had become increasingly important in meeting political and social needs following the industrial revolution, such as addressing the health concerns of contemporary bodies amidst a period of economic hardship, methods of Physical Culture were still linked to Military Drill approaches, ensuring the latter preoccupation remained dominant in PE between 1880 and 1919.

4.1.3 The Swedish System of Gymnastics.

It was clear that traditional Military Drill exercises were dominant in PE because of Australia’s preoccupation with the defence of the ‘=Motherland’, the British Empire. However, the introduction of the progressive ideals of Physical Culture was accompanied by a sub-branch of its system in the form of the Swedish System of Gymnastics. Amidst the predominance of the Military Drill approaches to PE, ‘the

Swedish physical exercises ha[d] found general favour' amongst militarists along with schools ("Physical Education of girls", 1884, p. 2) as its exercises reflected the corporeal and regulative nature of traditional drills. This section will demonstrate that while the Swedish System of Gymnastics was a progressive approach to PE consisting of a set of therapeutic free-standing exercises (Broman, 1902) that served wider political and social agendas beyond preparing the nation's defence, its key place in the history of this subject was underestimated by Kirk (1998). At the same time, this section will corroborate Kirk's conclusions that Military Drill was the major overarching approach to PE between 1880 and 1919, because the more varied exercises prescribed by the Swedish System—whilst extending the nature of PE—ultimately shared similarities with traditional Military Drill.

Although the Swedish System of Gymnastics was part of the first wave of Physical Culture from the early 1800s, it was not until the early 1900s that this system was transplanted into approaches to PE in Australian schools. It was Henrik Ling that took up the idea that exercise could be used as a 'medicine' against the poor health effects of the industrial revolution by adopting a scientific interest in exercise and health and creating the Swedish System of Gymnastics (Moffat, 2012). On a global scale, Ling's system—originating from his work at the Central Gymnastics Institute in Stockholm in 1813—was noted as having played a substantial role in the beginning of PE; however, the infiltration of this system into Australian and NSW schools was downplayed by Kirk (1998). The influence of the Swedish System was indeed so significant nationally that manuals were produced to guide its teachings in schools locally and in turn provided insight into the nature of its expressions, as detailed by Broman (1902). For instance, the Swedish System acknowledged that it started with same routine as traditional Military Drill, namely 'the old-fashioned exercise, "arms up; arms down; arms out" and so on, gone through in school at a rapid speed, hastened along by the frequent reminder' (Broman, 1902, p. 1); however, the Swedish System also encouraged precise and large muscular movements through activities using the school desk, dumb-bells, a sash, and barbells. Since the Swedish System stressed that these and subsequent prescribed exercises were to be executed 'slowly and systematically', this system advocated that its exercises could not fail to be beneficial, in marked contrast to traditional Military Drill exercises, after which children were reported to be

‘completely “played out” and not one bit better for the half-hour of physical exercise’ (p. 1).

Consequently, an explanation for the nation and state’s uptake of the Swedish System of Gymnastics, as reported by the media, was that its more varied activities in comparison to traditional Military Drill ensured the ‘harmonious organic development of the body and of its powers and capabilities by exercises’ (“Health and education”, 1893, p. 1). For example, the Swedish Gymnastic exercises such as arm circling were able to set a general foundation for all-round, symmetrical physical development and posture, flexibility, and endurance; these qualities gave this system ‘great merit’ during ‘these days of economy and retrenchment’ (“Health and education”, 1893, p. 1). Specifically, the economic depression following the industrial revolution and the Federation of Australia in 1901 was accompanied by concerns about overcrowded living conditions and poor health outcomes, and the need to promote a sense of national solidarity amongst citizens. As a result, the public support for the Swedish System of Gymnastics ‘to be practiced each day as part of the school work’ (“Physical Education of girls”, 1884, p. 2) gathered momentum following the positioning of this system as a way to ‘heal’ the effects of the economic depression, such as increasing number of individuals suffering tuberculosis and other emaciating diseases (“Consumption and how to avoid it”, 1894, p. 13). Hence, Swedish Gymnastics programs in schools evolved as a strategy to ‘counteract the danger of a pthisical predisposition’ (i.e. susceptibility to contracting disease) through provisions for active movements that expanded the whole of the chest in such a manner as to heal and protect individuals from tuberculosis in particular (“Consumption and how to avoid it”, 1894, p. 13).

In particular, the Swedish System claimed that it was able to help address the impact of health issues through its prescribed set of movements that were ‘made for a purpose with an aim at certain results, dictated by the construction of the body’ (“Health and education”, 1893, p. 1). The active movements were akin to ordinary gymnastic exercises but were to be executed in a ‘more gradual and slow manner’ (“Consumption and how to avoid it”, 1894, p. 13), to ensure each movement was considered important and to establish the foundations for the many more advanced and varied exercises covered as the lesson progressed and/or students’ levels of strength increased (Broman, 1902). A typical lesson within the Swedish System supported the development of

supple, flexible joints, cardiovascular and muscular endurance, and good posture through sets of exercises classified in terms of their functional effects; for example, deflective leg movements, balance movements, jumping and vaulting, abdominal movements, and respiratory movements (Broman, 1902). Again, ‘each separate alteration of position [was] to be made slowly, deliberately, and thoroughly, without any straining or jerking’ (“Health and education”, 1893, p. 1), and there was potential to perform the same active movement using an elastic belt to ensure the exercises were valuable for healing purposes (“Consumption and how to avoid it”, 1894, p. 13). Therefore, this thesis argues that it was clear from early reports that the Swedish System was a more progressive approach to PE compared to traditional Military Drill as it offered a way to restore the ‘diseased organism’ (“Ling’s System of Gymnastics”, 1885, p. 7). Specifically, the Swedish System of Gymnastics claimed that its exercises supported students’ health by serving:

to draw the blood from one set of organs and bring it to others; to develop the strength of one part and to diminish it in another, to remove congestion from internal organs, and to make the circulation more uniform throughout the body—in short, to substitute health for disease.
(“Ling’s System of Gymnastics”, 1885, p. 7)

Given the concerns surrounding high unemployment rates during and after the years of the economic depression in Australia, the Swedish System gained increased credibility amongst educationists and politicians due to the capacity of its exercises to support one’s ‘organic and intellectual faculties’ (“Health and education”, 1893, p. 1) and ‘develop in the growing person ... the harmony between mind and body’ (“Ling’s System of Gymnastics”, 1885, p. 7). Media reports typically portrayed the Swedish System as ‘an essential part in the general education of all people’ (“Health and education”, 1893, p. 1); however, the Swedish System was not mandatory for NSW public schools. Instead, it was expected that public and private schools offered well-conducted gymnasiums ‘where there [was] a system for training the body in a rational way’ according to the provisions under the Swedish System of Gymnastics (“How to cultivate the body”, 1894, p. 4), given the aforementioned health benefits.

As noted earlier, the Swedish System of Gymnastics was positioned as a valuable and progressive approach to PE following widespread acknowledgement that the nature of

its activities supported the quest for ‘awakening of [a] national consciousness’ and the need for ‘a new point of departure’ to ‘remedy’ social suffering and neglect (“National deterioration”, 1905, p. 12) following the Federation of Australia. Therefore, the prescribed set of Swedish Gymnastic exercises had become increasingly acknowledged as serving the need to produce economically productive citizens. Notably, the value and status of the Swedish System of Gymnastics received significant backing when the first Medical Inspector of NSW public schools, Dr Reuter Emerick Roth, favoured the Swedish System as a means to ensuring that ‘the great bulk of children’ were ‘strong, vigorous, and well-balanced’ (Lishman, 1901, p. iii). Particularly, it was the capacity for the Swedish System of Gymnastics to develop and maintain harmony between the different parts of students’ bodies which meant the projected result of this form of PE was ‘health’ (Broman, 1902, p. 11), thus aligning this system with the nation’s focus on the reproduction and renewal of healthy citizens following federation in 1901.

Another notable feature of the Swedish System that furthered its value as a progressive form of PE was the capacity for its exercises to produce a change in physique, as achieved by traditional Military Drill approaches, along with enhancing ‘the mental capacity’ of participants, which meant this form of PE was able to help counteract the trend that saw only a ‘minority of educated people’ comprising the Australian population (“National deterioration”, 1905, p. 12). Similar to Physical Culture, the Swedish System emphasised that its exercises reflected the Ancient Greeks’ rigid and exact method of gymnastics training for youths, which had perfected the development of minds ‘but not at the expense of the body’ and had ‘cultivated the body as no other nation has done’ (“How to cultivate the body”, 1894, p. 4). Specifically, the Swedish System projected that it was provisions for exercises promoting the activity of the organs making blood, correcting defects, and perfecting the human figure that were complementary to the Grecian philosophers and physicians’ belief that ‘the mind could not possibly be in a healthy state unless the body was in perfect health’ (p. 4). Since the graded physical exercises comprising the Swedish System were found to complement students’ physical powers [body] and character development [mind] and were backed by the medical profession as beneficial to both body (i.e. corrected posture) and mind (i.e. encouraged willingness for physical exertion) (Lishman, 1901), the Swedish System attained a valid place in the school curriculum.

At the same time, the Swedish System was also functioning as a set of ‘distinctively corrective’ exercises as it supported the physique, harmonious bodily development, and sound mental health of students (Broman, 1902, p. 11). In addition to assisting with the widening of the chest to minimise the dangers of pthysical predisposition, the exercises of the Swedish System also helped with the ‘straightening of the spine and securing a correct carriage of the head and shoulders’ (p. 11). The capacity to support a student’s posture was an increasingly valued outcome of the Swedish System, as the social conditions of the economic depression reinforced the importance of a school education but also highlighted the dangers accompanying a sedentary school-life, including defective development and injurious deformities (Broman, 1902). Consequently, the Swedish System claimed its exercises would correct such defects and deformities, firstly by building up the parts of the body muscles that were weak from ‘lack of use’ or ‘wasting’ away, and secondly by bringing all muscles into action simultaneously to stimulate the heart and lungs, increase circulation and respiration, and strengthen the muscles. It was confirmed that Swedish exercises should be performed regularly to prevent muscle ‘atrophy’ (“How to cultivate the body”, 1894, p. 4) in support of the physical development of the nation’s citizens.

Although Military Drill approaches to PE were dominant in this first era of PE from 1880 to 1919, the fact that the Swedish System’s prescribed exercises were embedded in therapeutic and remedial purposes exemplified that more progressive methods had infiltrated approaches to PE. In particular, the ideals of the Swedish System supported wider political and social agendas post-Australian Federation and the economic depression, such as promoting national solidarity through the production of well-functioning citizens. This validated the adoption of this system as part of school curriculum.

4.1.4 Junior Cadet Training (JCT) scheme

At the same time PE had evolved into more therapeutic and medically focused forms through the systems of Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics, traditional drill-like activities were revisited in the school curriculum as part of nation-wide Cadet Schemes to address political concerns over the carnage and extent of the loss of Australian lives following the second Boer War and with the impending threat of a European war (Kirk, 1998). Given the political and social concerns associated with warfare, the most

significant example of the resurgence of traditional Military Drill approaches occurred when the Commonwealth Department of Defence required State Departments of Education by law to implement Australia's first national compulsory Junior Cadet Training (JCT) scheme in 1911 for males aged 12 to 26. Therefore, it will be demonstrated throughout this section that the JCT scheme reinforced Military Drill as the dominant paradigm in PE during this first period. However, the evolutions under this scheme shared similarities with more progressive forms of PE, pointing to the capacity of this subject to meet broader political and social goals supporting the value of education and the health as well as physical training capacities of students.

The introduction of the JCT scheme was timely and indicated that developments in PE were again in response to political and social events, as media reports from 1910 indicated that there was going to be a war 'within two or three years' as the German-Austrian combination was threatening to 'wrest from Britain the supremacy of the sea, to deprive her of her colonial possessions, and to reduce her to the position of third-rate Power' ("The coming war", 1910, p. 6). Australia had a duty to maintain an adequate home defence to protect the Commonwealth from attack, because 'if the Mother Country gets the worst of it, there will be no local flag here [Australia]. That will pass with the Union Jack. Another will wave, and life under it will not flow on like a song' (p. 6). Consequently, the JCT was the new defence scheme that Lord Kitchner assured 'dealt with the problem of Australian defence in light of modern war' ("If war came", 1910, p. 10) and its compulsory nature until 1931 helped to counteract growing 'anti-war sentiments ... aroused among the general public' (Kirk, 1998, p. 72). The compulsory nature of the JCT scheme was widely captured in the literature, since its activities were officially conducted during the school day and involved thousands of youths participating in a set number of hours of drilling and exercising tied to military preparedness, as reported by Kirk (1998) and Stockings (2007).

A major piece of evidence reinforcing the predominance of Military Drill approaches to PE was the fact that, unlike the Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics systems, the government made the JCT compulsory in schools and provided supporting curriculum specific to the Australian context to guide its implementation amidst a climate of modern civilisation characterised by crowded localities, confined spaces, and sedentary occupations (BOE, 1911). Specifically, the prominence of traditional

Military Drill in PE following the introduction of the JCT scheme was furthered by the publication of the Australian *Junior Cadet Manual* (Stupart, 1914), which was informed by Britain's *Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Schools* (Board of Education [BOE], 1911b). Since the Department of Education in each Australian state was required to monitor the JCT scheme, these manuals reinforced the strong focus on the physical training of youths through drill-like approaches ("Military training in school grounds", 1911, p. 5). Most notably, the *Junior Cadet Manual* (Stupart, 1914, p. 7) emphasised Squad Drill and positioned marching drills as a means to ordering and arranging students and classes in formations. Rifle shooting was also prescribed in this manual and required 'careful instruction' to equip students with the 'intelligence' and character befitting such citizenship duties associated with a national defence scheme (p. 197). Again, in line with the imperatives of traditional Military Drill, these provisions under the JCT scheme were considered complementary to the need to reawaken students' interest in physical training by requiring students to acquire habits of discipline and order and respond promptly to words of command to encourage alertness, accuracy, and precision (Stupart, 1914).

Another source of findings reiterating the dominance of Military Drill was the consensus on the need for and subsequent teacher-training opportunities in the area of Military Drill. Teachers were able to access professional development in this subject through short courses organised by the NSW Department of Education (DOE) with the aid of the Defence Department. Media reports captured that a large number of public school teachers—presumably males, given the focus on drill-like activities—were completing a course of instruction in Junior Cadet Training at the Victoria Barracks in Sydney ("Physical drill for teachers", 1918, p. 9). Although it was anticipated that when teachers participated in these training facilities their movements were likely stiff, hampered, and awkward, it was recommended that 'they should endeavour to acquire the ease and grace of movement which is essential to be a good teacher' of Military Drills (Stupart, 1914, p. 24), as school teachers rather than military personnel were responsible for the implementation of the JCT scheme in schools, hence it was preferred the former were trained to support the nation's defence agenda.

Amidst the alignment between the nature of the JCT scheme and preparing a nation for war as the major preoccupation in PE, this thesis suggests that the contributions of the

JCT scheme to broader educational and social outcomes were overlooked in literature such as the research by Stockings (2007). The JCT scheme, for example, was able to achieve broader goals of education as it prescribed activities beyond traditional drill-like regimes to include opportunities for running, free and recreative movements, organised games, and electives including swimming, lifesaving, first aid, School and Personal Hygiene, and Mariner's compass (Stupart, 1914). Since Britain's BOE (1911b) pushed that physical exercises should be experienced by students (including girls) from when they first attend school right through periods of growth and development, it was clear that the JCT scheme offered the education system a method that contributed 'something more than the mere training of the intelligence' (p. v). It followed that the JCT scheme in Australia should be extended to all children in the Commonwealth, not just Cadets (Stupart, 1914), as its broadened activities were able to support the correction of physical defects in the growing number of 'weakly children' and help to prevent mental fatigue amongst all students (p. 4), thus remedying the social effects of modern civilisation characterised by crowded localities, confined spaces, and sedentary occupations.

Specifically, the JCT scheme claimed to produce males with 'a stronger and more healthy body ... to aid him to approach more nearly to the ideal of perfect physical development' (Stupart, 1914, p. 3). Such claims were validated as the more varied activities aligned the JCT scheme with notions of Physical Culture that had confirmed that the mind and body should be treated as 'mutually dependent' in PE (p. 4). For instance, the physical exercises under the JCT scheme included quick, massive, and simple movements to benefit posture, breathing, strength, power, and to help resist fatigue; this was a valued outcome of this scheme, as the 'highest and best results of education cannot be attained until it is realised that mental culture alone is insufficient, and the physical exercise is necessary to the development not only of the body but also of the brain' (p. 2). In fact, it was the capacity of the physical exercises prescribed under the JCT scheme that supported 'the physical health of children', which was also a facet that sat 'at the root of education properly conceived' (BOE, 1911, p. v).

Ultimately, the JCT scheme was viewed favourably by educationists as 'attention to the health of the children [was considered] a matter which directly concern[ed] those whose duty it [was] to provide for their education' (BOE, 1911, p. v). The JCT scheme

provided activities that nurtured within students a love for health and wholesome play (Stupart, 1914) in a similar way to the systems of Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics. Media commentaries also corroborated that ‘the extension of physical training [under the JCT scheme] in the State schools’ had resulted in ‘the improvement in physique as well as in the more graceful carriage of the children as a whole’ (“School drill and physique”, 1914, p. 8). Moreover, teachers were reported to have remarked upon ‘the mental improvement’ of students ‘following the physical exercises, and the disappearance of many of the effects of adenoid growths that some years ago were so prominent in Australian children’ (p. 8). This evidence suggests that the implementation of the JCT scheme in NSW schools indirectly supported the health of students and hinted at the overlap between the nature of PE and HE. Accordingly, this scheme’s focus on the development of students with a body and mind equally formed overturned historical notions that suggested the mind and body were to be educated separately. Instead, this study’s recording of expressions of PE according to the JCT scheme furthers Stolz’s (2014, p. 17) conceptualisation of PE ‘as academic study’, confirming that the subject had positive effects on the mind (i.e. educational value) as well as the body from close to the outset of compulsory schooling, reinforcing that this subject had a justifiable and valid place in the curriculum from its early origins in NSW public schooling.

On a final note, the introduction of the JCT scheme and growing importance of PE to wider national goals stimulated the need for opportunities to train specialist teachers in this subject, who were increasingly women, and provide subsequent training opportunities beyond those offered at Victoria Barracks. For instance, media reports confirmed that following the onset of WWI, male teachers ‘continue[d] to volunteer for service with the expeditionary forces ... the result is that ... the proportion of female teachers and pupil teachers is increasing’ (“School teachers and the war: Number of volunteers”, 1915, p. 2). Prior to war, in 1906 approximately 56.3% of teachers were male compared to 43.7% female, whereas by 1918 the statistic had reversed and 43.1% were male and 56.9% were female (“Public school teachers: Why there is a shortage”, 1919, p. 6). The trend reflecting the increased number of female teachers for the first time in the history was confirmed by the register of the NSW Public Instruction Department, which stated ‘women teachers predominated, the respective numbers

being, men 3589, women 3718' ("Public Instruction: Great army of teachers employed", 1917, p. 4).

In line with the prominence of Military Drill and growing number of female teachers in NSW, Frank Stuart, a noted Swordsman and instructor of physical training, along with Evelyn Tildesley, Principal of Normanhurst School in Ashfield, established a stand-alone Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) institute in 1917 in NSW called the Australian College of Physical Education (ACPE, 2016). The founding of ACPE suggested that the impetus for trained teachers of PE had been enacted as part of the Military Drill impetus in this subject area. Contrary to indications that PE was typically geared towards males—especially in terms of military preoccupations and preparing a national army—ACPE was initially established specifically to train female PE teachers (ACPE, 2016) due to the high number of Australian male teachers and men in general at war. Although the discussions for specialist teachers in this subject emerged at this point, these early movements in PETE history were not consolidated until the 1930s, as will be demonstrated in the next period of PE.

Summary

This section has demonstrated that the major paradigm in PE at the outset of compulsory schooling was Military Drill, as its introduction and expressions in NSW public schools met the political and social motivation of producing a strong citizen army and served the goal of 'rendering good service to the State' (Strong, 1878, p. iii). It was clear that the preoccupation with preparation for war was also strong following the Boer War and just prior to WWI, as exemplified by the introduction of the compulsory JCT scheme. Although the transplanted systems of Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics into NSW public schools demonstrated parities with the nature of traditional Military Drill approaches in PE, these sub-branches moved the subject's history beyond complementing notions of warfare to demonstrating that alternate forms of PE could help produce a 'a race of healthy, intelligent, educated men' (Strong, 1878, p. iii). This capacity of PE was achieved through the more varied types of activities covered by these two systems that supported the need to remedy social suffering and neglect, along with addressing the widespread physical and mental defects and deformities following WWI and promoting the national quest for economically productive citizens post-Federation and economic depression ("National

deterioration”, 1905, p. 12). Even though more progressive forms of PE resembled drill-like pedagogies—thus making it difficult to dispute that Military Drill was the dominant paradigm in PE during these formative years, as proliferated by Kirk (1998)—this thesis concludes that the appearance of Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics were obscured by such preoccupations, even though they were also taking place in NSW public schools during the period between 1880 and 1919.

4.2 Eugenic ideals promoting PE (1920–1949)

While the history of the international movement of eugenics and its ties to PE have been documented, as noted in Chapter Two, the history of this movement and its expressions in the NSW public education system are unwritten. The history of PE from 1920 to 1949 builds on the widely established literature on the international movement of eugenics, which had many variants amongst countries (Adams, 1990). The rise of the eugenics movement throughout countries including Britain and the United States began in 1900 (Allen, 2011), which coincided with the timing of the *White Australia Policy* (1901). However, this section argues that eugenic ideals were also influential on Australian society, particularly the education systems during the periods of war (Garton, 1994), thus eugenics is discussed as part of the history of PE from 1920 to 1949. This section will also cover the influence of the eugenic movement in Australia in light of the connections between Darwinism, the *White Australia Policy* (1901), and eugenics attempting to achieve a sense of solidarity and nationalism during the period of war. This level of detail will not be repeated in the histories of SS and HE, given the extensive historical treatment of eugenics here.

The connections between the *White Australia Policy* (1901), Darwinism, and eugenics played a significant role of the expressions of PE (and also SS and HE) in NSW public schools. Following the political push to ‘create a new, better Australia ... that would ... avoid the poverty and unrest, of the industrialised northern hemisphere’ (Wyndham, 1996, p. 4) evident at the time of Federation and the *White Australia Policy* (1901), eugenics built on social Darwinism was positioned as a method to enable Australia to become a ‘new world utopia’ (p. 20). In pursue of this goal, it was anticipated that eugenic ideals would help promote national efficiency and progress amidst an ‘influx of Southern Europeans into Australia ... [as the nation] had a determination to keep its

area white ... if [it] were to fulfil the country's destiny' ("Alien Influx", 1925, p. 16). Also in pursuit of a White Australia were reports that stated the NSW Aboriginal Protection Board had removed children to settlements and reserves to limit the growth of half-caste Aboriginal populations ("Vanishing Aborigines", 1922, p. 7). Consequently, 'the Australian Aborigines [were] a dying race' ("Vanishing Aborigines", 1922, p. 7), which complemented policy makers' desires for a White Australia. The disappearance of Aboriginal people was conceived as a two-stage process: firstly, it was hoped that people of full Aboriginal descent would soon 'die out', and secondly, it was projected that Aboriginal physical characteristics along with Aboriginality would disappear through biological absorption (Ellinghaus, 2003, p. 186). The latter aligned with eugenic ideals, as according to scientific theories of Darwinism, Aboriginal genes would not survive as 'throw-backs' as part of interbreeding and Aboriginals were not 'fit' to breed, thus supporting a White Australia that sought to rid itself of an 'Aboriginal problem' (p. 186).

Evidently, examining the political and social factors influencing expressions of PE during the period of eugenics presents a new way of perceiving developments in this subject and the role of this curriculum in both schools and the broader community between 1920 and 1949. Specifically, it was during this period that PE in NSW played the function of negating the devastating societal consequences of disease, industrial unrest, unemployment, and excessive poverty. In particular, Garton (1994) noted that while not all professionals were drawn to eugenics, it was educationists amongst others (i.e. doctors) who were concerned with national efficiency, racial hygiene, and scientific management. Specifically, educationists sought to combat social problems through policies and preventative interventions in the interests of the broader social good (Garton, 1994), such as the mandatory assimilation of part-Aboriginals into the white community as part of Commonwealth Policy in 1937 to encourage 'the disappearance of the native race', as noted by Mary Montgomerie Bennett, teacher and advocate for Aboriginal rights (as cited in Wyndham, 1996, p. 24). See Wyndham (1996, pp. 20-52) for a detailed account of the history of eugenics with reference to Australia's native inhabitants and the *White Australia Policy*.

In connection with social constructivist perspectives, the rise of eugenics from 1920 to 1949 confirmed that major curriculum developments in PE were a reflection of wider

political and social movements. Specifically, the nature of PE was able to address the dominant political and social concerns about the genetic quality of the nation's citizens—concerns characteristic of eugenic philosophies—by focusing on developing students' levels of physical fitness in schools (Rodwell, 1999). Moreover, Rodwell (1999) provided further evidence that eugenic ideals had infiltrated the history of education by stimulating the push for playground facilities built for specific purposes: to foster individual physical fitness, to deepen personal spiritual and moral strength, and to hone the 'fighting edge' of the country's children (p. 309). Rodwell also asserted that schools and the curriculum (particular PE given its nature) were responsible for making use of these playground facilities to serve the eugenic goal of producing boys and girls who possessed healthy bodies and would in turn 'be all the better fit for serious work' (p. 309).

Since the nature of PE complemented and represented the historiographical interest in the eugenicist 'reform' of racial betterment and survival (Bashford & Levine, 2010, p. 155), the status of PE was elevated during this period. The raised value and place of PE in the curriculum were confirmed by the following two major developments: the formalisation of PE in curriculum and the establishment of specialised Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) institutions, as a follow on from its initiation pre-1920. These developments occurred as part of the political and social impetus of: (i) the eugenic responsibility of PE, (ii) the impetus of National Fitness, and (iii) the establishment of regulatory approaches to PE in line with eugenic ideals. These politico-social factors stimulated new curriculum developments in PE from 1920 to 1949 reflecting a social constructivist perspective, which was missing in the literature.

4.2.1 The eugenic responsibility of PE

Given this post-WWI era of pervasive machinery, the growth of towns, and specialised labour leading the 'savage to a life of laziness' (Gallagher, 1931, p. 27), it was clear from the 1920s that schools and the education system in general played a role in reconstructing society. As noted in media reports at the time, schools had a responsibility 'to heal and develop the stunted and deformed bodies, ill-balanced brains, and defective senses, which [were] to be found in all our [NSW] schools' ("Child measurement", 1920, p. 5). During the 1920s, the role of PE in schools grew in prominence following the withdrawal of support from the Defence Department, which

saw the end to the first and only compulsory national system of JCT in Australian schools in 1931. The reason for the growth of PE during this period was that its methods aligned with the political need to ‘teach and to preserve’ Australia’s youth so that it would not ‘take another War to ensure youths had reached the highest standard of physical training’ (Briton, 1931, p. 5). Gallagher (1931) maintained that PE was the science of the future of a youth’s body, as:

therein lies our only hope of avoiding either extinction or suicide of the white race ... the diseased body we leave to pathology, the morbid mind to psychology, but the healthy mind and body belong to PE, to achieve and to retrain. (p. 28)

Consequently, the focus in PE had shifted, as the subject was increasingly responsible for the salvation of the human race in line with eugenic ideals (Gallagher, 1931, p. 27). In particular, methods of PE had moved away from the traditional Military Drills focused on reforming ‘unfit’ young people (Briton, 1931, p. 5) to furthering notions stimulated by the Physical Culture movement that suggested physical exercise had the capacity to support the development of the ‘mutually dependent’ body and mind. This feature of physical exercises complemented eugenic ideals focused on racial betterment and survival that had acknowledged that it was ‘not sufficient, even from the purely physical point of view, to engage the body alone—we [the nation and educationists] must engage the mind, the will, too’ (Bean, 1937, p. 8).

Specifically, it was reported that PE should no longer be referred to as reflecting ‘the “physical jerks” of 30 years ago’, as the science of physical health had long left these perspectives behind and considered these methods to be ‘old-fashioned’ and ‘almost useless’ to the need to develop the mind simultaneously (Bean, 1937, p. 8). Similarly, typical media reports on the developments in PE declared that the subject was ‘no longer conceived in terms of standardised exercises, such as drill, gymnastics, and mass displays’; instead, it now combined ‘all those cultural and physical activities which contribute to good citizenship and sound mental and bodily health’ (“Physical fitness”, 1938, p. 10). Despite acknowledgements of the aforementioned physical and mental benefits of PE, a major theme to emerge from the eugenic undertones to PE—one not detected by Kirk (1998) or other historians of PE in Australia—was the more explicit links between PE and supporting the eugenic goal of producing ‘good

citizenship' values and commitment to the nation's state of fitness ("Physical fitness", 1938, p. 10) amidst threats of an impending war.

It was also during the period of eugenics that earlier indications of the capacity for PE to facilitate building a healthier population to support the national agenda of racial betterment and survival were increasingly recognised. For example, it was noted that Australia had a strong food supply, but the nation had 'not yet learned to make use of this ... and blend it for the purpose of building national physique' (Pines, 1935, p. 50). Hence, PE also had the responsibility of promoting the development of physical skills as a means to addressing the growing political and social concerns around the issue of obesity, which was not only a 'grave handicap' but a 'dangerous, unsightly and unnecessary' issue causing ill-health and 'fat'igue amongst Australians (Dupain, 1935, p. 41). In line with attempts to dispose of the old fallacy that urged people to grow fat-faced, the eugenic ideals stressed the importance of citizens becoming 'healthy, wealthy, and popular ... and never fat' (Dupain, 1935, p. 41).

Overall, PE had become responsible for taking 'full account of the bent of each individual in games and skill, as well as his or her physical limitations' ("Physical fitness", 1938, p. 10) to ensure that racial survival and betterment was not threatened by health issues and poor national physique. It was clear that the notion suggesting 'a vote for physical education is indirectly a vote for defence' was overturned during the 1920s and 1930s by the eugenic impetus to reform the nation by producing 'well-trained and harmoniously developed bodies' (Tildesley, 1938, p. 52). As a result, the subject turned its concerns toward how 'fit' the nation was to survive pervading social issues—including mental and physical defects such as obesity (Gosney, 1930, p. 12)—and later the political fears over the onset of WWII, which simultaneously provided the impetus for the National Fitness movement that followed.

4.2.2 The National Fitness movement

With the onset of WWII, the ideals of eugenics also came to the fore of PE as part of the statewide Fitness Scheme in NSW in 1939, two years before a *National Fitness Act* was passed in 1941. The federal government passed the *National Fitness Act* (1941) to improve the fitness of Australia's youth and better prepare them for roles in the armed services and industry. In line with the focus on youth and fitness, the *National Fitness*

Act (1941) provided the impetus for National Fitness Councils to support the provision of playgrounds, youth clubs, and school camps, but most significant to the focus of this thesis was the fact this Act was a major driver of the development of PE in schools, along with teaching and research in this field at the university level (Collins & Lekkas, 2011). Therefore, the *National Fitness Act* (1941) and subsequent social movement of National Fitness informed syllabus developments in PE that were made compulsory in NSW following NSW Minister of Education David Drummond's declaration that 'in physical education lies the way to bodily fitness' ("We must be fit", 1939, p. 3). This section will cover the regulatory approaches to PE in terms of: (i) the political and social impetus of National Fitness as a continuation of the goals of eugenics and the enhancement of the status of PE, as expressed in (ii) the development of PE curricula and (iii) the establishment of Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) institutions. It will also be demonstrated that PE was increasingly linked to political and social concerns over the health of citizens, which in turn contributed to the proliferation of the status of PE during the period of eugenics.

4.2.2.1 The political and social impetus of National Fitness

As noted in commentary coinciding with the enactment of the *National Fitness Act* (1941), the major political and social drivers for the National Fitness movement were 'first ... the concept of a state of personal fitness and the second ... that this fitness shall be a condition universally enjoyed throughout the nation' (Cumpston, 1941, p. 55). Specifically, Dr Howard Cumpston, who was Australia's first Director-General of Health, acknowledged that there was a push towards the nation and individuals achieving 'a state of bodily and mental fitness adequate to the demands of daily life and of social organisation' (p. 55). Although PE had been formally conducted for over fifty years in NSW public schools, the drive for National Fitness prompted initiatives to regulate and provide directions in the subject as its nature was closely aligned to and took responsibility for the imperatives associated with the onset of WWII and the implementation of the *National Fitness Act* (1941).

A milestone that followed and raised the status of PE during the National Fitness movement was the appointment of a Physical Education Advisory Committee and a Director of Physical Education, Gordon Young, in 1937 to oversee PE in NSW schools amidst the certainties of a threatening war (Sutton, 1939). An initial accomplishment

of this committee was that it had confirmed that extra periods for PE were to be conducted in schools from 1941 (“Camps and play centres for children”, 1941, p. 71). It was perceived that additional PE lessons were necessary, as children were spending long hours at their desks during the school day and these ‘protracted periods of inactivity’ were frequently producing ‘detrimental physical effects’ that ‘carry their mark through life’ (Young, 1941, p. 59). It was also projected that addressing the physical fitness of children during their schooling years would achieve the eugenic goal of racial survival, as youths were the adults of tomorrow (“Camps and play centres for children”, 1941, p. 71). Thus, PE aligned with the eugenic goal of correcting and promoting the healthy growth of young people by appealing to ‘their vigour for organised games’ as an aid toward ensuring a state of national fitness (“Camps and play centres for children”, 1941, p. 71).

Another major driver of the National Fitness movement was a concern that the nation could no longer afford to breed ‘weaklings’ (Tildesley, 1938, p. 52), as this trend had become recognised as a cause threatening racial survival and betterment. To address such eugenic fears, anthropological surveys—acting as the first formal assessment of a child’s physical fitness in NSW education history—were conducted under the umbrella of PE from 1939. Accordingly, schools and communities supported this National Fitness classification scheme because ‘in the welter of world crises, Australia ha[d] awakened to the distressing fact that, with all her advantages of sunshine and good food materials, she [was] producing a population far too large a proportion of which ranks as C.3’ (Tildesley, 1938, p. 52). Given the scale was from A.1 (i.e. fit) to C.3 (i.e. unfit), PE became responsible for ensuring that ‘if we cannot see much improvement of the C.3 adult, we can at least see that there will be fewer C.3 children’ (“Physical fitness”, 1939, p. 4), a responsibility that raised the status of this subject during the period of eugenics.

This focus on rating citizens was characteristic of Nazi Germany, particularly following the introduction of the Hitler government, which saw changes to their education system and a ‘great[er] emphasis on PE and sports’ (“In Germany: The new education”, 1934, p. 15). Australia’s impetus to parallel movements in Germany, including its provisions for PE, elevated the value of the methods used in this subject based on a number of reasons. Firstly, Australia needed to be aware of the crisis state of Australia’s citizens

compared to those of Germany, as this country was the impending enemy in WWII. Secondly, Germany was the country that had most successfully achieved eugenic ideals—that is, racial purity—through the strength of its PE schemes. Given the widespread newspaper articles reporting that approaches to education—especially PE—dedicated to ‘training for race and country’ had created ‘well-disciplined, heroic, and practical’ citizens under the National-socialist regime (“In Germany: The new education”, 1934, p. 15), there was a political and social imperative for schools and communities to take responsibility for producing ‘fit’ rather than ‘unfit’ populations, to achieve racial purity similar to Germany. Hence, the importance of PE was widely acknowledged, as this subject supported the national goal of producing ‘fit’ adults—as only ‘fit’ adults should reproduce—to minimise the number of ‘weak’ (i.e. C.3) citizens (Tildesley, 1938, p. 52). Indirectly, the idea of the ‘fit’ populations reproducing to create the next generation of citizens overlaps with the notions of Sex Education, indicating that the ideals of PE and HE were interconnected.

The impetus for PE to support the eugenic preoccupation with racial betterment under the National Fitness movement was also symptomatic of the subject adopting a post-WWI remedial role, which elevated its importance in the curriculum and highlighted that PE was linked to HE outcomes. For instance, commentaries on PE during the National Fitness movement, such as the commentary below offered by *Physical Fitness* (“Our aim”, 1939), conceived that the subject was:

no longer recognised as a matter of bulging biceps and outsized chests, but as a state in which man, to put it simply, feels well, eats well, thinks well and sleeps well. If he can do these things he may rightfully claim ‘I am fit’. (p. 5)

Subsequently, another major theme to emerge under the National Fitness movement was the fact that PE in schools had ‘take[n] its place among other social services as a brand of public health’ (Stewart, 1940, p. 5). The increased acknowledgement of links between PE and health concerns also raised the status of PE during the eugenic years. Specifically, it was projected that PE along with support for adequate ‘housing, sanitation, nutrition, and infant welfare’ would enable Australia ‘to achieve a high standard of physical excellence combined with mental and moral fitness’ (Stewart, 1940, p. 5). In serving the political and social needs of public health, the subject was

able to complement statements by the Chairman of the State Council of National Fitness, Ernest Fisk, who advocated that the ‘human body is moulded and controlled by the individual mind, but the mind cannot function satisfactorily unless the body is fit’ (“You can be fit if you are interested”, 1939, p. 3). Moreover, the alignment between the role of PE and public health meant the subject was able to redress eugenic concerns that ‘an ill-trained body [was] as severe as a criticism of the best citizen as illiterate’ during the National Fitness movement (Sutton, 1941, p. xv).

Overall, the value of PE was conceived in the capacity of the subject to develop students with ‘a sane mind in a strong body’ who may not necessarily be ‘endowed with superlative strength but active, alert, elastic, harmonious, in proportions ... [and with] a well-built instrument of a mind equally formed’ (Stanton, 1936–40, pp. 27–28). The important role played by PE in achieving politically and socially-driven eugenic goals in this period inevitably enhanced the status of the subject, which was immediately expressed in two ways: firstly, the development of PE syllabuses, and secondly, the establishment of PETEs, which are covered in the next two sections.

4.2.2.2 The development of PE curricula

A major premise typifying that PE was in support of and responsive to the eugenic ideals of the National Fitness movement was evidenced by the NSW DOE’s endorsement of a consistent and mandated approach to PE curriculum in NSW schools. It was the diversification of PE beyond Military Drills to include a variety of games and sports, which were increasingly recognised as supporting students’ mental as well as physical development in line with the eugenic impetus for racial betterment and survival, which highlighted the need for prescriptive PE curricula. Initially, the NSW DOE endorsed the ‘*I Must be Fit!*’ manual (Stanton, 1936–1940) as a resource to guide teaching in PE given the absence of formal curriculum provisions, until it was succeeded by the publication of the *Syllabus of Physical Training* (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943). The establishment of formal PE curriculum was a significant marker in the history of this subject: such evolutions raised its status and also signposted that PE met broader educational and social goals aligned with eugenic ideals, such as those noted by Drummond, where ‘the urgency of rising to a high standard of physical fitness could not be more obvious’ during the WWII years (“We must be fit”, 1939, p. 3), especially following comparisons with the enemy nation Germany.

The reference to the national stability of Germany as part of curriculum provisions in this subject reinforced that the push for PE was again political. It was clear that Germany was leading the world in the development of new methods of PE, which had become foremost in the evolution of the country's humanity and physique, as a fundamental necessity of the race ("Physical Education: It's modern trend", 1930, p. 30). Given it was widely known that Australia was already 'at war' with Germany ("German schools", 1937, p. 18) and had 'loitered in the past, unfortunately, while other nations [particularly Germany] have set about improving the physique of their manhood' ("We must be fit", 1939, p. 3), provisions for PE according to the *'I Must be Fit!'* manual reflected the systems of PE implemented by the 'Napoli' schools ("German schools", 1937, p. 18). Australia attempted to emulate these schools, which specially selected pupils to train for political and military leadership, and in the process cultivate 'hardy bodies, capable of any fatigue' ("German schools", 1937, p. 18) to attain the same degree of national stability and political strength and help the nation 'catch up' in terms of National Fitness ("We must be fit", 1939, p. 3).

Accordingly, the *'I Must be Fit!'* manual (Stanton, 1936–1940) emphasised that active games, team sports, and recreational activities were the key to 'being fit, keeping fit, and healthy living' (p. 14). Consequently, the pedagogy of PE in Australia had moved beyond Military Drill to focusing on various games and sports, as these forms of PE were recognised as producing citizens characterised by a balanced and harmonious 'four square' social, mental, spiritual, and physical personality (p. 13). The additional benefits offered by the promotion of active participation in games and sports also complemented the national Physical Education Advisory Committee's push for the subject to take responsibility for 'the harmonious development of the body within individual potentiality and the balanced functioning, without stress or strain of each person in the community to ensure satisfactory living and physical, mental, moral, and socially efficient citizenship' ("If you are talking about 'aims' [of PE]", 1940, p. 31).

Therefore, a sub-theme to emerge from the diversification of PE to include games and sport was that such inclusions were aligned with wider eugenic goals preoccupied with racial betterment through the production of moral citizens. Specifically, students were encouraged to play games and sports with 'a sound mind' and develop qualities of team spirit reflective of 'the lady' and 'the gentleman', rather than the 'bully', 'bounder', or

‘cheat’ (Stanton, 1936–40, p. 9). To support the development of moral and fit citizens, teachers of PE were to focus on ‘every boy and girl taking part’ rather than mattering ‘two pence who wins’ (Stanton, 1936–1940, p. 13), as doing so provided the kind of training needed to produce ‘a sound mind’ along with ‘an athletic body ... and a general fitness level’ (p. 3). Accordingly, provisions under the *I Must be Fit!* manual valued the teaching of games and sports in PE to all children, not just the talented sportsmen and women.

While PE was recognised as supporting the development of a student’s character and level of fitness, international sporting success was also noted as a way to prove the strength and prosperity of a nation and its citizens during this period of eugenics. Drummond highlighted that an additional by-product of the facilitation of games and sports in PE was improvements to Australia’s current level of athleticism, which could not ‘be overestimated’ following Australia’s disappointing results at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games (Stanton, 1936–40, p. 8) or ignored since Australia was ‘falling behind’ other nations such as Germany in terms of sporting success and projected national stability (“We must be fit”, 1939, p. 3). Given that international sporting success was equated with national strength and prosperity, talented Australian and international sportsmen were used as a way to further validate the NSW DOE’s endorsement of this manual and the value of playing games and sports to the nation. For example, W. M. Woodfull, captain of the Australian International Cricket team 1930–34 and a teacher in Victoria, was quoted as supporting the philosophy that ‘every young student ... who has the ambition to succeed’ in general terms (i.e. in support of national betterment and survival) and not just on the sporting field would benefit from playing games and sports (p. 3).

Another milestone in the history of PE suggesting that curriculum developments in PE had embodied the influence of eugenic National Fitness ideals was the *Syllabus of Physical Training* (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943), which prescribed exercises and activities adapted for Australia and New Zealand by permission of the Controller of His Majesty’s Stationary Office. This syllabus was significant as it signified that PE had completely shed its associations with Military Drill in favour of provisions for games and sport, which had not been completely achieved by the *I Must be Fit!* manual (Stanton, 1936–1940) due to its preoccupations with methods used by Germany, the

enemy in this WWII period. Although the syllabus declared that there was ‘less scope for self-teaching in this subject (PE) than other subjects’ (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943, p. 17), teachers were not provided with exhaustive descriptions of the rules, regulations, and requirements, but instead were expected to apply their own common-sense knowledge of games. However, the important role of the teacher of PE was reflected in this syllabus in the expectation that they were capable of instructing new skills and directing practice (i.e. through good visual impressions and having an eye for bodily form) to support students in their progress towards achieving self-management and active participation in PE, including the provision of modifications for physically and mentally defective children (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943). Such evidence implied a need for PETE institutions, as covered in the next section, to increase specialist knowledge and teaching approaches in PE that were still missing in NSW public schools.

The theme that the status of PE was elevated following the implementation of formal syllabi such as the *Syllabus of Physical Training* (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943, p. 10) was continued as this document confirmed that PE was a ‘sufficiently well-established part of the curriculum’ (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943, p. 10). This syllabus, for instance, confirmed that a substantial amount of class time was allocated to the subject during this period of National Fitness, which signified its value in the curriculum. According to this syllabus, the preference was to allocate a minimum of five slots of 20-minute periods of PE a week (three mandatory formal lessons plus other specialised recreational activities such as games/swimming) and focus on ‘ball sense’ to ensure students trained and competed in games programmed according to the sports played during certain seasons of the year (p. 15), such as cricket in the summer. It was anticipated that participation in these sports and games in PE would also complement the national consciousness of the need to support HE outcomes through well-considered methods and forms of occupation, exercise, and vigorous activity. For example, this syllabus stressed that failing to play games and sport was equated with prolonged fatigue, malnourishment, poor sleep patterns, poor posture, and a ‘flabby’ body tone (p. 13), which were contrary to broader eugenic national and social goals. In turn, prescriptions for PE were projected to make students’ muscles larger and stronger, remove unnecessary fat from the body, and reduce susceptibility to fatigue, in addition

to increasing the capacity for physical exertion (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943) to achieve a state of personal and national fitness, and thus racial betterment and survival.

Overall, the expression of PE in curricula throughout the National Fitness period was focused on encouraging a love of open air and healthy ways of living amongst students through fostering opportunities for games and sport (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943) in alignment with the eugenic imperative focused on producing active and fit citizens. Implicitly, the ties between PE and improving personal and national physique and health highlighted that PE was linked to HE and consolidated the strong positioning of PE in the school curriculum.

4.2.2.3 The establishment of Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) institutions

Although the need for specialised training programs for teachers of PE dates back to the early 1900s, it was following the strong influence of eugenics and the pending war that stimulated significant developments to the approaches to PE and sufficient force to establish ‘specialist teachers’ in this subject. Given that the subject was recognised as serving broader eugenic political and social goals such as National Fitness, the subject required qualified teachers to instruct the regulated approaches to PE following the establishment of formal curriculum. Therefore, this section will demonstrate that the introduction of teacher-training courses in PE, referred to as PETE institutions in Australia and NSW, was a significant milestone as it also ensured a regulated approach to teacher-training in the area of PE at the university level, which in turn elevated the status of the subject by formally acknowledging that it should be taught by specialist and trained teachers.

The need for Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) institutions first emerged in the early 1900s following the more varied nature of exercises included in PE as part of evolutions under systems of Physical Culture, Swedish Gymnastics, and the JCT scheme; however, evidence suggested teachers were only receiving forms of training at ACPE and/or in short courses conducted by military personnel in line with the predominance of Military Drill paradigms in PE. The gap in providing specialist teacher-training was noted as gathering momentum during the first era of PE; for example, the introduction of Physical Culture in schools was accompanied by views

that teachers needed to be trained to be capable of instructing ‘the art of body-building by exercise to a position quite approaching an exact science’ (BJP, 1901, p. 17). Moreover, Christian Bjelke-Petersen was ‘critical of the standard of work in schools and the unrealistic expectations placed on undertrained teachers to raise physical training above the level of drudgery’ (BJP, 1901, p. 9).

It was also the diversification of PE to include prescriptions for games and sports in the varied forms of PE—which had been noted as supporting the mental as well as physical development of students—that furthered notions that teachers should be adequately trained in PE. Consequently, the gap in the qualifications of teachers was noted in media reports in the early 1900s that stated ‘a part of the equipment of all teachers’ should be the ability ‘to give scientific physical instruction’ (“Physical Training”, 1909, p. 6). Given the widely acknowledged benefits of PE beyond preparing a nation for war, the impetus for qualified teachers of PE was furthered by recognition that students should receive ‘physical training by well-considered methods’, thus teachers needed to be trained in these methods ‘not for the purpose of producing gymnasts, but to promote and encourage, by means of such training, the health and development of the body and mind’ (Stupart, 1914, p. 3). Despite the *Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Schools* (BOE, 1911b) being marked as the first curriculum to provide specific guidelines for teachers, this syllabus also confirmed that the absence of specialist teacher-training opportunities supporting the implementation of its prescribed set of physical exercises was a shortfall in the power of PE to mould the ‘immature and plastic’ body and mind (p. 1) during the formative years of PE.

Most significantly, the *National Fitness Act* (1941) was ‘instrumental in establishing three-year diploma courses for specialist PE teachers in most of Australia’s universities, a development which heralded the emergence of a home-grown physical education profession’ (Kirk, 2004, p. 58). Therefore, the history of the establishment of PETE institutions is covered at this point, as it was the push for National Fitness that ensured teacher-training courses were established in PE just as they were in most other subjects. As noted, the historical evolutions in PE from military associations to more diversified forms of PE such as games and sport were significant drivers of the establishment of PETEs, as the subject had begun to rely heavily on qualified teachers (Ramsay & Johnson, 1936). Moreover, the NSW DOE reinforced the status of PE in the curriculum

by advocating that PE should be extended to every child in the state and this ‘type of education’ should be ‘the best available’ and ‘carried out in an expert and systematic manner’ (“Health and physique”, 1938, p. 10). Therefore, it was implied teachers were well-trained in the principles and practices of PE to provide positive, preventative, remedial, and curative training and create relationships with allied organisations to assist the implementation of PE in schools (“If you are talking about ‘aims’ [of PE]”, 1940). It was also important that teachers received training in PE, as the nature of the subject required them to lead by example. Students, especially during the period of adolescence, ‘looked up to’ and copied the modelling of athletic and scholastic success by teachers, as these qualities were perceived as ‘worth following’ (Stanton, 1936–40, p. 24).

Despite the strong push for specialist PE teachers based on the wider political and social goals served by the subject, the course offered at ACPE (noted in Section 4.1.4) was the only one of its kind in NSW until the late 1930s to early 1940s. The fact that the nature of PE had diversified and was responsible for producing students with a sane mind in a strong body (Stanton, 1936–1940, p. 27) in line with eugenic ideals resulted in Doctor Fritz Duras, Director of PE in Victoria, introducing a tertiary course in PE during 1937 for male and female undergraduate students at Melbourne University. This feat was significant, as subsequent PETEs developed across other Australian states were modelled on this inaugural one-year course, which later evolved into a two-year qualification that required students to study the history, principles, methods, and anatomical and physiological basis of PE, as well as body mechanics, hygiene, diet, and first aid (Kentish, 1996). This Diploma also covered varied branches of PE such as special practical training in gymnastics, folk, sword, Morris and rhythmic dancing, swimming, life-saving, and field games to cater for the diversified nature of PE (“Fitness training at Teachers’ College”, 1939, p. 21). Although the move to establish PETE institutions in NSW was much slower compared to Victoria, the underlying concepts of Duras’ tertiary course were transplanted into NSW teacher-training short courses and suggested that the inclusion of topics beyond Military Drill reflected the capacity for more varied forms of PE to promote the eugenic notions nurtured by the National Fitness movement.

Although formal PETE institutions were not widespread in NSW from the outset of the National Fitness movement, Young as the Director of Physical Education in this state was successful in facilitating a number of intensive short training initiatives to support teachers instructing PE. For example, Young instigated a 'Flying Squad', which involved a group of trained physical instructors recruited by the NSW DOE visiting centres throughout NSW to train teachers in methods of PE ("The flying squad of voluntary training", 1941). The Flying Squad 'gained the highest praise from NSW public schools and authorities' as this training was found to have thoroughly addressed the 'general demand for their services' ("Our aim", 1939, p. 5). Hence it was clear by the early 1940s that teachers were starting to receive some specialist training to equip students with the physical skills prescribed by formal curriculum documents such as the *I Must be Fit!* manual (Stanton, 1936–40) that now included a variety of games and sports. The signs of teacher training satisfied the eugenic agenda of producing 'fit' citizens and elevated the status of PE in the curriculum.

The second major teacher-training initiative in PE implemented by Young was the establishment of permanent Fitness Camps, such as those at Patonga and Brookvale, to professionally develop teachers in the areas of physical fitness coinciding with the imperatives of the eugenic National Fitness movement. These camps were established in response to the need to build a reputation in public opinion of the importance of trained teachers of PE modeling good practice in a subject that had achieved a valid place in the curriculum ("Voluntary teachers' summer camp", 1940, p. 20). Although these camps disclaimed to participants that they 'in no way provide a full training, they merely meet the need of the day' ("A step forward", 1940, p. 1), they were nonetheless positioned as responding to the need to professionally develop teachers on the very latest instruction methods of PE through 'a first-rate conditioning course' ("Voluntary teachers' summer camp", 1940, p. 20). However, attendance at these camps was voluntary and required teachers to sacrifice their own time, because they were conducted in the evening, on weekends, and during vacation periods ("Fitness Camps", 1939). Significantly, over 200 teachers attended the Training Camps from every part of NSW during 1940, which inferred teachers had taken their role in promoting national fitness seriously and the subject had acknowledged and valued its teachers having received specialist training to support the important place of PE in the school curriculum.

The motivation for establishing PETEs in NSW was consistent with the Education Department's and the state and Commonwealth governments' concerns over the health and physical welfare of school children. As noted by Drummond, 'a nation that can afford to spend millions of pounds on defence can and must find millions to [finance] the first and greatest line of defence—well-educated, healthy, robust, virile people, capable of utilising to the full the national resources' ("Our changing schools: Health and PE", 1938, p. 12). Hence, PE was acknowledged as being very closely related to the methods and goals of education in general, in turn supporting the production of 'normal' and 'adjusted' members of society to promote racial betterment and survival ("Physical Education", 1939, p. 3). For example, PE was noted for its capacity to promote proper conduct and sportsmanship amongst youths through its various recreational activities, physical skills, and games. Consequently, PE fulfilled the function of caring for the physical well-being of the pupils and seeing that as 'full a benefit as possible be ensured to each child' ("Our changing schools", 1938, p. 12). Such evidence indicated that the subject was important enough in NSW to have qualified teachers instruct its curriculum, which created a force to train specialist teachers in PE during this period of eugenics.

Amidst the growing importance of PE to the wider political and social goals focused on the health and well-being of the population, radical shifts in the outlook of teachers, the general public, and schools towards PE were 'long overdue' ("Our changing schools: Health and PE", 1938, p. 12). An explanation that enabled a shift in perceptions of PE and furthered the momentum for specialist teachers of PE was acknowledgement during the eugenic years that the subject had a 'scientific basis', which ensured the subject area 'won a place academically in universities, colleges, and in the education systems' ("Physical Education: Health and PE", 1939, p. 3). As a result, there was a push for funding to be allocated to the establishment of PETEs across universities in Sydney, Queensland, and Adelaide to ensure continuity with the work of Duras' PETE program at Melbourne University as part of the National Fitness campaign (Tildesley, 1940, p. 12). However, it was not until the *National Fitness Act* (1941) that sufficient Commonwealth government funding was allocated to PETE institutions, in response to growing concerns about the negative effects of poor PE programs and Australia not producing suitably qualified teachers (Collins & Lekkas, 2011).

In NSW, it was the establishment of the NSW Board in Physical Education by Drummond in 1940 that provided the impetus for the introduction of PETE institutions. For instance, one of the responsibilities falling under this Board involved determining the course of lectures and practical work that trainee-teachers should follow to obtain a three-year Certificate in Physical Education (“A step forward”, 1940, p. 1). The Board also reinforced the importance of teacher-training courses in PE, stating that a teaching qualification in NSW in PE was to ‘provide a general culture necessary for leadership’ and ‘training in the principles of education and in the problems of health and physical fitness’, which implied that PE had a valid place in the curriculum and society (“A step forward”, 1940, p. 1). Accordingly, Drummond acknowledged that teacher-training courses in PE needed to provide education on the technical and professional skills that would ‘enable the graduates to give instruction in PE in all its varied forms in schools, playgrounds, community centres, camps and institutions’ (“A step forward”, 1940, p. 1).

In addition to earlier contributions to teacher-training in PE, Young also proposed a two-year Certificate course at the Sydney Teachers College in 1939 that gained the support of Professor Harvey Sutton, who worked with the Faculty of Medicine to establish a Department of Physical Education at the University of Sydney. The proposed course at the University of Sydney was to provide the general culture needed for youth leadership, general training in the principles of education and in the problems of health and fitness, and the ‘skills which will enable certificate holders to give instruction in PE in its various forms’ (“Physical Education: University Course”, 1940, p. 5). These three foci of the course complemented the respective political and social eugenic ideals requiring the integration of youth, enrichment of their personality, and natural adjustment into the ‘social state of the day’ (p. 5). Despite the eugenic climate of the National Fitness movement demanding trained PE teachers, the proposed course did not eventuate at this point in history because when the Commonwealth Government offered the University of Sydney two thousand pounds to establish the course, the University refused the funding on the grounds that the grant was insufficient to provide adequate staff and facilities, especially during this period of war. Although ‘Sydney University ha[d] announced its intention of beginning such a course’, there were only a ‘mere handful’ of PETEs in existence in this state and nationally (Sutton, 1941, p. 68), resulting in the ad hoc early beginnings of PETEs.

However, PE was taught as part of the general three-year degree in Education at the Teacher Training Colleges by staff trained in the United States, who advocated the biological and physical science approach to PE (Ferguson, 1963). The fact that this course at the Sydney Teachers College evolved into a three-year Diploma in Education in 1940 under the Board of Studies—with 31 students enrolled in 1941 (Minutes of the Board of Studies in PE, 1941)—raised the profile of this subject and its teachers. Notably, this Diploma attracted publicity in the media because its ‘standard was high’ and it was considered to be ‘one of the most advanced [form of PETE] in Australia’, thus students from Tasmania and Western Australia transferred into the course (“New career for women”, 1941, p. 15). It was reported that this Diploma ensured its graduates were experienced in practical work, equipped to lead organised games, and capable of teaching various types of physical activities, including formal gymnastics, athletics, and swimming (p. 15). Moreover, the Diploma also trained teachers in physiology and anatomy, which meant graduates were able to teach a science such as biology and hygiene (“New career for women”, 1941), which opened up new career opportunities for teachers, especially women in a subject area that was typically male-dominated due to historical preoccupations with Military Drill.

The value of PE towards achieving National Fitness and broader eugenic ideals meant that the long struggle to secure a place in the field of education in universities, colleges, and the education system was finally over (“Physical Education”, 1939, p. 3). The subsequent outcome was an increased number of children receiving instruction in PE by ‘highly trained physical educationists’ (“New career for women”, 1941, p. 15), which helped validate the positioning of PE in the school curriculum.

Summary

The significant growth of the eugenic philosophy raised the profile of PE—not only in the school curriculum but also in the wider community—during the 1920s into the late 1930s, overlapping with the National Fitness movement. Since the national eugenic agenda was focused on developing ‘Australia’s greatest asset’—namely clean-limbed, virile, and active-minded youths (Briton, 1931, p. 5)—PE evolved to encompass a wider range of activities beyond Military Drill to incorporate various games and sports, including swimming, in support of this agenda. Specifically, PE helped to produce a healthy society resolutely pursuing the will to succeed and holding fast to the motto ‘I

Must be Fit!' (Stanton, est. 1936–1940) in support of national prosperity post-WWI and during WWII. The popularity of eugenics thus provided the opportunity for PE to enhance its status in schools via the formalisation of official curriculum documents and the establishment of PETE institutions. The value afforded to PE was also noted following recognition that its very nature supported the public health of individuals and communities and provisions for games and sport, which had become common practice in PE from 1930 and continued throughout the 1940s. This final conclusion signposted that expressions of PE overlapped with the nature of HE and SS.

4.3 The pinnacle of PE (1950–1989)

In many ways, the gains in PE between 1950 and 1989 were an extension of the strong foundations achieved throughout the eugenic period, thus saw the continuation of the growth and status of PE during these 'pinnacle' years. The start date of 1950 for this period of PE was determined as this year signified a time of growing momentum for the establishment of a new curriculum for primary schools in NSW, as issued by the DOE, which recognised the need for continuity in instruction as well as adjustments for changing conditions of life ("New curriculum for schools", 1952). Accordingly, this period was termed the 'pinnacle' years as curriculum developments in general and within this subject supported wider changes in NSW education history, as the state's Education Minister Bob Heffron (1944–1960) pushed to rectify the neglect of schooling while rebuilding the state and nation following WWII. Consequently, the NSW education system during the 1950s and 1960s reflected a progressive approach to education that resulted in compulsory high schooling following the *Wyndham Report* (1957), which was an attempt to overcome society's distrust in large-scale government bureaucracies by providing goods and services, including education, to all Australians (Campbell, Proctor, & Sherington, 2009).

Therefore, two major developments in PE underpinned the history of this subject during these pinnacle years of 1950 to 1989. The first theme to emerge was the consolidated place of PE in the school curriculum from 1952, as the subject embodied the growing emphasis on the development of students' physical skills to combat the negative effects stemming from advancements in technology causing citizens to lead more inactive lifestyles than ever before. Meanwhile, the neo-progressive era of the 1970s and 1980s saw education, including PE, fill an 'ideological vacuum, finding expression in the

flowering of special interest groups and identity politics' (Barcan, 2010, p. 1) that furthered the status of PE in the curriculum and emerged as the second theme of this era.

4.3.1 The consolidation of PE in the curriculum

One explanation for labelling the 1950s to 1980s period of PE as the 'pinnacle' years is that the education authorities had legitimised PE during this post-eugenic phase. Most notably, the subject assumed greater prominence when it emerged as a mandatory and central subject in the formal curriculum of primary and secondary schools and was allocated considerable time during the school day. Moreover, the PE curriculum was found to have developed in breadth and sophistication in this period, because the state government made a commitment to improving services such as education and schools in support of the NSW education system's imperative towards building a better nation following WWII, as noted by Barcan (2009). The main evidence of the role played by PE reflecting the major developments and changes in NSW education history were noted in the provisions for this subject under the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952), which focused on preparing children for good citizenship 'because upon them depends the future developments of the democratic way of life' ("Centenary of education", 1953, p. 3). Meanwhile, the *Wyndham Report* (1957) also emphasised that PE at the secondary school level could consolidate opportunities for physical conditioning conducive to healthy development in support of the impetus towards national prosperity.

This post-WWII period was also accompanied by a rapid increase in the number of school enrolments in NSW public schools. For example, it was reported that public school enrolments rose from 339,360 in 1946 to 455,321 by the end of 1953, which represented an increase of over 20,000 children each year for the eight-year period ("Grave, critical overcrowding in many state schools", 1954). As a result, there was a push for the consolidation of a democratic curriculum that would ensure these children (the future of the nation), including those who had migrated to Australia from overseas post-WWII, possessed the knowledge and understanding of the social, political, economic, and geographical factors shaping one's heritage (Australia), as a commitment to a sense of nationalism ("Centenary of education", 1953). This section

will cover the expression of PE in support of rebuilding the nation as detailed for (i) primary schools and (ii) secondary schools.

4.3.1.1 PE in primary schools

To confirm the establishment of the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) was in line with the political pursuit of rebuilding the nation's citizens and societies, the media reported that its implementation in schools saw 'all phases of education—academic, physical, moral, spiritual and cultural' included in the curriculum ("Growing pains", 1952, p. 3). Specifically, these phases were addressed through the subjects of Mathematics, English, Social Studies and Scripture, Natural Science, Art, Handicraft and Needlework, Music, and PE. Moreover, greater emphasis was placed 'on certain phases of some subjects, in line with modern educational thought' and 'on the needs of children in particular localities' ("Teachers review new curriculum", 1952, p. 2).

The inclusion of PE in this curriculum was heralded as having allocated the subject a 'pride of place' in the school curriculum, a significant feat given that the Education Department required subjects to validate their position as contributing to the rebuilding of the nation post-WWII and its prosperity in order to be included in this curriculum ("Physical Education in schools is getting a new deal", 1954, p. 20). To retain value and status, provisions for PE in this curriculum saw the subject act as a community agency that supported democratic living, such as developing the right social attitude leading to habitual sensitivities and nurturing human relationships to enable one to live harmoniously amongst fellow Australians ("Centenary of education", 1953). In turn, PE was positioned as promoting 'all phases of education' through its wide range of activities that facilitated social training, cooperation, and mental stimulation ("Physical Education in schools is getting a new deal", 1954, p. 20), thus supporting the curriculum goal focused on the prosperity of the nation (NSW DOE, 1952). Specifically, the *1952 Primary Curriculum* claimed PE achieved the following broader national and educational objectives through its varied activities:

- (1) social and emotional outcomes through free play/games that promoted good civic behaviour (i.e. not giving up easily) and enjoyment

- (2) recreational outcomes by transferring the types of PE activities learnt at school to leisure time pursuits outside of school
- (3) mental outcomes via the solving of problems in game situations under pressure in PE lessons (NSW DOE, 1952).

Since it was clear that PE promoted the broader welfare and stability of the state and nation, the subject had a substantiated place in the curriculum, as exemplified by the NSW DOE (1952) requirement that schools conducted four lessons of PE per week of more than 30 minutes duration. This trend confirmed that ‘gone are the days of dummy rifle drill with its military bias, of aimless isolated movements of the body done in class unison just because it was good for discipline’ (“Physical Education in schools is getting a new deal”, 1954, p. 20). Instead, the subject was focused on physical outcomes (i.e. vigorous physical/muscular activity to enable skillful performance and basic skills to reduce the number of accidents) and the realisation of mental (i.e. leadership, social, and personality) benefits associated with enjoyable and good-humoured PE activities (NSW DOE, 1952).

Amidst the drive for democratic education, which was an underlying imperative of the NSW education system in general during the post-WWII era, there was a notable change in the nature of PE activities to support an emphasis on educational outcomes. Specifically, it was the implementation of ‘progressive methods’ that enabled educationists to provide ‘practical training for democratic citizenship’ (“Centenary of education”, 1953, p. 3). In support of progressive notions, PE was structured according to the following three types of lessons, each with a different educational focus:

Directed: games to develop skillful control of bodies

Games: coaching/play in various minor/major games with an emphasis on national games and sports (particularly swimming and athletics)

Rhythmic Activity and Dancing: promotion of mobility, strength, and grace through free expression. (NSW DOE, 1952)

The restructuring of PE lessons according to these three approaches also responded to political and social concerns at the time. Firstly, there were political concerns over the ‘highly controlled socialised state of the welfare pattern’, resulting in many people

‘becoming bored by their ordinary existence’ and ‘playing upon his bent towards laziness’ (“Gambling is an escape from a welfare state”, 1953, p. 23); consequently, this structured approach to PE presented a new focus on the development of students’ fundamental movement skills (FMS) in anticipation that improved physical skills would overcome the national tendency towards laziness. The imperative for promoting engagement in PE was increasingly significant given the widely accepted notion that participation in recreational activities, together with better diet, had a marked effect on the health of Australian children (“Building the health of the nation”, 1951). That is, participation in PE would help students to fill in their ‘leisure hours’ with physical pursuits rather than alternative, inactive pursuits that threatened the prosperity of the nation (“Gambling is an escape from a welfare state”, 1953, p. 23).

Since the value of the time spent in PE lessons was found to vary ‘considerably from teacher to teacher and from school to school’ (Whiteside, 1960, p. 5), a *Handbook for Teachers of Physical Education in Primary Schools* (NSW DOE Physical Education Branch [PEB], 1960) was published to support Generalist Primary Teachers in the absence of qualified PE specialists. At the core of the support offered by the Handbook was the political imperative to encourage students, who were acknowledged as ‘not alike physically’, to engage in PE and active pursuits beyond schooling to support the welfare of the state (p. 12). This Handbook furthered the *1952 Primary Curriculum’s* suggestion that a way to promote student inclusion and engagement in PE was to organise lessons based on sex and/or ability (NSW DOE, 1952). In particular, the Handbook reinforced the importance of catering for ‘the fat girl’ and ‘the clumsy boy’ in PE (NSW DOE PEB, 1960, p. 12). Not only did this reference to these specific types of learner characteristics reinforce the need to promote inclusion, but the use of the words ‘fat girl’ and ‘clumsy boy’ appeared to reflect social attitudes at the time. Therefore, the *1952 Primary Curriculum* was significant to the status of the subject as it set out the content of the courses for each primary school grade and reinforced that more varied approaches to PE, as already discussed, were needed to account for the ‘changing conditions of life’ following WWII. In a political and social climate where capitalism and democracy co-existed, these varied approaches would help overturn the number of ‘fat’ girls and ‘clumsy’ boys resulting from the nation’s poor economy and achieve the goal of national prosperity (“New curriculum for schools”, 1952, p. 2).

Additionally, the importance of PE to achieving political and social goals continued to grow as its expressions complemented the need to 'build up a resourceful, self-reliant spirit in future citizens' ("Building the health of the nation", 1951, p. 2). The value of PE to rebuilding the nation was also furthered by acknowledgements that student outcomes of the subject could support the economy, which also helped raise the status of the subject given that 'today's youth represent the wage-earners of tomorrow' ("Youth and the welfare state", 1951, p. 3). To demonstrate that provisions for PE were aligned with the NSW education system's responsibility for producing employable citizens, topics common to PE such as games and sports were re-positioned with a focus on developing problem-solving, constructive thinking, and personal decision-making skills (NSW DOE, 1952). Moreover, the enjoyable and interesting activities that were not always traditionally valued, for instance 'skipping to music', were translated into a new context that suggested PE activities in fact supported students' mental development 'at rates commensurate with their potentialities' (p. 175). Hence, the provision of large muscle activities through group activities in PE such as skipping were projected to support students' 'growth, organic efficiency, motor control, and social and emotional maturity' (p. 1), thus contributing to a student's level of employability in their post-schooling years.

Another theme to emerge during the 'pinnacle' years was that the focus on playing games and sports as part of the structured approach to PE helped promote a sense of nationalism, and in doing so afforded PE elevated status. This theme emerged during the 1950s when the nation was conscious of its sporting culture in the lead-up to the Olympic Games. PE was used as a means to promote 'Australia's sporting prestige', which was reported to be 'at its highest world peak' during this time (Mathew, 1951, p. 10). Additionally, the shift to a focus on games and sports in PE provided an opportunity to teach the changing demographic of the typical NSW public school student, following the influx of migrants to Australia's shore, about the nation's sporting culture (NSW DOE, 1952). At the same time, traditional cultural Folk Dances were also taught in PE as part of the inheritance of the communities of migrants, to support assimilation and foster traits of good civic behaviour (NSW DOE, 1952).

The final theme to emerge that bolstered the importance of PE was the emphasis placed on swimming in this subject, in response to the social trend characterised by

increasingly diverse student populations attending NSW public schools due to high rates of migration to Australia. Although swimming programs in school curriculum dated back to the 1890s, the specific provisions for the inclusion of swimming in the *1952 Primary Curriculum* were driven by a number of social conditions. For one, formal provisions for swimming as part of the curriculum were responding to the ‘extensively patronised’ swimming programs of schools (“Building the health of the nation”, 1951, p. 2). Secondly, it was reported that more than a million people in NSW could not swim and approximately 180 people drowned in NSW each year (Allen, 1957). An explanation for this trend was that the influx of migrants’ post-WWII might not have been taught to swim due to the climate and/or geography of their country of origin (“Building the health of the nation”, 1951, p. 2). The provision of swimming in the PE curriculum was thus further evidence that historical developments in this subject were responding to political and social concerns, as exemplified by the fact that instructional swimming occupied a greater amount of curriculum time than in the past. Specifically, compulsory weekly instructional swimming lessons were allocated in addition to the mandatory four lessons of PE per week according to the *1952 Primary Curriculum*, which had become responsible for encouraging a maximum number of all-round swimmers, rather than a few apt pupils (NSW DOE, 1952).

It was clear that there was a sustained emphasis on swimming programs as part of PE in the 1950s and into the 1960s, as secondary literature acknowledged that the time allocated to PE in primary schools was primarily ‘spent in the playing of games, and, in summer, swimming’ (Whiteside, 1960, p. 5). To reiterate the importance of swimming in the curriculum in the 1960s, the Physical Education Branch (PEB) worked with the NSW DOE to initiate the mammoth drive to teach every NSW school-age child to swim as part of a Compulsory Swimming Scheme (“National Fitness and Physical Education Branch”, 1964, p. 11). Therefore, the introduction of compulsory swimming schemes as part of the PE curriculum ensured students from both public and private schools were eligible for instruction in swimming and demonstrated that PE activities were found to be occupying a significant amount of curriculum. In turn, this milestone elevated the status of PE, as it was positioned as a government strategy that responded to high rates of drownings in NSW and Australia.

Thus, the establishment of formal PE curriculum ensured there was continuing instruction in exercises and activities resembling the fundamental movements required for major games and sports popular in this country, along with the enjoyment of recreation (“Progress”, 1955). In line with the growing importance of PE to broader national and educational goals, the PE curriculum in primary schools was promoted as being ‘as important as English or Arithmetic’ (Bricknell, 1965, p. 3). Given the wide range of subject areas covered by the Generalist Primary Teacher, a *Physical Education Handbook for Primary Grades* (Bricknell, 1965) was published and offered these teachers a guide to demonstrating skills in PE, because ‘initial learning in Kindergarten is through imitation’ (p. 3). It also provided instructions for facilitating opportunities for the adequate repetition of skills to allow for improvements, which could potentially increase students’ likelihood of engaging in PA and sport in line with the broader goals of PE. For example, it was increasingly important that Generalist Primary School Teachers were able to instruct students on *how* to play and show them how to bowl and how to bat’ (p. 3) as a way to facilitate PA amongst students. It followed that evidence suggested it would be impossible for the teacher ‘to advocate the values of fitness if the teacher is not physically fit himself’, in much the same way it is ‘difficult for a [Health Educator] to be convincing about the dangers of certain drugs and stimulants if he is addicted himself’ (Ramsay, 1969, p. 10).

Given the political and social imperatives served by PE, the implementation of the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) was significant as it insisted on the consistent implementation of PE across various NSW schools during this post-WWII period of migration. Moreover, the post-WWII focus on rebuilding the nation elevated the value and status of PE through the inclusion of games, sports, and swimming schemes; in turn, this complemented wider political and social goals such as promoting a sense of nationalism, especially with respect to Australia’s sporting culture. Emphasis on the educational and mental benefits resulting from participation in this subject was also in support of the nation’s focus on economic prosperity and productivity through the development of educated and employable citizens. Conclusively, these milestones in PE at the primary school level signalled that the 1950 and 1960s were the ‘pinnacle’ years in this subject’s history.

4.3.1.2 PE in secondary schools

The formalisation of PE curriculum at the secondary school level also legitimised the subject in the school curriculum during these ‘pinnacle’ years. Although the establishment of PETE institutions during the 1940s meant that 250 physical education specialists held appointments in secondary schools in NSW, thus stimulating trends where ‘the physical well-being of [high school] schoolchildren [was] improving consistently year by year’ (“...And growing bodies”, 1954, p. 10), it was not until the *Wyndham Report’s* (1957) response to the growth of student enrolments in secondary schools that these specialist teachers had access to formal PE curriculum. Thus, the *Wyndham Report* (1957) was a key marker in history as it consolidated that PE was completely incorporated at all levels of schooling by the end of the 1950s for the first time in NSW public education history (alongside English, Social Studies, Science, Mathematics, Music, Art, Crafts, and Religious Education).

Amidst the climate of progressive approaches to the NSW education system, the development of PE curriculum at the secondary level continued the theme that this subject contributed to the rebuilding of the nation. Specifically, the *Wyndham Report* (1957, p. 57) emphasised that schooling at the secondary level from this point onwards was to ‘provide and maintain physical conditions conducive to healthy development [through] a measure of organised training’ and create circumstances where ‘the happy, healthy child who enjoys the PE period excels also in the academic sphere’ (“Progress”, 1955, p. 67). With the support of the NSW State Planning Authority and NSW Parks and Playground Movement, the *Wyndham Report* (1957) required that secondary schools were built with adequate playing fields. The attention attributed to the importance of providing suitable playing facilities to support the growing importance of provisions for PE in the secondary schools was exemplified by the fact the NSW DOE sought the ‘co-operation of local councils, to work together in the construction of playing fields’ to ‘be used by the school during the week, and at the weekends will be available for general use, under the control of councils’ (“New system for school playing fields”, 1959, p. 5)

A notable development at the secondary level reinforcing the prominent status of PE in the curriculum was that the subject had become mandated as ‘one requirement for award of [a] School Certificate’, thus School Principals had to confirm that each pupil

had satisfactorily engaged in PE to be able to attain a School Certificate (“Warning of ‘disaster’ in schools”, 1956). Even though ‘fewer than half of all secondary school pupils reach[ed] even Intermediate Certificate standard [Year 8] and many brilliant students [left] school early’ (“Warning of ‘disaster’ in schools”, 1956, p. 9), the fact that PE was a requirement of the School Certificate raised the subject’s profile in the curriculum. In turn, secondary schools were to foster the delivery of two 40 minute periods of PE per week, with an emphasis on practising game skills and rhythmic movements to support the welfare of the child while at school and beyond their schooling years as part of the School Certificate award in PE (“Emphasis on PT”, 1957). Given the delay between the *Wyndham Report* (1957) and the approval of a secondary PE curriculum, high schools taught PE with reference to the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) until 1965 when a curriculum was established, as will be covered.

It was the *Wyndham Report* (1957) and associated political concerns over the state of the NSW education system in general, which saw the Minister for Education appoint a committee to review Secondary Education in NSW in 1957, which led to the establishment of the Board of Secondary School Studies (Colvin, 1971). This Board founded a Physical and Health Education Syllabus Committee in 1962 under the chair of Gordon Young, the Director of Physical and National Fitness in NSW. This committee was comprised of representatives and stakeholders from non-government and government educational areas, with four medical officers representing the Department of Public Health (Colvin, 1971). The committee developed a *Syllabus in Physical and Health Education* (NSW Secondary Schools Board, 1965), which embodied the respective political and social interests of its members and formalised instruction in PE at this level of schooling. This premise was acknowledged in the media, as the *Syllabus in Physical and Health Education* was reported to have fulfilled the need for subjects at the secondary level to be enriched by a curriculum that consolidated the learning experiences of the primary school curricula (“Early experience in the schools has revealed some ... perplexities of the Wyndham Scheme”, 1965, p. 2).

The establishment of a formal PE curriculum for secondary schools was a historical milestone in this subject that responded to educational and political change. For one,

the establishment of a secondary PE curriculum raised the status of the subject and completed the continuum of learning in PE from Kindergarten through to Fourth Form (i.e. Year 10), which was an identified area for development in the NSW education system according to the *Wyndham Report* (1957). From a political and social perspective, this syllabus also served the national agenda of supporting the welfare of the state's citizens and the interests of the Department of Public Health through provisions for PE that taught students about the functioning of the human body, in the context of encouraging individuals to adopt healthier lifestyles and habits (NSW Secondary Schools Board, 1965). It could thus be inferred through such prescriptions for the teaching of PE according to this syllabus that the subject was increasingly recognised as connected to HE outcomes, as projected by the naming of the *Syllabus in Physical and Health Education*.

Although the *Syllabus in Physical and Health Education* (NSW Secondary Schools Board, 1965) reiterated that PE was a 'non-examination subject', this mandatory syllabus was an important development as it officially formalised that PE was conducted across all NSW primary and secondary schools by the end of the 1960s. It was also evident that provisions for PE at the secondary level reiterated the value of PE accorded in the primary curriculum to proliferate the status of the subject, as all secondary schools principals were required to sign-off that a student had engaged in PE to attain their School Certificate. The fact that provisions in this subject contributed to a sense of nationalism by promoting participation in Australia's sporting culture—in turn rebuilding the health and productivity of the nation post-WWII—also reinforced the central place of PE in the curriculum.

4.3.2 The neo-progressive approach to PE

The goals of education in Australia during the 1970s into the 1980s were characterised by a 'disintegration of the long-established traditions of liberal humanism' in favour of neo-progressive 'open education' and broad social pluralism (i.e. multiculturalism) that undermined the possibility of a dominant philosophy and ideology of education (Barcan, 2010, p. 1). The subsequent outcome of neo-progressive approaches to education in NSW was 'a mélange of integrated studies' focused on process rather than mastery of content (p. 5). This premise was exemplified by prescriptions for PE in the *1972 Curriculum for Primary Schools: Natural Science, Health and Physical*

Education (NSW DOE, 1972) that raised the status of PE based on its unique capacity to complement views that ‘children should be educated in a wide range of recreational activities which they could continue throughout their lives’ (“Govt urged: Spend more on fitness”, 1973, p. 2). The dominance of the neo-progressive ideological vacuum in education also found its expression through the ‘flowering of special interest groups’, which tended to have a cluster of objectives focused on one major program (Barcan, 2010, p. 1). In the case of PE, it was the special interest group ACHPER (1982, p. v) that was preoccupied with helping to address ‘growing community concerns for the health and wellbeing of children’ by encouraging students to form lasting positive attitudes towards physical fitness, active leisure time pursuits, play, and popular games and sports that also contributed to developments in this subject.

In the context of the neo-progressive climate of the NSW education system, the re-developments to PE in the 1970s through to the 1980s were a response to the need to emphasise the development of physical skills to combat the effects stemming from advancements in technology causing students to lead more inactive lifestyles than ever before (NSW DOE, 1972). Consequently, prescriptions for PE in the *1972 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1972) were positioned as a strategy to complement social change, whereby ‘the child of this era was facing an environment in which the natural challenges that demand physical effort were gradually disappearing’ and ‘students were heirs to a world that used the energy produced by the machine rather than that produced by the human body’ (p. 87). To promote greater levels of PA amongst the increasingly inactive student population, prescriptions for PE in this curriculum shifted from the directed, games, and rhythmic activity and dancing approach to PE in the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) to instructions in PE organised according to: (1) Gymnastics, (2) Games (specifically basketball, cricket, Australian football, rugby, soccer, hockey, softball, tennis, and vigoro, in order to restate some of Australia’s national games), (3) Dance, and (4) Athletics (NSW DOE, 1972); these four types of lessons were considered more conducive to providing ‘an outlet’ for students’ natural exuberance and energy (p. 42).

Alongside recognition of the value of PE to the development of active citizens at a state level, PE was placed on the political agenda of the Commonwealth government and educationists based on widely held conceptions that the subject was a vital ingredient

for a modern healthy lifestyle (Bloomfield, 1973). There were also public fears that ‘Australia could become a nation of second-raters ... [because] we tend to trade on the prowess of a few who are superbly fit, and the nation and the government assume that everybody else is extremely fit’ (“Govt urged: Spend more on fitness”, 1973, p. 2). Physical Education thus received elevated status in the school curriculum and society as it provided an avenue for a child to gain ‘knowledge and skills, enabling him to solve, as an adult, his functional, exercise and recreation problems, and so lead him to a fuller and healthier life’ (Turnbull, 1971, p. 7). Due to the increasingly crowded *1972 Primary Curriculum*, PE was allocated 80 minutes per week (recommended 4 x 20 minutes of Games, Gymnastics, Dance, and Athletics) for Infant Students and 100 minutes in total per week (a maximum of 60 minutes for Games and Sports and 40 minutes for Gymnastics and Dance) for Primary Students (NSW DOE, 1972); this was slightly down from the recommended 2 hours for PE in the *1952 Primary Curriculum*. However, PE classes were to be conducted indoors during bad weather, thus students would not miss a single session of this subject throughout the school year (NSW DOE, 1972) given its importance to broader educational, political, and social goals.

The neo-progressive influence of the NSW education system ensured the educational, mental, and physical benefits of subjects were realised (Barcan, 2010). This premise held true for provisions for PE in the *1972 Primary Curriculum*, as this subject was positioned as key to supporting the student outcomes of ‘happiness, self-discipline, and social training’, thus the ‘esprit de-corps’ in the life of students and the school (NSW DOE, 1972, p. 42). In line with the neo-progressive influence and goals of ‘special interest groups’ in education (Barcan, 2010, p. 1), the traditional Swimming Scheme was extended under the *1972 Primary School Curriculum*. This curriculum ensured that compulsory swimming programs were maintained as a feature of PE and the identity of the NSW public education system through the requirement that students engaged in the Australian Royal Life Saving’s Awards Scheme (NSW DOE, 1972). This evolution in PE connected schools and individuals with special interest groups, in this case community organisations such as Royal Life Saving Australia, to support lifelong PA patterns to enhance the realisation of the wider benefits of PE. However, the capacity of PE to produce physically fit and active citizens was determined by a number of factors. For one, the Generalist Primary School Teachers were required to observe, coach, review, and encourage skilled movement to ensure the value of PE was realised

(NSW DOE, 1972) rather than simply giving the class a bat and ball and saying “Play cricket”, as was the tendency in the past (Bricknell, 1965, p. 3). As a result, it was important that teachers received specialist training to be able to follow set procedures for introducing and practising new skills and model the exemplary outcomes of PE (NSW DOE, 1972), in order to preserve the high profile of PE in the curriculum and encourage PA patterns among children.

Thus, the developments in PE aligned with recommendations to emerge from studies into the health of Australians in the early 1970s suggesting that policies should be implemented to achieve the ultimate goal of regular daily PE for all primary school children under specialist supervision (Bloomfield, 1973). This premise was evidenced by the fact that the NSW public education system facilitated opportunities for students to enjoy recreational pursuits as part of the four prescribed PE lessons (NSW DOE, 1972), which signalled that PE was a central subject area in the curriculum as it was allocated considerable time in said curriculum. It was also anticipated that PE experiences, according to the revised curriculum in PE, would see students transfer patterns of PA into leisure time at school and recreational interests beyond the years of schooling (Wyndham Report, 1957). It was also clear that PE had consolidated ties with HE outcomes as they could work together to counteract sedentary lifestyles leading to high levels of physical inactivity amongst students and the consequential health outcomes such as increased rates of childhood obesity (Bloomfield, 1973), which is a theme that was consolidated by a national scheme of PE covered below.

The status of PE was further raised following the national governing PE association ACHPER’s endorsement of a mandatory Daily Physical Education (DPE) program in 1982 across Australia. Although the implementation of the DPE in NSW primary schools was not regulated, this key marker in the history of the subject gave rise to the importance of PE by encouraging schools to allocate curriculum time to its activities on a daily basis. The provision for the DPE was in addition to the existing and comprehensive PE lessons prescribed by the 1972 *Primary Curriculum* and promoted the growth of the subject through more inclusive provisions of PE, which furthered the amount of curriculum time allocated to PE and the status afforded to the subject. Specifically, all Australian primary schools were required to facilitate 15 minutes of fitness and 30–45 minute skill-focused sessions in a ‘non-threatening, non-competitive

way' so that all students would achieve significant fitness levels and practical skill gains (ACHPER, 1982). The specific objectives of the DPE program necessitated that schools clearly distinguished between PE lessons and active free-play (i.e. break periods) and addressed the gendered nature of PE, which had tended to favour males throughout history, by explicitly encouraging schools to cater for the physical needs of all students regardless of their ability, gender, and/or race (ACHPER, 1982).

The DPE program was significant to the history of this subject as it signified that the new paradigm of health-based PE had started to underpin school programs from the 1980s, as noted in secondary literature by Gray (1985) and Kirk and Colquhoun (1989). This new paradigm formalised the connections between PE and HE by encouraging active modern lifestyles as the means to achieving healthy citizens, which in turn helped raise the status of PE as the nature of the subject supported the wider national agenda of healthy citizens. Specifically, the DPE (ACHPER, 1982) positioned that PE should be provided on a daily basis to promote normal growth and development, fitness, and health (i.e. improved functioning of the body/sleep). This program also advocated that daily PE activities were necessary, as it was perceived that 'children's recess and lunchtime activities' were 'not usually of sufficient intensity to have much of a training effect' on health outcomes, thus play activities needed to be 'complemented with a systematic fitness program' through the DPE (ACHPER, 1982, p. 60). Consequently, the DPE projected that PE was tied to HE outcomes, which was a significant finding that contributed to the combined history presented in this thesis.

Summary

The period from 1950 to 1989 marked the 'pinnacle' years of PE, as developments in this subject were directly responding to political and social changes in the context of post-WWII Australia. Specifically, PE supported rebuilding the nation and the welfare of its citizens following the *Wyndham Report* (1957), which aided the uptake of the subject at the NSW secondary school level and consolidated the profile of the PE curriculum at all levels of schooling by the end of the 1950s. The changes to the primary school curriculum, including the DPE program, coincided with the conscious effort to cater for all youths during the neo-progressive movement in education, resulting in PE establishing a dominant philosophy and ideology based on addressing concerns that Australia's youth were becoming increasingly sedentary as a result of technological

advancements depriving them of opportunities for physical movement. The health-based philosophy approach to PE insinuated that PE and HE could work together to overcome the less desirable effects of modernity, such as the rise in lifestyle-related diseases like obesity and diabetes. Consequently, curriculum developments in PE aligned with NSW Minister of Education H.E. Bedford's view of the function of education in the late 1970s, which suggested that schools should 'reflect society and [be] effective to the extent that they reinforce the values of society' (Barcan, 2010, p. 3). Overall, it was the capacity for PE to redress the growing trends of inactive students and potential poor health outcomes that ensured the subject had a central place in the curriculum by the end of the 1980s.

4.4 Conclusion: Historical developments in PE (1880–1989)

The history of PE from 1880 to 1989 is one of its growing status as a school subject because of the recognition of the role it could play in meeting the dominant political and social goals in each of the eras described in this chapter. From the outset, PE was focused on forms of Military Drill to support the nation's defence capacity and thus received significant backing following the introduction of the JCT scheme from 1911–1931. However, the growing national consciousness over the health—rather than solely the physical condition—of citizens from the turn of the century following the effects of the economic depression, Federation of Australia, and industrial age resulted in the uptake of the systems of Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics in NSW public schools. These forms of PE included more varied forms of games and sports, including swimming, which aligned with the need to remedy the increasing physical and mental defects affecting the health of the nation, particularly youths. Meanwhile, the rising profile of PE in schools and society during the eugenic years of the 1930s and 1940s was the outcome of the political preoccupation with ensuring the nation's citizens were fit for employment and social duties, to ensure the survival of the nation and its racial betterment. Specifically, the drive for National Fitness consolidated the adoption of more progressive approaches to PE in the NSW education system, which prompted the establishment of regulatory practices in PE such as formalised curriculum and PETE institutions backed by educational standards.

The period between 1950 and 1980 continued the gradual increase in the significance of PE in the curriculum, with the subject reaching its peak during these 'pinnacle' years.

This accolade was achieved following the implementation of the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952), which represented the first formal documentation of educational outcomes specific to PE in the context of state and national ideals, rather than those of Britain. This curriculum, along with developments to PE at the secondary school level following the *Wyndham Report* (1957), complemented the post-WWII reconstruction period's focus on creating a sense of nationalism amidst neo-progressive educational ideals catering for multiculturalism and rapidly increasing student numbers. The growing realisation of the mental and physical health benefits of PE consolidated the place of PE alongside Mathematics and English, as the subject was increasingly recognised as helping to create productive and employable citizens as part of rebuilding the nation's political strength. Due to the widespread acceptance of the capacity for this subject to produce an educated, fit, and healthy nation, PE had become a central subject in the school timetable, to the extent that the DPE program (ACHPER, 1982) suggested PE should be included as part of every school day at the primary school level. In the next chapter, the study turns to developments in School Sport (SS) to investigate whether that subject has been equally influenced by political and social factors as part of its history in the NSW public education system.

Chapter Five: The history of School Sport (SS) (1880–1989)

As noted in Chapter Two, the only substantive history of SS in NSW public schools by Collins et al. (1990, 1991) provided a ‘who, what, where’ account of the subject from 1889 to 1989, focusing on SS as ‘extra-curricular’ and talented sportsmen and women such as Betty Cuthbert (athletics) and Richie Benaud (cricket) who achieved recognition at state, national, and international representative levels, including the Olympic Games. While inter-school sports competitions flourished and largely contributed to the illustrious history of SS in the NSW public education system, this chapter will argue a much broader account. From the outset of public schooling, games and sport in the playground were seen as integral aspects of the school day, even before official sporting competitions were conducted. For instance, reports on the daily program of a public school in NSW at the commencement of compulsory schooling included the singing of ‘God Save the Queen’ and students adjourning ‘to the playground, and bat and ball, kiss in the ring, and other sports were entered into with heartedness’ (“Granville Public School”, 1882, p. 4). However, this chapter will demonstrate that the everyday presence of sport within the schools was extended and formalised over time. In doing so, SS adopted a much broader role in the NSW public school system beyond informal play at recess and lunch breaks.

This comprehensive history of SS in NSW public schools was classified into three periods that saw developments in this subject contextualised according to dominant political and social movements of the day. The first period (1880–1919) positions SS as separate to the formal curriculum, as it is organised by external sporting bodies that established a games playing culture within the NSW public school sports system similar to the widely reported ethos of the private schools. The second period is characterised by the consolidation of SS in the curriculum, based on the increased realisation of the educational value of the subject as part of the period of eugenics focused on rebuilding the nation post-WWI and WWII (1920–1956). The third period represents the ‘golden years’ of SS (1957–1989) and suggests the growth of the types of sports played and the number of inter-school sports competitions, including opportunities to participate in international competitions, were a response to the growing multicultural nature of Australia, the formalisation of a ‘Sports Period’ in the school curriculum, and the need to establish a ‘sports for all’ culture following increased recognition of the health

benefits of playing sport. Throughout these periods, it will be demonstrated that the history of SS reinforced that the subject was a social institution intrinsic to not only the traditions of attending a public school in NSW, but also the culture and identity of Australia.

5.1 The inauguration of the School Sport traditions of the NSW public school system (1880–1919)

The major theme to emerge from the period under examination in this section, previously overlooked in scholarship, was the establishment of the sporting traditions of the NSW public school sports system, which evolved from the outset of compulsory schooling based on two major themes: (1) the growth of inter-school competitions governed by external bodies, as evidenced by the increased number of participants in SS and the variety of sports on offer, and (2) the growth of Athletic Carnivals amongst public schools. Both of these expressions of SS were conducted separate to the formal school curriculum and school day. It was thus the strength of the sporting bodies organising SS and the teachers of each of the NSW public schools that ensured that the history of this subject was established upon solid foundations and promoted a national identity tied to a culture of sport. At the same time, the inclusion of SS as part of the school day, which serves as the third theme of this 1880 to 1919 period, was attributed to the fact that the provision of games and sports was found to complement political and social concerns tied to the economic depression, industrial age, Federation of Australia, and WWI, as acknowledged while discussing the first two themes of this era.

5.1.1 The founding of governing bodies to organise SS

The strong positioning of the organised activities and traditions of social institutions, such as those conducted under the governance of the NSW public school sports system, played a pioneering role in the promotion of Australian competitive sport (Cashman, 1995). Therefore, this section will cover the establishment of governing sporting bodies at the (i) primary and (ii) secondary school level, with reference to the role played by the sporting organisation specifically established to govern girls' sport, which was a feat in itself given the traditional expectations of gender roles in society.

5.1.1.1 Governance of SS at the primary school level

This section will cover the history of the governance of SS at the primary school level as contributing to the games playing culture of NSW public schools in the first instance, as these schools were established as part of the *Public Instruction Act* (1880). An umbrella organisation was formed in 1885 (Collins et al., 1990, 1991), only five years after the introduction of compulsory school education in NSW, to meet the need for the coordination of competitive SS in primary schools following the growth of this subject, especially at the Fort Street Model School. Although the playground size of schools—including those at Fort Street—was often inadequate, schools were found to have ‘encouraged the boys in their outdoor sports’, and football and cricket clubs had also ‘made a fair start ... in connection with the school’ to encourage students to play these sports as part of schooling and community sport (“School exhibitions”, 1884, p. 5). Although this inaugural umbrella sporting organisation folded in its first year, its mere establishment meant that the stimulus for inter-school competitions conducted by the NSW public school sports system, initially in the two sports of football and cricket, provided the sound footing and impetus of much of the discussion that follows on the establishment of sporting traditions specific to this education system.

The drive for a sports association gathered momentum in response to the desire to organise a society for advancing the cause of PE through the establishment of organised annual sports events and additional events at the discretion of the sports committee and schools affiliated with the NSW Athletic Association (“Proposed Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889, p. 3). Consequently, the Department of Public Instruction met with a large number of primary school teachers on Saturday March 2, 1889 at the Castlereagh Street Primary School to discuss ‘the advisableness of forming an athletic association in connection with the public schools’ (“Proposed Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889, p. 3). Subsequently, the NSW Public Schools’ Amateur Athletics Association (PSAAA) was formally inaugurated on March 24, 1889 (“Athletics”, 1890, p. 9) to provide a governing body overseeing structured and organised sports competitions between public primary schools, which helped establish a set of sporting traditions specific to public schools.

The key milestone of the formation of the PSAAA was marked by a meeting held later in 1889 by a group of teachers and officers under the Department of Public Instruction

for the purpose of passing the rules and electing official bearers of the PSAAA (“Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889a). The rules governing the association contributed to the establishment and nature of the games ideologies and culture of NSW public school sport. For instance, these rules stated that all persons connected with the department were eligible for membership, schools had to register with the PSAAA, annual sports meetings were to be held in September, and all competitions were to be conducted as amateur sports meetings, thus the PSAAA affiliated itself with the NSW Amateur Athletic Association from the outset (“Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889a). Initially, PSAAA membership was open to teachers, officers of the Department of Public Instruction, and teacher-training students. From 1894, school students aged 13 years and over who had endorsement from a teacher at their school were eligible for PSAAA membership, which included the opportunity to compete at events organised by the PSAAA and other affiliated Associations at a cost of one shilling a year (Collins et al., 1990). The growth of the PSAAA was noted early in its history, as the list of member schools of this organisation during its first year of operation was reported to have been ‘increasing daily’ (“Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889b, p. 4). Moreover, the activities of the PSAAA were endorsed by the officers of the Department of Education (“Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889b), which offered an explanation for the establishment and growth of sporting traditions in the NSW public education sports system.

From the time of its establishment, the strength and culture of the PSAAA and NSW public school sport grew in prominence and in accordance with its declared objective, which was to create a program of sports for schools that would ‘be second to non-hitherto held in this colony’ (“Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889b, p. 4). For instance, it did not take long until such aims were substantiated following the first annual sports event of the PSAAA, which was held on Friday September 9, 1889 and was recorded as having 1166 entries in events (for boys only). The sports conducted at this event included bicycle, tricycle, flat, obstacle, walking, steeplechase, egg and spoon, and sack and cadet races. The prize for the winning school was a Championship Shield considered to be of ‘considerable value’ as part of the impetus of SS in the NSW public education system (Public Schools’ Athletic Association, 1889b, p. 4). Most significantly, the Education Department declared the day a Public School Holiday for the metropolitan and sub-metropolitan districts and the sports were played under the

patronage of his Excellency the Governor and the Minister for Public Instruction, J.H. Carruthers (“Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889d), which suggested the activities conducted by the PSAAA were a highly valued component of the NSW public education system from the outset.

The suggestion that the games playing culture of the public school system was alive and well was exemplified by the fact the media reported on the growth and nature of the sporting activities of the PSAAA, in turn providing official records of its early successes and the types and numbers of sports played under its governance. For example, member schools of the PSAAA were reported to have entered into football, cricket, and tennis contests, as well as hired sports grounds for competitions and attended Annual Championship Meetings (“Athletics”, 1890). The active engagement of member schools with activities governed by the PSAAA helped SS flourish and led to reflections on the identity and culture of the NSW public education system after only one year of operating:

the association [PSAAA] may year by year increase in usefulness and breadth of influence, surely reaching, as it progresses, the state of excellence in its various undertakings demanded by the object it has in view—the encouraging of physical education in schools.
(“Athletics”, 1890, p. 9)

Such evidence not only acted as an official record that structured sporting exchanges were taking place between the few schools operating at the time; it also provided early acknowledgement that the nature of SS supported PE outcomes, which was one of the noted motivations for the establishment of the PSAAA.

From the 1890s, the proliferation of the PSAAA spawned participation rates in SS amongst the Australian population unequalled by any other country (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1890, p. 268) to further the games playing ethos of NSW public schools. Although reports indicated that the PSAAA had ‘not been treated fairly by some who called themselves the “great” public schools [private] of the colony’, the PSAAA stressed that it ‘had been in existence for a number of years before these “great” public schools thought of having annual demonstrations of their own’, thus reasserting the public school system as the ‘great’ system of the colony (“Public school sport”, 1896, p. 3). The prominence of the public schools’ sporting competitions was evidenced by

the fact that by 1902, the PSAAA had grown into such a large organisation that it was referred to as a ‘gigantic body’ comprised of over 40 branches and 250,000 juvenile members (“Public school sport”, 1902, p. 5). The PSAAA continued to grow: at the time of celebrating 21 years of service in 1909, the organisation had 150 member schools (“Children’s play day”, 1909).

To ensure the continued success and ideologies of inter-school competitions, the PSAAA relied on individual schools and its teachers implementing sport programs. The reason for the shift of responsibility was that the PSAAA had to turn its focus to catering for the growth of sports participants following the increased number of young people attending compulsory schooling. For instance, individual schools and teachers had become responsible for continuing the culture of SS in NSW public schools in matters such as ‘the securing of grounds’, which was explicitly deemed no longer ‘a matter for the P.S.A.A.A’ (“The P.S.A.A.A”, 1908, p. 10). Instead, the PSAAA urged individual schools to take an active role in contributing to the success of their activities, such as devising strategies to address the limited sporting facilities in NSW public schools (*NSW DET Annual Report, 1897*)—reported to be especially ‘affecting the Australian and "Soccer" games in the schools’—and the fact playing fields in schools were ‘in a most unsatisfactory condition’ (“The P.S.A.A.A”, 1908, p. 10). Therefore, the NSW DET (*Annual Report, 1897*) suggested conducting sport in nearby playing fields, while the PSAAA recommended schools ‘set apart other days than Friday afternoons for sport’ to increase the availability of playing fields and avoid clashes with other schools, in order to promote the growth and culture of SS in NSW public schools (“The P.S.A.A.A”, 1908, p. 10).

Amidst the challenges suggesting the need for the allocation of funding to schools for the building of sports playing fields and acquisition of sporting materials (“Crowded school”, 1913, p. 5), the strength of the inter-school sporting competitions organised by the PSAAA ensured that its underlying philosophy was embedded in a games playing tradition. Although the English games playing ethos characteristic of the NSW private school GPS competitions was covered in the literature (for example, see Mangan, 1981, 1983, 1988, 1992, 1998; Sherington, 1983, 1986; Stewart, 1992), this study found that the educational and sporting philosophy of the games playing ethos was also common to PSAAA activities but not recorded until now. For instance, this study found evidence

in the *NSW DET Annual Report* (1897, p. 117) quoting the Minister of Public Instruction as stating that ‘the love of games among boys is a healthy instinct and there can be no question that cricket, football, running, swimming, etc., are not only among the greatest pleasures, but are the medicine for boys’.

The sense that SS had established its own set of games playing traditions in NSW public schools was also exemplified by the PSAAA’s establishment of a ‘Set of Rules’ and an ‘Ethics of Sportsmanship’ in 1905, which highlighted that traditions tied to PSAAA activities and sport in general had a moral tone that was character-building (Lee-Pulling, 1909). These sets of rules and ethics also inferred the PSAAA’s strong commitment to the values associated with amateurism and the games ideology, such as the promotion of courage, fair play, strict observance of the rules, and modesty in victory and magnanimity in defeat (“P.S.A.A.A Annual Meeting”, 1909, p. 11). In reports on the PSAAA rugby competitions, for example, it was noted that those boys exemplary of the games ideologies were highly regarded and helped promote this ethos amongst the public schools (“P.S.A.A.A.”, 1907, p. 6). Specifically, the more athletic boys of the school, ‘strong in the ordinary sense, and strong in character’, were looked up to as ‘champions’ by the other boys who ‘not infrequently played in a competition above their possibilities, simply out of loyalty to these heavier [in terms of respect] lads’ (“P.S.A.A.A.”, 1907, p. 6).

Most notably, the games playing ethos of the NSW public school sports system was consolidated as part of its culture in response to political and social events of the time. For instance, the games playing ethos of this sports system gathered momentum following the Federation of Australia, which reiterated the importance of promoting a sense of national identity. Hence, the main objective of the PSAAA’s games playing ethos had become profoundly focused on strengthening students’ ‘love of sport’, particularly those reflecting ‘Australian’ games (“The P.S.A.A.A”, 1908, p. 10). It was perceived that participation in organised games under the PSAAA showed support for nationalism, by projecting the importance of boys learning how ‘to play the game’ and controlling themselves on the playing field as part of the identity of being Australian (“P.S.A.A.A. Annual Meeting”, 1909, p. 11). The games ideology of the PSAAA was also reported to have ‘flourished’ during the period of WWI (“P.S.A.A.A. Annual Meeting”, 1917, p. 6) and the value of SS to the NSW public education system and

society in general was significantly elevated following acknowledgements in the media that the nature of the PSAAA's sporting activities strengthened the character of the nation's citizens. It was captured, for example, as part of the PSAAA Annual Meeting in 1909 that education in NSW public schools was no longer confined to the schoolrooms and schoolbooks; rather, its sports fields 'were schools of morality of a most powerful character' ("PSAAA Annual Meeting", 1909, p. 11).

The continued growth of the games playing traditions of SS were particularly important during periods of uncertainty. For instance, the majority of educationists 'considered sport for youngsters beneficial, especially in war time', as it aligned with the focus on facilitating 'good qualities' such as virtue and moral citizenship ("P.S.A.A.A doings", 1917, p. 2). For this reason, the scope of SS operations under the PSAAA were extended despite conditions of war based on the fact that 540 pounds had been given each year from 1914 to patriotic and charitable funds to support the growth of sport ("P.S.A.A.A. Annual Meeting", 1917, p. 6). Hence, the Annual Sports event of 1917 was 'excellently carried out ... [amongst] record numbers of entries', and the fact that officials coordinating this event were 'prominent in sporting circles' ("Notes on the PSAAA carnival", 1917, p. 2) elevated the importance of sport to national solidarity. For example, the involvement of athletes such as S. Lynch (soccer player) and F.W. Dunn (cricketer) 'who had made their marks in other spheres of sport' showed their support of the activities conducted by the PSAAA (p. 17), suggesting that sporting events conducted by the NSW public schools had status in the wider context of the nation's sporting realms.

Overall, the untiring energies of the Executive governing the whole syllabus of 'Athletics' under the PSAAA ensured that this sporting body was recognised as 'work[ing] more smoothly and effectively than other associations' ("Public schools' A.A.A picnic", 1905, p. 2), which exemplified that the PSAAA represented a system with strong governance and sport traditions given its influence on the widespread growth of SS in NSW public schools.

5.1.1.2 Governance of SS at the secondary school level

It was evident that the games playing traditions of the PSAAA were also flourishing at the high school level following the establishment of a governing organisation for this

level of schooling, namely the Combined High School (CHS) association. The push for a sports organisation at the high school level gathered momentum after these schools started to emerge in Sydney from 1883 to 'complete the curriculum of the Public Schools' ("Opening of the Sydney public high schools", 1883, p. 5). Initially, most students stopped schooling after the primary years; however, the industrial revolution's push for a skilled workforce saw governments encourage students to complete schooling, in order to be employable in the workforce from the first decade of the twentieth century. Consequently, there was a growth in the number of high school schools across the state over the next two decades to cater for the growth of the state's population. At the same time, there was a demand to cater for the rise in the number of girls playing sport, due to a shift in Australian society's attitudes towards physically active girls.

Accompanying the growth of student numbers and the building of high schools was an increase in the number of students playing sport. The initial situation for high school SS was that its activities were conducted under the PSAAA. However, 15 of the 93 teams of the cricket seasons in 1911 were high school teams and the ratios were similar case was the same for football, baseball, and soccer. Due to the growing prominence of SS amongst high schools, the Honorary Secretary of the PSAAA, Mr. T. Lappan, wrote to the Chief Inspector of the NSW DOE in 1911 to report that it intended to institute competitions for public high schools in these four sports in the near future (Collins et al., 1991). In 1912, there was also a push for separate Sports Carnivals for high schools, as the PSAAA had to continually add specific events for high school boys at the Annual Sports event each year to account for the growth in participants.

The need for separate sports competitions evolved into the need for a governing body to organise its activities, which led to the establishment of the Combined High Schools (CHS) sporting body in 1913 ("Athletics: Combined High Schools", 1913, p. 12). A Secretary to the CHS association, Mr. C.E. Fletcher, was appointed and the accolades in SS at the secondary level were considered to be in 'great measure due to his [the Secretary's] energy and the enthusiasm of the High Schools' Committee' (Collins et al., 1990, p. 65). Although the position of the CHS 'in the general scheme of things was still of importance' (Collins et al., 1991, p. 19), this sporting body remained under the authority of the PSAAA until the 1960s, as it was the primary school body that was

responsible for introducing SS into secondary schools. For example, it was noted that the PSAAA presented the cup to the school winning the highest points in the senior events for the year of championship competitions amongst the CHS schools (“Athletics: Combined High Schools”, 1913, p. 12), to exemplify its overarching governance of SS at all levels of schooling. However, it was clear that the CHS body was established on strong foundations, just like the PSAAA, as exemplified by evidence noting that the CHS Championship Sports Meeting conducted in its first year brought together schools from rural and metropolitan areas and was heralded as ‘a great success’ (Collins et al., 1990, p. 65).

Consequently, the games playing ethos evident in primary school sport was further proliferated at the high school level, as the expanding numbers of high schools and student enrolments resulted in the increased popularity and more diverse types of sports events organised by the CHS association. Ferguson (1963, p. 16) recalled that ‘hockey was introduced as an additional sport ... [and] Fort Street boys also started playing lacrosse in 1911 and this game continued until approximately 1920’. Meanwhile, there was a ‘fair attendance’ of students participating in the first recorded CHS Championship Sports Meeting at the Sydney Sports Ground in 1913 (“Athletics: Combined High Schools”, 1913, p. 12). The increased number of participants and diverse types of sports played meant it was also reported that the CHS Athletics Carnival had to transpire over two days in 1915 instead of one day (“Athletics”, 1915). Therefore, the transplantation of the games playing traditions into public high schools was well-established and was attributed to the fact that ‘almost every game that could be adapted to the schools was played, and apparently played with the greatest enthusiasm’ by 1919 (“Athletics”, 1919, p. 6).

The premise that the games playing traditions were alive and well in NSW public schools was supported by evidence suggesting that the CHS events paralleled the widely documented sporting traditions of the private school system, which in turn elevated the strength and status of the CHS competitions. At the same time, the games playing ideologies of the NSW public education sports system were acknowledged as complementing wider educational outcomes. For instance, media records indicated ‘the form shown by the competitors [at the CHS competition] was quite as good as that of the Great Public Schools’ (“Athletics”, 1919, p. 6). Accordingly, organised games in

public high schools were increasingly 'recognised as part of the school course, just as much as reading and writing' ("School Sport", 1913, p. 10). Moreover, the Annual Sports Carnival was significant as it signalled that the opportunity to participate in such activities conducted by the CHS was positioned as a way to encourage students to complete secondary schooling in this state ("Athletics: Combined High Schools", 1913, p. 12). Hence, it was clear that the diversification and success of the CHS sporting activities, in line with games playing ideologies, raised the significance of SS and activities conducted by the CHS to support its growth during this first era and also meet broader political and social goals encouraging students to engage in education.

As noted earlier, the PSAAA was initially established to coordinate sports for young boys; however, the growing value of playing games to the outcomes of education more broadly suggested that these benefits, especially those related to one's health, should also be formally offered to girls. Consequently, the push for a body to govern and monitor sporting activities for girls eventuated in the establishment of the Girls Secondary Schools Sports Association (GSSSA) in 1918 to mark the third and final sporting body in the NSW public education system during this first era. Prior to this, girls were reported to have only participated in sporting events that were stereotypically 'feminine'. To illustrate, in 1900 the events of the CHS Annual Sports Carnival devoted entirely to girls were 'prettily-designed figure-march' ("Great Annual Sports Carnival", 1900, p. 3); the case was similar in 1902, when girls were reported to have participated in 'fancy' skipping contests, hoop races, and skipping rope race age championships at this same event ("Public schools' sports", 1902, p. 5).

Consequently, there was a change in societal views towards providing opportunities for girls to play SS, as evidenced by the greater variety of competitive games and sports offered to girls and acknowledgements that 'it is at school that tastes, and inclinations are fostered' towards sport and activity, which 'affect the afterlife of a woman' ("The best sport for girls", 1914, p. 22). Although girls' experiences of sport varied between different schools, there was evidence from 1913 that competitions for girls in 'tennis attract[ed] many enthusiasts, and in the winter months [9-a-side women's] basketball and hockey [were] pre-eminent' amongst school girls ("Physical well-being of the Australian school girl", 1913, p. 14). For instance, the annual report by the Principal of North Sydney Girls High School reported that 'physical training and swimming had

been introduced, and tennis, hockey, and basketball were among the School Sports' ("North Sydney Girls High School", 1914, p. 7).

Hence, the growth and diversification of the SS activities offered to girls reflected wider national issues tied to acknowledgements of the health benefits and citizenry values of the culture of games playing to the national solidarity post-Australian Federation. Firstly, the types of sports available to girls were those considered 'lady-like'. For instance, media reports reflected records that 'basketball ha[d] become very popular during the past couple of years' and the rules stated 'there shall be no holding, pushing, tripping, or roughness' ("Basketball for girls", 1910, p. 7), thus girls were discouraged from defending a shot at goal or contesting a rebound. Secondly, there was growing understanding that the 'health' benefits of girls playing sport supported the prosperity of the race at the onset of WWI ("The best sport for girls", 1914, p. 22). For instance, it was reported that the diversification of the types of SS available to girls during WWI saw them 'well acquainted with the different games, such as tennis, hockey, and basketball', as participation in sport not only facilitated 'beauty of form', it helped produce girls 'perfectly healthy by the even development of their body' ("Careers for women", 1916, p. 6).

The GSSSA was inaugurated at the first official committee meeting in 1918, as the Council of the PSAAA recommended that 'great attention be given to girls' athletics and field games' competitions that were experiencing growth in participation rates and the types of sports offered (Collins et al., 1990, p. 67). For example, the PSAAA met in 1917 to arrange the necessary alterations to make provisions for a girls' challenge shield in drill at the Annual Sports Carnival for the first time in history ("School Sport", 1917); meanwhile, Fort Street Model schools had introduced a game of ladies' baseball consisting of rules slightly different to the game played by males, but it was still posed as 'interesting' and played by nearly 50 girls under the direction of the sports mistress ("School athletics", 1917, p. 2). Another benefit of SS during this period of uncertainty was that exposing girls to various sports provided them with potential employment opportunities as a Sports Mistress ("Careers for women", 1916, p. 6). This was a significant outcome of SS that contributed to wider political and social issues, as promoting the employability of students helped redress the effects of the aftermath of

the economic depression and industrial age that was accompanied by high unemployment rates.

It was growing recognition of the value of girls playing SS that triggered a push to establish formalised sports competitions under the governance of the sporting body of the GSSSA from 1918. It was clear there were ‘some enthusiasts [teachers] who recognise[d] the value of having a healthy body allied to a healthy mind’, and schools such as Randwick and Cleveland-street primary led the way promoting the games playing culture amongst girls; for example, these schools sent 89 and 88 girls respectively to the Annual PSAAA Sports meeting (“School Sport”, 1917, p. 6). Hence, the objectives of the newly formed GSSSA sporting organisation for girls established at its first committee meeting mandated provisions for conducting ‘competitions in swimming, cricket, hockey, lacrosse, basketball, baseball, and tennis’ to encourage ‘every girl to take up athletics’ (“School athletics”, 1918, p. 2).

Just like the PSAAA and the CHS, the establishment of the GSSSA was well-received, as within its first year of operation 15 public schools in the city and country of NSW became members of this association (p. 2). Much like the CHS body, the GSSSA was controlled by the PSAAA and flourished from the outset. For instance, Ferguson (1963) recalled that the GSSSA instigated sporting events for girls in all of its proposed sports except cricket and also organised competitions in rounders and vigoro in its first year. In addition to proliferating games playing traditions amongst the SS competitions for girls, the mere presence of an organisation dedicated to the sporting events and achievements of girls—in a typically physical and competitive masculine domain—was a feat in the subject’s and NSW education system’s history. This milestone confirmed that the growth of SS in this first period was attributed to the sporting activities governed by external bodies and, secondly, that the GSSSA brought the nature of the sports played by girls more in line with those prescribed for boys.

Overall, this section demonstrated that the history of the establishment of governing sporting bodies in the NSW public education system reinforced that this system of SS had in fact established its own set of games playing traditions, contrary to the preoccupation with SS traditions in private schools demonstrated in the literature. Since SS participation had been acknowledged as promoting moral and character development as well as health outcomes, this subject was thus viewed as important in

the school curriculum and to the political agenda of national stability during this period of war.

5.1.2 School Sport as ‘extra-curricular’ athletic carnivals

During these formative years of SS, the success of the Athletic Carnivals not only exemplified ‘what an important institution it [the PSAAA] ha[d] developed in connection with our schools’ system’ (“Public Schools’ Amateur Athletic Association”, 1899, p. 12); rather, these notable events warranted their own discussion set apart from the founding of competitive inter-school sport, because they significantly contributed to the sporting traditions and identity of the NSW public education system. Typical reports on these PSAAA ‘Gala Days’, for instance, declared that these sporting carnivals conducted amongst the public schools of the metropolitan and sub-metropolitan districts were ‘celebrated with a degree of enthusiasm and éclat’ (“Public Schools’ Amateur Athletic Association”, 1899, p. 12). These Athletic Carnivals also provided representative pathways for sportsmen and women, which suggested that the traditions of the public school sports system were also tied to the spirit of the sporting culture of the state and nation. It will be demonstrated throughout this section that this sports system was able to establish its own set of traditions by connecting with community Sports Clubs, which inherently strengthened the profile of certain sports in schools, particularly swimming and rugby league during these formative years. Similar to the inter-school competitions, the Athletic Carnivals conducted under the NSW public education system were influenced by political and social factors that stimulated changes in the types of scheduled events and the emphasis on certain sports.

The first sign that Athletic Carnivals under the auspices of the PSAAA had received the support of educationists and policy makers in NSW, and thus evolved as part of the traditions of the public school sports system was the fact the scheduled events showed overlap with the political imperative of the nation’s military defence. For example, the first Annual Sport Meeting conducted by the PSAAA was held in 1889 and the principal events of this meeting and those held throughout this era were ‘contests in military drill, open to all Public Schools’ (“Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889c, p. 1212). Such competitions in drill were longstanding and part of the sporting traditions of the NSW public school sports system, as noted by the fact that the PSAAA celebrated its 21 years of service to this system by devoting a day to contests in athletics and the big

drill event of the year, the ‘Championship Drill Shield’, fostering the outcome of ‘patriotism in the hearts of the children’ (“Children’s play day”, 1909, p. 11). At the same time, the traditions of this sport system complemented the wider political goal of nationalism by promoting Australia’s defence capacity, which elevated the value of PSAAA activities and SS in general in the NSW public education system. Given the focus on Military Drill, the Athletic Carnivals in the formative years were highly gendered, as the program included ‘several races for Public school boys only’ (“Public Schools’ Athletic Association”, 1889c, p. 1212) until typically feminine events started to appear in the event schedule from 1900.

The second sign that Athletic Carnivals were significant to the formation of the public school sports traditions stemmed from evidence noting the evolution of the types of scheduled events that consolidated a culture of games and sport ideologies as part of the identity of the NSW public education system. Even though drill events were still a major part of the schedule, the Annual Championship Meetings were renamed as the ‘Annual Sports Carnival’ from 1897 and were publicised as major full day events in the NSW public school calendar (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1897, p. 117). These carnivals scheduled specific contests focused on skills from the main sports and games of football, cricket, and tennis—such as fielding and throwing a ball from the position of cover point in cricket—but also included important races of ‘foot, bicycle, novelty, and obstacle’ (“Annual Sports Carnival of the P.S.A.A.A”, 1899, p. 6). The success of these events was attributed to the typically sports-minded teachers giving up their time to carry out the objectives of the PSAAA based on a personal interest in sport, the welfare of students, and loyalty to the Department of Education (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1897, p. 117). The popularity of these events continued to grow throughout this era and further consolidated the strength and traditions of the PSAAA, as evidenced by statistics highlighting that twenty public schools participated in the PSAAA’s Great Annual Sports Carnival in 1900 (“Great Annual Sports Carnival”, 1900, p. 3).

As noted in the introduction to this section, under the history and sporting traditions facilitated by public schools’ Sports Carnivals, there was a particular focus on certain sports in response to social factors that was enabled by connections with community organisations. Most notably, swimming became a sport of focus given the high number of drownings noted in the 1880s (De Looper, 2014). For example, it was reported that

one-in-five deaths in Australia from external causes were through drownings from boating accidents, shipping and maritime disasters, and drownings in lakes, seas, or rivers. Specifically, in NSW, drownings accounted for 22.9% of deaths from external causes among males, and 18.3% among females (De Looper, 2014). Hence, the response from education authorities was to establish Swimming Clubs in connection with public schools which led to the proliferation of Swimming Carnivals as part of the sporting traditions of NSW public schools. This premise was supported by media reports noting the Minister for Public Instruction's acknowledgement that Swimming Clubs were 'in connection with the public schools' and had been 'in association with Fort-Street School for some time' ("Swimming clubs in public schools", 1893, p. 4). Since Fort Street was the first school to establish a Swimming Club and was a Model School in NSW, there was an impetus for metropolitan schools to either establish a Swimming Club at the school and/or implement swimming programs during the school day, typically Friday afternoons. Hence, schools with close access to swimming baths, such as those in the Balmain region of Sydney, had established Swimming Clubs by 1898 ("Swimming", 1898).

The Swimming Clubs were self-supporting clubs; that is, they were managed by a committee of teachers and students that encouraged attendance at these baths for lessons in swimming under the supervision of teachers ("Swimming", 1898, p. 4). Consequently, it was clear the success of SS relied on the willingness of teachers to volunteer their time to provide instruction in swimming outside school hours (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1897, p. 117). However, these self-supporting clubs were imperative to the drive that ensured 'before long ... girls' swimming clubs [had] started' ("Swimming", 1898, p. 4). Therefore, swimming activities were extended to girls—before they were given the opportunity to participate in other sports—following the push from committees governing Swimming Clubs. This premise was supported by the statistic that 1,500 of 12,000 youths enrolled into school swimming clubs in 1898 were girls (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1898, p. 117). Meanwhile, physical educationist Ferguson (1963) captured her experience of swimming as part of NSW public schooling during the early 1900s:

My memories of School Sport date back as far as the turn of the century.
I remember going to the Spit for swimming in 1901 as a pupil at Neutral Bay School; as a pupil at Burwood School I went to Mortlake in 1902

and 1903. From 1904–1908 as a pupil at Fort Street Primary, and from 1908 to 1911 at Fort Street Secondary School, I attended Elkington Park Baths. (p. 17)

Despite the opportunities for girls in swimming, the benefits of swimming programs and swimming clubs to boys were more widely reported, reflecting the gendered nature of sport. For example, it was found that public school Swimming Clubs continued to be actively supported by the boys (“Swimming in public schools”, 1897) and that ‘nearly every boy leaving the NSW public schools would have learned to swim’ (“Swimming”, 1898, p. 6). It took another ten years until the NSW Education Department stated that ‘all schools within access to baths’ were to ‘have a girls’ swimming club’ (“Education”, 1908, p. 10).

Due to the popularity of Swimming Clubs and swimming in society generally—for example, the enrolment of members at these clubs was at about 4500 across NSW public schools in 1897 (“Swimming in public schools”, 1897)—the first PSAAA Swimming Championship of Public Schools was held in 1897 in Surry Hills (*NSWDET Annual Report*, 1897, p. 117). The Annual Swimming Carnivals built on the already established weekly swimming events conducted by the Swimming Clubs tied to NSW public schools, to consolidate swimming as part of the sporting culture of the public education system. For example, it was widely reported that ‘student Swimming Club members, accompanied by teachers, le[ft] school an hour earlier once a week and visit[ed] the nearest baths’ to practice and compete in swimming (p. 10). Most significantly, the Swimming Championships provided those students who were members of Swimming Clubs with an opportunity to compete at an inter-school sports event. Hence, the sporting traditions of the NSW public school sports system were exemplary at providing students with representative pathways, as Swimming Carnivals showcased the talented sportsmen and women by enabling Swimming Club members to compete with a ‘zest to the weekly swims’ (“Swimming in public schools”, 1897, p. 10).

Another explanation offered for the strong presence of swimming as part of the sporting traditions of the NSW public education system was the fact that the PSAAA encouraged schools to develop relationships with community swimming associations, as this particular sport required the support of qualified specialists. Even though the activities

of Swimming Clubs and Swimming Championships conducted by the PSAAA were conceived as ‘nothing connected with school work’ [i.e. extra-curricular], the Chief Inspector of Schools, Mr. F Bridges, encouraged the systematic instruction of swimming as part of NSW public schooling based on the ‘generally admitted ... advantages to be derived from this clean, healthy, and valuable exercise’ (“School swimming”, 1897, p. 3). As a result, there was an ‘extraordinary enrolment of children in Swimming Programs’, as this sport was perceived to be ‘most beneficial in the double sense of cleanliness [i.e. health] and safety to life’ by helping to prevent public drownings (p. 3). The establishment of relationships between schools and Swimming Clubs also had reciprocal benefits for the latter, as 12,000 youths were enrolled into school swimming clubs in 1898 (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1898, p. 117). This evidence suggested that the expansion of PSAAA Sports Carnivals to include Swimming Championships complemented wider political and social citizenry concerns, as Drake (1908) noted a reduction in the number of deaths from drownings by 1904.

There was evidence suggesting that the partnerships between schools and Swimming Clubs were extended and schools established relationships with community sporting clubs specialising in other sports, again with reciprocal benefits for both parties. These relationships contributed to the consolidation of the sporting traditions of NSW public schools and complemented the PSAAA’s requirement that individual schools were responsible for holding their own inter-school Sports Carnivals across a greater number of sports, following the growth of student numbers noted above. Hence, public schools reached out to the NSW governing sporting bodies of Amateur Athletics, Australian Football, Basketball, Cricket, Lifesaving, and Soccer for support, which in turn created a culture of playing these sports in NSW public schools (Collins et al., 1990). At the same time, community sporting organisations—such as the newly established sporting code of Rugby League—were able to connect with NSW public (and Catholic) schools to encourage students to switch from Rugby Union to playing this code (“The P.S.A.A.A”, 1908, p. 10). This move by Rugby League, right from its establishment in 1907, was successful: by 1908, over 63 public schools and teams were playing this ‘new’ type of Rugby (p. 10). Consequently, the games ideologies associated with Rugby League formed part of the traditions of the NSW public school sports system

while Rugby Union remained embedded in the traditions of private schooling, as reported widely in the literature.

Overall, there was strong evidence suggesting that the various Athletic Carnivals coordinated by the PSAAA, which promoted the establishment of relationships between community sports organisations and NSW public schools, helped foster a unique culture of sporting traditions, high level competitions, and representative pathways as part of the identity of the NSW public education system. The various types of Athletic and Sports Carnivals also prompted the inclusion of girls in events more closely aligned with those offered to boys as part of the sporting traditions of this system. Not only did evolutions to the frequency and types of Athletic Carnivals enhance the quality of sport played by public schools, but such developments confirmed that the history and traditions of SS in NSW public schools were complementary and representative of broader political, educational, and social needs. These included preparing the nation's war defence through Championship Drill events and strengthening community-based sport as way to promote the nation's sporting identity during the economic depression, as will be discussed in the next section.

5.1.3 The inclusion of SS as part of the school day

As indicated throughout the history of SS from 1880 to 1919 thus far, for the most part of the first two decades of compulsory schooling, sporting exchanges were commonly conducted as 'after-school sport' and/or 'out of school educational work' (*NSW DET Annual Report, 1897, p. 117*) in the form of inter-school competitions. Hence, the establishment of the games playing traditions of NSW public schools have to this point been attributed to the SS activities organised separate to the formal curriculum. However, this section will suggest there were early indications of the value of sport to broader educational outcomes, which saw SS increasingly incorporated into the school day. Consequently, a major theme to emerge during this first era of SS, unexplored by Collins et al. (1990, 1991), was that education authorities supported the inclusion of SS as part of the school day from close to the outset of compulsory schooling in this state, based on the value of SS to wider political and social needs such as counteracting the effects of the economic depression and Industrial Age and the effects of WWI towards the end of this period.

The growth of the PSAAA activities was exemplary of the educational benefits of participating in SS during the years of the economic depression and industrial age in Australia. Although the media noted that the playground size of schools was inadequate, these reports acted as official records that schools ‘encouraged the boys in their outdoor sports’ (“School exhibitions”, 1884, p. 5). Similarly, the *NSW National Board of Education Annual Report* (1885, p. 413) acted as a record that SS was a vital part of schooling in NSW because it contributed value to a students’ education, according to views that sport was ‘the playground, or uncovered schoolroom’ and ‘field in which the exercise of all their [students’] faculties is required’. These qualities of SS were publicly recognised, as the media reinforced that SS was not only ‘a reasonable indulgence in athletics’ but also offered ‘a pleasing break in the monotony of many children’s lives’ (“School swimming”, 1897, p. 3) during the period of the economic depression.

At the same time, the nature of SS complemented views that the school curriculum should place emphasis on the value of a child’s ‘complete’ education during this period of economic depression (“School swimming”, 1897, p. 3). Typical newspaper reports in support of this premise stated that it was ‘gratifying’ to see PSAAA activities established as an ‘education program’ that ensured children attending public schools were provided with ‘athletic experiences on the principle of complying with the injunction “not as to keep Jack [i.e. students] always at work” (“A public school athletic association”, 1889, p. 2). In this political and social climate, the activities of the PSAAA were heralded as an extension of the ‘proper’ school duties through the spirit of emulation in manly sports that promoted social enjoyment amongst youths (p. 2).

Despite the perceived value of SS, it took nearly three decades before the NSW DOE introduced a mandatory ‘Sports Afternoon’ in 1907 to consolidate sport as an integral component of education. From this point in history, all public schools and students participated in compulsory SS as part of the school day rather than as extra-curricular sport activities, which consolidated the status of the subject in the curriculum. Commonly, SS took place on Friday afternoons for primary schools (“Public school sports”, 1907, p. 7) while high schools played SS on Wednesday afternoons from the time the CHS was established in 1913. This finding was corroborated by media reports that found ‘every Wednesday afternoon the scholars troop in orderly procession to the

[sports] grounds' ("Physical well-being of the Australian school girl", 1913, p. 14). Similarly, the memoir by Ferguson (1963, p. 16) confirmed that on Wednesdays, high school lessons started 'at nine o'clock instead of nine-thirty so that extra time was available for school sport'.

There was substantial evidence indicating that the decision to include SS as part of the school day was driven by the widely publicised and increasingly accepted value of SS to wider educational and health outcomes, given 'the adage [that] a healthy body begets a healthy mind' (*Education Gazette*, 1897 October, p. 111). In particular, the PSAAA's Secretary Mr. J.H. Strong claimed that SS 'did not interfere with the children's [academic] school work' but rather that the subject added 'educational' value ("Public school sports", 1907, p. 7). Such perspectives were consolidated by typical references to the nature of 'compulsory' and 'supervised' sport as stimulating 'the growth of the mind' ("Compulsory school games", 1908, p. 2). Meanwhile, the afternoons allocated to SS activities such as swimming were considered 'time well spent' from an 'educational point of view', as 'the more thorough-going educationist recognises that the body is just as important and just as morally reputable as the mind' ("School swimming", 1909, p. 6). Thus, it was concluded that through organised sport the incalculable physical and mental effects of exercise gained from learning skills were realised (BOE, 1911b).

As noted and implied, an additional explanation for the inclusion of SS into the formal school day stemmed from the growing acknowledgements of the physical health benefits of participating in sporting activities, especially during the industrial age and periods of war. For example, SS like PE was increasingly known as a means of overcoming the physical ailments endured by children (British Science Guide, 1909). This capacity of SS was increasingly significant given that the *NSW DET Annual Report* (1917, p. 14) argued that the high rates of defects were 'a serious evil in the national life ... and [a] matter for the state'. Consequently, there was a political push for young people to start 'playing the game' during the WWI period, not only for the health benefits but because the increased number of 'onlookers' (i.e. viewers of sport) was 'out of proportion to the number of players', leading to a trend where a majority of men were considered 'unfit' for war ("Health Congress" 1917, p. 14). It can hence be inferred that the imperative to include SS as part of the school day was to encourage

higher levels of physical fitness amongst students and to treat physical ailments. In this way, SS was projected to assist PE in recruiting for war by helping to make ‘rejected men physically fit for military service’ (“Health Congress”, 1917, p. 14), thus validating the importance of the subject.

Contrary to the realised educational and physical benefits of SS, public school records indicated that ‘attendance of pupils on Friday afternoons [in primary schools was] much smaller than during any other school session in the week’. Lower attendance rates were explained based on the ‘fact the competition matches in connection with the PSAAA [took] place on those afternoons’ (“School attendance”, 1910, p. 7). Such a finding may imply that SS was not considered as important as other subjects in the school curriculum during the period of economic depression, so students decided to miss this day of school, possibly for paid work, even though it was part of the school day and there was an upward trend in the growth and nature of public school sport during this first era of SS.

Summary

The history of SS in NSW public schools between 1880 and 1919 confirmed Knibbs and Turner’s (1904, p. 174) research noting the capacity for sporting traditions of the NSW public school system to play a socialising role in response to historical events. This finding was exemplified from the outset of compulsory schooling, where SS originally emerged in the school playground as informal and unstructured sporting experiences promoting the release of physical energy, then later evolved into competitions amongst the few NSW public schools that existed to cater for the growing interest and uptake of inter-school sport. This, in turn, prompted the establishment of umbrella bodies such as the PSAAA, CHS, and GSSSA. Alongside these developments, the sports system of NSW public schools established its own sporting traditions to parallel the games ideologies that reigned supreme in the elite private schools (Horton, 2006, 2009; Mangan, 1981, 1983; Sherington, 1983).

The political and educational agendas served by SS were realised via the nature of activities conducted by the sporting bodies, such as positioning Championship Drill at Sports Carnivals as a highly valued competition to win amongst the competing public schools in the lead-up to and during WWI. The physical and educational benefits were

increasingly acknowledged alongside the growth of sporting inter-school competitions, resulting in the consolidation of SS within the normal school week in the form of a Sports Afternoon, which elevated the status of SS. Moreover, SS was afforded greater value as its activities facilitated the development of students' character and morals conducive to redressing the detrimental social effects created by the industrial revolution, economic depression, and WWI. Moreover, the NSW public school sports system was positioned as a means to promote a national identity of stability post-Australian Federation and develop a culture of sporting success as part of the identity of this education system and the nation more broadly. Overall, as with PE, the strong growth and status of SS between 1880 and 1919 was achieved based on evidence suggesting that this subject complemented the political and social priorities of the day, including the general outcomes of the NSW public education system.

5.2 The consolidation of SS in the curriculum (1920–1956)

The period between 1920 and 1956 saw SS, like PE, occupy a more central place in the NSW education system due to its capacity to support eugenic imperatives amidst an increasingly multicultural Australia post-Great Depression and WWII. The eugenic preoccupation with producing responsible citizens committed to the survival of the White Population changed the attitudes towards SS because sport had become a comparative measure of racial fitness, especially in Britain, America, and Australia (Mandle, 1973). The physical and educational benefits of SS were increasingly recognised as supporting broader national goals focused on rebuilding the nation and providing representative sporting opportunities for youths at school, as a pathway to ensuring the nation's sporting success (and in turn political strength) on the international stage. Therefore, the developments in SS were noted as responding to the following significant global and national politico-social climates that were in the media spotlight: a) the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany that symbolised the host and competing country's injection of politics and extreme nationalism, and b) the announcement on April 30, 1949 that Australia would host its first Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956 (Jobling, 1994). These political and social conditions, accompanied by changing attitudes towards girls' sport during this period of World Wars, resulted in the growing emphasis on games and sports as a major component of PE in the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952).

Therefore, the significant developments in SS, as a product of political and social factors between 1919 and 1956, consolidated the status of the subject in the school curriculum and continued the flourishing nature of SS in the NSW public education system. The major themes that contributed to the consolidation of SS in the curriculum and provide structure to the history of SS during this era included: (i) the value of SS to eugenic ideals, (ii) the strong imperative for sport in the formal curriculum, and (iii) the changing attitudes towards girls and sport.

5.2.1 The value of SS to eugenic ideals

As noted in section 4.2, Galton's conceptualisation of 'eugenics' replaced Darwin's theory of Natural Selection because it more clearly 'represent[ed] each class or sect by its best specimens'; that is, the 'qualities ... that nearly everyone would take into account when picking out the best specimens of his class ... includ[ing] health, energy, ability, manliness, and courteous disposition' (Blacker, 1947). Following WWI and the Depression, it became increasingly evident that a major shift had transpired in the history of SS. Notably, the focus of intra- and inter-school sport had become attuned with the eugenic perspectives, as the nature of SS enabled the development of such qualities. The shift in SS that saw its main purpose become 'not so as to make champions, but so as to make citizens' ("A national need", 1938, p. 10) highlighted a connection between the philosophies of Darwinism, White Australia, and eugenics that changed attitudes towards sport in Australia.

Accordingly, the games playing traditions established amongst NSW public schools in the previous period was extended to ensure that the nature of SS activities engendered a 'co-operative spirit' ("Athletics: Combined High Schools", 1929, p. 22) and 'wholesome play-the-game spirit' ("School Sport", 1923, p. 8) in support of eugenic ideals centred on racial betterment, survival, and identity. In turn, students were encouraged to participate in a broad range of national sports, made possible by the growth of PSAAA and CHS activities throughout the 1920s post-WWI period into the 1930s, rather than excelling in just one, because 'to be outstanding in one particular field ... is not such a boon as it may appear, as too much is lost in [Australian] culture generally' (Waugh, 1935, p. 36).

The post-WWI and Depression era also saw the consolidation of SS in the curriculum through public schools' enthusiasm for the subject, which was 'aroused most effectively by the numerous [types of] competitions arranged by the PSAAA' ("School Sport" 1923, p. 8). For instance, the PSAAA finalised the decision to play rugby league in 1920 as 'the boys, according to all of the sports masters, [were] now more enthusiastic over football than they were previously' ("School Sport: Women teachers busy", 1920, p. 2). It was also reported that there were 84 soccer, 11 baseball, and 23 tennis and cricket competitions held amongst public schools in 1923 ("Primary School Sport: Facts and figures", 1923, p. 4) and the PSAAA needed to allocate three days to the Annual Sports Carnival that year, with one day for primary school and two days for high school sporting competitions. The provisions for SS for girls were also considered a well-established feature of the sport system of NSW public schools, given that the year 1920 was 'a record one' for the GSSSA competitions conducted in hockey, baseball, lacrosse, basketball, and tennis ("School Sport: Women teachers busy", 1920, p. 2). In turn, it was reported that public school students were provided with the opportunity to choose from a list of 10 sports officiated by the PSAAA and CHS as inter-school competitions by the mid-1920s ("School Sport: Branch Association", 1925, p. 4) to suggest that SS had consolidated its identity and place as part of NSW public schooling.

In addition to the diversification of the range of sports conducted in the NSW public education system reflective of SS having a substantial place in schools, the value added by the auspices of the PSAAA and CHS was publicly acknowledged on a global scale for contributing to the athletic and social interests of students ("School Sport", 1923, p. 8). For instance, Director of Education Mr. S.H. Smith's presentation on the nature of the activities conducted by the PSAAA at an international conference on education for leisure 'had astonished the delegates from other parts of the world' ("Athletics: Combined High Schools", 1929, p. 22). Reports following the conference attributed the accolades of the PSAAA, which were to be 'commended' compared to organisations of the 'same ilk', to 'the efficacy of the work of the Sportsmasters and PSAAA committee' (p. 22). In terms of the CHS, reports also found that the activities conducted under this governing body had achieved a consolidated place in the NSW education system due to its strong 'influence on sport in education' (p. 22). Hence, it was clear that the 1920s marked a growth in the number of sporting teams and the number of

students participating in inter-school competitions. For instance, it was reported that the ‘magnitude of the operations of the PSAAA [were] strikingly illustrated in the figures denoting the scope of the fixture’, which was around 8000 fixtures throughout the state (“Sport and sportsmen operations of PSAAA”, 1926, p. 6). Meanwhile, the CHS Athletics Championships involved 28 high schools across the state, including 9 schools from the country ‘who ‘made an excellent showing’ of athletic performance (“The schools in sport”, 1926, p. 16).

Another explanation for the consolidation of SS in the curriculum was attributed to the fact that the diverse types of sports and successful outputs of the NSW public school sports system complemented eugenic ideals. For instance, the growth of ‘clean sporting contests of all kinds’ helped facilitate ‘good sportsmanship’ amongst students, a quality the nation was proud to hold as the most typical virtue of its race (“School Sport”, 1927, p. 10). At the same time, successful sportsmen such as Donald Bradman (cricket), who were products of the NSW public school system, were widely admired and positioned as models of ‘physical development’ and ‘sovereign power’, which were conceived as complementary to the eugenic push for the rebuilding of national character (Gallagher, 1931, p. 28). Consequently, students were encouraged to model themselves on the qualities of talented sportsmen and women as part of participating in SS, as a ‘student who distinguishes himself in sport or athletics is the one who monopolises the list of successful men in adult life’ (Gallagher, 1931, p. 2), a notion in line with the eugenic agenda of national betterment and survival.

On a final note, the value of SS to eugenic ideals and the outcomes of the school’s curriculum were actualised during the lead-up to the Berlin 1936 Olympic Games, which coincided with Nazi Germany and the Holocaust years and later the enactment of the National Fitness movement. During the period of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, it was important that Australia was competitive on the sporting field, as sport was used for political aims and to symbolise a sense of national continuity in terms of ‘cooperation in industry ... and politics’, racial leadership, and ‘military skills ... geared towards producing the political soldier’ (Ueberhorst, 1990, p. 235). As noted in media reports at the time, ‘sport when not carried to excess, is a valuable adjunct to education, and never has this truth been as widely appreciated as it is to-day [i.e. during the 1930s]’ (“School Sport”, 1930, p. 14). This same article proceeded to reinforce the

importance of training teachers in sport, which was consolidated by the introduction of National Fitness Training Camps for teachers, as noted in the history of PE, following the German government's establishment of teachers' training colleges in sport as well as PE to ensure provision in the athletic instruction of school pupils ("School Sport", 1930). Notably, 'this systematic propagation of sport [was], in part, intended to maintain the physique of the nation by supplying a substitute for the drill and exercises in compulsory military service' as the nation's susceptibility to discipline and team work was through its 'indulgence in sport' (p. 14). Consequently, Australians were encouraged to 'play the game in every sense of the word' as '[sport] lessons were not the least valuable of those that are learned at school' (p. 14). Instead, it was sport that taught moral character, the modest acceptance of victory, and 'receiving hard knocks without losing ... temper, to set the cause above renown and sacrifice himself for his side [i.e. the nation]' (p. 14).

During the National Fitness movement, Young reinforced that the nation and state's adolescents were 'certainly encouraged to make themselves physically fit' ("Education for fitness", 1939, p. 4). This premise was widely reported by the media due to the consensus that it was 'through the pursuit of games and athletics [that] thousands of young people [were] keeping themselves in that state we call "condition", improving their efficiency and physique and helping, consciously or otherwise to build up the collective power of our race' ("Education for fitness", 1939, p. 4). Since SS continued to be positioned as 'an admirable basis for physical development' and 'self-reliance, vigour and stamina, co-operation and teamwork, [and] sportsmanship' (Sutton, 1940, p. 27), the subject had become 'obligatory in our schools' ("Physical fitness", 1939, p. 4), exemplifying that SS had consolidated its position in the curriculum, especially following the political and social imperatives of games and sport to the eugenic agenda following the *National Fitness Act* (1941). The National Fitness movement provided activities such as outside-of-school sport and recreation camps for boys and girls, which not only increased students' exposure to sport and transferability of sports skills into SS (Education Department of NSW, 1959), but also contributed to racial fitness and hygiene in support of the *White Australia Policy*.

5.2.2 The strong imperative for sport in formal curriculum

This section will offer an alternate explanation for the growth and consolidation of SS to that presented by Collins et al. (1990, 1991), suggesting that a key explanation for the record numbers of NSW public school students participating in SS in 1954 was ‘the introduction of a comprehensive PE system into the school curriculum’ (“...And growing bodies”, 1954, p. 10). This finding was significant to a history of education, as such studies have been criticised for being narrowly focused (Goodson, 1988). Instead, this section adds to the comprehensiveness of the history of SS, in line with this project’s production of a combined history, by detailing that it was the strong connections between SS and PE which emerged during the period of eugenics that consolidated the place of SS in the curriculum. This connection was conceptualised by Kirk (2010, p. 7) as the durable and universal principle of ‘physical education-as-sport-techniques’, whereby it was implied that sports were played as part of PE and in turn PE supported the development of sports skills. Specifically, it was the positioning of sport as a means to achieving the eugenic outcomes of PE, namely striving for racial betterment and survival and later developing the population’s sports skills in the lead-up to the 1956 Olympics held in Melbourne, which raised the profile of SS in both the curriculum and wider society. This period also coincided with the rebuilding of the nation post-WWII, which saw a mandatory ‘Sports Afternoon’ prescribed under the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) in support of the progressive approach to the NSW public education system throughout the 1950s into the 1960s.

The 1930s and 1940s period of eugenics was accompanied by an acknowledgement of the overlap between SS outcomes and those of PE, given their shared capacity to support the National Fitness imperative for the growing child to exercise, ‘preferably out of doors and in the spontaneous activity of games’ (Machin, 1939, p. 10). The nation’s focus on fitness reinforced the need to expose students to a range of sports and cater for the majority of students rather than just focusing on talented sportsmen and women, which had been the predominant approach as inferred by the traditional histories of SS contributed by Collins et al. (1990, 1991). For instance, physical educationists such as Huck Hamilton (1941, as cited in Georgakis & Russell, 2011, p. 33) increasingly recognised that one of the ‘chief aims’ of PE during this eugenic period of National Fitness was to ‘ensure that each and every child [was] given the opportunity

to learn games and to become to some degree skilled in them' as a way to ensure they experienced 'healthy physical exercise with a definite motivating interest' (p. 33).

This thesis found evidence suggesting that it was the unexplored theme of the overlapping nature of SS and PE in support of eugenic ideals that consolidated the profile of SS in the curriculum. For instance, the *Adapted Syllabus of Physical Training for Australian Schools* (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943) stated that playing sports in PE contributed to the physical development of students who possessed 'a useful' and 'skillful' body to complement the imperatives of racial betterment and survival (p. 9). Moreover, provisions for sport in this syllabus were positioned to facilitate the qualities of loyalty, sportsmanship, and worthy community life to ensure individuals were not inclined to 'let the nation down' (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943, p. 9), but instead pursue racial betterment and survival. As noted in Chapter Four, PE had taken a firm grip and achieved a proven status in NSW public schools during the National Fitness movement; the fact that sport was noted as a means to achieving PE outcomes meant that the inferred ties between the subjects inherently elevated the value of SS in the curriculum.

Another sub-theme to emerge from the inclusion and references to sport as part of curriculum provisions from the 1940s was the push for Specialist Sport Teachers in the same way there was an identified need for PETEs during the period of National Fitness. Despite the absence of formal teacher-training in sport, the summer vacation National Fitness courses for teachers from the 1940s started to include aspects of sports teaching. For example, the 1950 camp saw 120 young schoolteachers, including 60 women, spend their holidays completing a course in National Fitness at Broken Bay ("Teachers train in deluxe camp at Broken Bay", 1950, p. 27). An objective of this course was to ensure teachers were qualified 'coaches for their school teams' and committed to 'swimming' and 'organised games', which were reflective of prescriptions for both SS and PE. This aspect of the National Fitness courses reinforced that the outcomes of these two subjects were overlapping in line with the goal of producing model sportsmen and women exemplifying eugenic qualities. Although the eugenic undertones to SS suggested that its provisions should encourage participation amongst all students regardless of their sporting ability in pursuit of wider national goals, Hamilton (1941 as cited in Georgakis & Russell, 2011, p. 33) noted that 'another object of games practice [was] to produce champions in sport'. As noted above, the function of SS to

produce sporting champions was also reflective of eugenic ideals, as talented sportsmen and women were models of national character and strength. Accordingly, many large schools were found to have concentrated on ‘the instruction of the few already competent and gifted children, allowing this limited number to reap the benefits of inter-school competitive games’ (p. 33) during the consolidation period in the history of SS.

Moving into the 1950s, a key marker in the history of SS demonstrating the consolidated position of SS in the curriculum was the provision for a mandatory ‘Sports Afternoon’ under the umbrella of PE in the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952), which suggested that policy makers and education authorities viewed SS as a valuable subject. There were a number of provisions according to this curriculum that were noted as supporting this premise; for instance, the NSW DOE had mandated the subject in primary schools and allocated it considerable time in the curriculum. Media reports corroborated that instead of ‘the old-time weekly single afternoon sport period per week’, primary school students enjoyed ‘five PE lessons during the same period’ that included coaching and practice in different types of sports skills (“...And growing bodies”, 1954, p. 10). Meanwhile, the timing of the publication of this curriculum, and subsequent Sports Afternoon requirements, demonstrated that the inclusion of sport in the formal school curriculum not only increased students’ participation and exposure to national sports; it also anticipated that formal curriculum provisions for SS served broader national and social goals tied to the re-building of the nation in an increasingly multicultural Australia post-WWII. For instance, the inclusion of a ‘Sports Afternoon’ in the curriculum helped to promote the nation’s culture of sport, which prides itself on prowess and international victories on the sporting field (Cashman, 1995). The consolidation of SS in the curriculum was thus timely, as it coincided with the lead-up to the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, which helped raise the profile of SS in schools and society.

Specifically, the consolidation of SS in the *1952 Primary Curriculum* meant that students were required to participate in some form of sport as part of the ‘Sports Afternoon’ and/or the ‘games and sport’ strand of the formal PE curriculum, depending on their sporting ability (NSW DOE, 1952, p. 48). For instance, students were provided with the opportunity to select the sport(s) they would like to play and represent the

school at a competitive level upon being selected in inter-school (i.e. PSAAA) sports teams, which fell under provisions for the 'Sports Afternoon'. Meanwhile, the remaining 'less-skilled' students received instruction during 'games and sport' lessons focused on 'skill practices' (p. 48). This evidence suggested that formal provisions for sport in the curriculum provided students with 'an opportunity' to practice the 'skills of competing at a level that is worthy of them' (p. 48). These prescriptions were aligned with the progressive undertones to the NSW public education system from the 1950s, which highlighted that the nature of education at the primary school level needed to account for 'all phases' of a child's education, including their academic, physical, moral, and cultural domains facilitated by sport ("Growing pains", 1952, p. 3). The nature of SS according to the 'games and sport' lesson complemented these progressive ideals, as it catered for less-skilled students by prescribing tabloid activities (i.e. a circuit), which reflected a practice in education that promoted student inclusion (NSW DOE, 1952). This shift in sport to cater for all students was also consistent with the progressive education agenda to overhaul the influence of class and gender in this subject by ensuring sport, particularly competitive SS, no longer favoured a tradition of high-class and male students (NSW DOE, 1952).

Since provisions for sport aligned with all phases of a child's education, the subject was viewed as contributing to the outcomes of the public education system rather than being perceived as something separate, which helped confirm its consolidated place in the curriculum. Notably, provisions for 'Games and Sport' lessons not only provided students with specialised training (NSW DOE, 1952, p. 53), but offered sporting opportunities that were aligned with the curriculum's preoccupation with the local and national goal of making children 'fitter, happier, and more useful citizens' ("Sport in schools", 1954, p. 8). Consequently, as publicly reported by the media, sport was positioned as belonging to a child's education 'quite as much as purely intellectual studies' ("...And growing bodies", 1954, p. 10). Hence, it was concluded that 'finally [after the publication of the *1952 Primary Curriculum*], through sport, the school aims to develop the desirable attitudes of cooperation and teamwork which will be of value to the child on the playing field, in school, and as a member of the community in later life' were actualised ("Sport in schools", 1954, p. 8).

At the same time, the consolidated nature of SS in the NSW public education system taught students the ‘play-the-game’ spirit of the Australian sporting culture and also served to promote ‘many mediocre sportsmen to championship class’ by fostering a pathway for state, national, and international sporting representation (“...And growing bodies”, 1954, p. 10). As already mentioned, and although not explicit, it was opportunities for students to develop sporting skills through the ‘games and sport’ lesson, and the assumed potential to transfer these skills to selection and participation in inter-school sport (NSW DOE, 1952), that helped raise the status of SS in education. For instance, media reports echoed that the emphasis on sport in PE was ‘designed to operate side by side with the sporting program of the schools’, as such provisions introduced students to activities that developed games, cooperation, teamwork, and sportsmanship skills that were highly valued in the Australian sporting culture and characteristic of talented sportsmen and women (“Emphasis on PT”, 1957, p. 24).

However, the potential for a student to progress from intra-school sport to inter-school competition in aid of the nation’s sporting culture was restricted by a number of factors. For one, the nature of the ‘games and sport’ lesson had the potential to prevent a student from progressing to a PSAAA ‘Sports Afternoon’, as commonly it was the less qualified teachers of sport that conducted these lessons amongst ‘less skilled’ students (i.e. non-PSAAA students), while the teachers trained in sport coached the PSAAA teams. This deduction was in line with evidence highlighting that Training Camps for teachers were geared towards preparing them to ‘coach ... their school teams’ (“Teachers train in deluxe camp at Broken Bay”, 1950, p. 27), presumably comprising the ‘more physically talented’ students participating in the inter-school competitions of the ‘Sports Afternoon’. Therefore, Generalist Primary School Classroom Teachers were encouraged to access the various aids at their disposal, including the National Fitness Camps (“Physical Education in schools is getting a new deal”, 1954, p. 20), to support the profile of SS following its inclusion in the Primary School Curriculum that saw every student participating in SS from 1952.

On a final note, the aforementioned developments supporting the formal inclusion of SS in the school curriculum gathered momentum as the nature of the subject aligned with the high political and social profile afforded to the 1956 Olympic Games. This international event stimulated the drive to increase levels of participation in sport in

schools, as exemplified by the fact there were 783 school teams playing inter-school sport under the Public School Sports Association (PSSA) (note the name change from PSAAA) and CHS competitions in 1950, which increased to 837 teams in 1951 and swelled to 1,015 teams to ‘constitute an all-time record’ in 1952 (“...And growing bodies”, 1954, p. 10), the same year the *Primary Curriculum* was introduced. It was the ‘play-the-game’ spirit of the NSW public school sport system and significant profile of sport in society at large that can be credited for the consolidation of this subject in the school curriculum and improvements to students’ sporting skills, which saw ‘the general standard of sport played by young people’ participating in competitions of this system recorded as ‘the highest’ in its history in 1954 (“...And growing bodies”, 1954, p. 10). It was thus clear that the consolidated place of SS in the curriculum complemented and contributed to the raised profile of SS in schools and society in the lead-up to the nation hosting its first Olympic Games.

5.2.3 The changing attitude towards girls and sport

Despite the lack of discourse on girls’ SS during this period, records indicate that it was a period characterised by increased participation and a shift in social attitudes towards girls playing sport. This section offers two brief—as already noted as a limitation in this study—yet valid explanations for this trend. Firstly, there was increased media attention allocated to international and national women’s sporting success, and secondly, there was an increase in the number of female teachers familiar with sport, which increased the number of sports available to school girls.

During the 1930s in particular, media reports captured ‘Australian women cross[ing] the world to represent their country in international contests and return[ing] home laden with honour as world champions’ (“Women and field of sport”, 1933, p. 19). Moreover, ‘gone [was] the day when cricket was a man’s game’, as women were now recognised in the media as participating in cricket, hockey, swimming, tennis, bowls, and golf to reflect a ‘new freedom for women in the world of sport—they swim and drive and run and leap and fly. They are no longer the weaker sex [to an extent]’ (p. 19). Moreover, reports on the number of female undergraduates who were to be the ‘teachers ... of tomorrow’ highlighted that ‘a visit to the women’s side of any university would show that the girls do not spend all their time studying. The numerous social and sporting

associations ... provide an ample training ground for future work' ("University life from a woman's point of view", 1937, p. 2).

In the absence of formal documentation linking the rising profile of women's sport in wider Australian society and its place in the lives of teacher-trainees, this thesis concluded that it was the wider public recognition of Australian women's' sporting success and the participation of female teachers as models of active participants in sport that increased SS participation rates amongst girls at the public school level. For instance, media reports captured this rise in SS participation amongst girls, noting that 'twenty years ago [mid-1910s, girls] competitions were limited to a set of tennis matches', but 'during the intervening years many High schools for girls have been established' ("Girls' competitive sport", 1935, p. 20) where young ladies played basketball, vigoro, and hockey as well as participated in swimming and athletics meetings, to the point that the number of competitions was viewed as 'excessive' (p. 20) despite the inadequate playing fields and sports grounds ("Trends in education", 1937). The growth in girls SS is more prominent following the rise of feminism in the 1970s, as will be covered later in this chapter.

Summary

Between 1920 and 1956, SS was consolidated as an important part of the NSW public school system, with time during the school day allocated to SS as part of the formal curriculum through inter-school competitions during the 'Sports Afternoon' and/or games and sport lessons. It was increasingly recognised that provisions for sport overlapped with the nature of PE, which implied that the subjects could work together to support the nation's sporting identity and rebuild the nation following the Depression and WWII, in line with progressive approaches to the NSW public education system in the 1950s and 1960s. At the same time, these developments in SS encouraged a culture of sport and international sporting success in the lead-up to the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956, reinforcing that the history of SS was complementary and representative of wider political and social interests of the time.

5.3 The 'golden years' of SS (1957–1989)

In building on the foundations set in the previous two eras, SS reached a high point in terms of its presence in the NSW education system and the expansion of the number

and types of sports competitions conducted under the auspices of the PSSA and CHS organisations between 1957 and 1989. The main developments in SS during these ‘golden years’ were prompted by the following major factors: firstly, the growing number of migrants arriving into Australia leading to provisions for compulsory secondary schooling under the *Wyndham Report* (1957), which furthered notions that SS was a way to teach the nation’s sporting culture within multicultural Australia. Secondly, the widespread presence of sport in the community following the Melbourne Olympics in 1956 and rise of feminism, which helped raise the profile of SS, as schools provided an additional avenue to support the development of Australia’s future sporting champions. Thirdly, a formal ‘Sports Period’ separate to PE was established as part of the neo-progressive movement in education underpinning the *1972 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1972). It was the influence of special interest groups on the NSW education system during the 1980s, as noted by Barcan (2010), that helped establish a ‘sports for all’ culture and proliferate representative sporting pathways to reflect the third major theme. Consequently, these three themes of the ‘golden years’ of SS in NSW public schools will be explored in light of the political and social contexts of the time.

5.3.1 Sport and the Wyndham Report (1957)

While the final years of the ‘consolidating’ period of SS previously discussed paid close attention to the milestones in this subject achieved at the primary school level, it was the goals of the *Wyndham Report* (1957) that proliferated SS at the secondary level from 1957 and contributed to its accolades during the ‘golden years’. As noted in Chapter Four, the *Wyndham Report* (1957) was a response to the influx of immigrants settling in Australia post-WWII that stimulated changes to the NSW public education system to cater for the changing student demographic. The *Wyndham Report* (1957) was a significant marker in the history of this subject as it reflected political, educational, and social interests in support of ‘the local conditions of schools that were of utmost importance, namely, the sporting, recreational, and cultural needs of school children’ (“To discuss local problems”, 1958, p. 1). Since it was SS that could support these interests within the NSW public education system, the subject experienced exponential growth in terms of provisions for SS activities and facilities representative of the ‘golden years’. The value of SS in the curriculum following the *Wyndham*

Report (1957) also furthered the momentum gathered in the subject promoting the philosophy that all students should be encouraged to ‘have a go’ at sport at all levels of school and/or the community, as part of the political agenda to rebuild a sense of nationalism post-WWII. Due to the strong positioning of SS, a specific ‘Sportsmaster’ role became compulsory in all NSW public schools, confirming the importance of this subject in the curriculum.

Since the *Wyndham Report* (1957) was an educational policy that pushed for compulsory secondary schooling throughout NSW, it followed that the developments in SS were a response to the increasing democratisation of social institutions such as education systems, as envisioned by Dewey (1939). Accordingly, SS evolved in secondary schools as a way to accustom students ‘to use the hours free from lessons in a profitable and satisfying fashion’ and support social reform by preparing pupils for ‘the use of leisure time’ through developing their interests and abilities in sport in a way that could be carried into community life (*Wyndham Report*, 1957, p. 62). This premise was confirmed in media reports at the time suggesting that provisions for SS at the secondary level would see students transfer their interest and participation in sport into leisure time activities (“Emphasis on PT”, 1957, p. 24). Therefore, changes to SS were made in support of the recognised value of SS to such political and social agendas. For one, SS was allocated greater curriculum time, as secondary schools were required to ‘devote’ one afternoon per week ‘wholly to sport’ in addition to the two 40-minute periods of PE, which were known to prescribe sports lessons to achieve its outcomes (“Emphasis on PT”, 1957, p. 24). Secondly, the increasingly democratic nature of NSW public schooling fostered diversification of the types of sports on offer; for instance, by the end of the 1950s students had the opportunity to participate in sports including cricket, rugby union, rugby league, Australian rules, soccer, hockey, softball, basketball, tennis, and golf (Collins et al., 1990). These findings were confirmed by Whiteside’s (1960) research, which found the diversified nature of SS throughout the late 1950s into the 1960s ensured students were exposed to a wider range of sports that they could continue in their post-schooling years, thus creating a more active and productive democratic society.

However, the absence of specific provisions for sport in a formal secondary school curriculum meant that educationists at this level emphasised the ‘sport side’ of PE

(Whiteside, 1960, p. 6), following on from the *1952 Primary Curriculum*. Given this primary curriculum was used to guide instructions in sport at this level, it was conceived that it was PE professionals who played ‘a vigilant and active role in making sport an education experience’ (Wills, 1968, p. 8), while at the same time reinforcing the implied links between PE and SS. For instance, it was reported that in high schools:

the usual allotment of time to PE was one period per day per class; grouped so that three periods formed the Sports Afternoon. Thus 126 lessons a year automatically went to sport and the specialist devoted the remaining 84 periods of the year to other facets of sport [in PE].
(Whiteside, 1960, p. 5)

Consequently, SS seemed to be grouped together and often implemented interchangeably with PE, thus the former subject was considered vital to Australia’s political and social preoccupation with rebuilding the nation and the progressive ideals of the NSW public education system. For instance, it was found that ‘the analysis of a nation at play [i.e. sport] reveals the stuff of its social fabric and value system, and tells us much about other facets of political and economic life, particularly in modern industrial society’ (Wills, 1968, p. 3)

As noted above, the prestige afforded to SS in the curriculum based on the steep growth of the number of students in NSW schools post-WWII and the fact the NSW public school sports system catered for all students meant that these ‘golden years’ were also characterised by the appointment of a ‘Sportsmaster’ at an individual school level. This hallmark confirmed the function of SS in education was an important one, as seven lessons per week (i.e. one quarter of the teacher’s weekly load) were allocated to an existing teacher to organise and facilitate the whole-school sport program as part of this role (DeptPE, 1960). A specific *Sportsmaster’s Handbook* (DeptPE, 1960, p. i) was even compiled to support the role and confirmed that SS had evolved to cater for all sporting abilities, as the Sportsmaster was responsible for overseeing the extra-curricular inter-school activities as well as the intra-school games and sports activities. It was clear that the role of the sports teacher had evolved from simply ‘arbitrating’, ‘time-keeping’, and ‘marking rolls’ to maintaining the quality of the SS program (DeptPE, 1960, p. 4). Hence, the establishment of the specialist Sportsmaster role in

NSW primary schools furthered the credence to the teachers of sport and in turn, the subject during these ‘golden years’.

Overall, the well-established ‘Sports Afternoon’ born out of the *1952 Primary Curriculum* prevailed as the most widely used education model of sport in the late-1950s and 1960s (DeptPE, 1960, p. 1). It was also increasingly important that teachers possessed the sports knowledge, skills, and interests to facilitate a quality school sports program across all levels of schooling, but especially at the high school level following the *Wyndham Report* (“A submission from the PE staff of the Sydney Teachers College”, 1968) and the primary school following its consolidated place in the curriculum and the appointment of Sportsmasters.

5.3.2 Sport and cultural identity

Following the post-1956 Olympic Games and the *Wyndham Report’s* (1957) pursuit of active leisure through the proliferation of sport in high schools, national and state participation and success rates in sport had become a focus of the culture of the NSW public education sport system, as well as a facet of ‘Australian’ identity during the ‘golden years’. For instance, the media captured that ‘proof of the value of the general classes in the sporting field’ was found in evidence pointing to how ‘annual school sports—whether GPS, CHS, all-schools or public schools carnivals’ had produced ‘new records, new standards of ability’, and ‘while the champion in sport may be regarded as an exception ... [it was important] the PE and sporting authorities claim[ed] an uplift in the sporting standards and interest of the average child’ (“Emphasis on PT”, 1957, p. 24). Thus, the interplay of sport and the nation’s cultural identity flourished due to changes to social conditions, public schools’ sporting bodies, the support for representative pathways, and the emphasis on the inclusive nature of the public school sports system.

The prosperous social conditions of the 1950s continued the object of growth. Media reports, for instance, found that post-WWII conditions reflected those of the period following the ‘industrial revolution that lead to the development of cities’ but ‘in greater momentum than before’, resulting in NSW becoming increasingly urbanised and its population scattering ‘far and wide’ (“Inner suburbs”, 1957, p. 5). At the same time, it was noted that increased modes of transport meant people could live 40 miles from the

city centre and still travel there for work, business, or pleasure, such as involvement in community sport and recreational activities (“Inner suburbs”, 1957, p. 5). In line with the *Wyndham Report’s* (1957) agenda of encouraging students’ active pursuit of leisure time, the prospering economic conditions of the mid-1950s resulting from the maintenance of full-time employment and the welfare of the people (“Ten-member board”, 1957) enabled circumstances where playing sport was considered more affordable for families (“Chairman forecasts big developments”, 1960), thus this subject experienced increase in rates of student participation.

During this post-WWII period, as briefly identified by Collins et al. (1991), there was an influx of migrants that saw the Australian population reach nearly 4 million by 1957 (“Inner suburbs”, 1957, p. 5). Consequently, it was realised that a centralised public school sports system was needed to cater for the growth and dispersity of student numbers and schools in this state, and to present a sense of solidarity amongst stakeholders in SS in support of rebuilding the nation. The centralisation of the NSW public education sports system was a significant event in the history of this subject, marked by the merging of the longstanding and separately organised sporting bodies. At the high school level, for example, the GSSSA and the CHS were merged under one overarching NSW Combined High School Sports Association (CHSSA) in 1961 (later renamed to the NSW Combined High Schools [CHS]). Meanwhile, the Girls’ Primary School Sports Association (GPSSA), which was responsible for the growth in the number of girls playing sport at this level, was subsumed into the NSW PSSA in 1969, and by 1971 all sporting events for primary school students were coordinated by the PSSA (Collins et al, 1990, 1991).

The merging of the individual sporting bodies had consequences contrary to the intended ‘have a go’ philosophy of sport that emerged from the post-WWII period, as there was a shift to exclude girls in SS through reduced opportunities, while sporting opportunities for boys continued to flourish during these ‘golden years’. For instance, the creation of the NSW PSSA system was one of the moves that saw a ‘great emphasis [being] placed on competitive sport in many of the boys’ primary departments’ (Whiteside, 1960, p. 5). This trend continued into the 1970s, as the *NSWPSSA Meeting Minutes* (1977, March 15, p. 9) recorded that public schools were deliberately excluding girls from opportunities to compete in the same competitive sports offered to

boys. At high school level, the case was the same: even though the GSSSA operated as a separate body in line with the rise of feminism to ensure sporting opportunities were offered to girls during the late 1960s into the 1970s, records indicate girls' SS participation was usually restricted to traditionally feminine sports such as softball, gymnastics, and netball, which was referred to as 9-a-side basketball for women until 1970 (Collins et al., 1990).

While there were references to the downward spiral of girls' sport throughout the 1960s through to the 1980s, it was the neo-progressive climate of the NSW public education system emerging from the 1970s that instigated attempts to create a culture of gender equality (i.e. increased participation and equal opportunities for girls in sport) in support of the theme that these were the 'golden years' of SS. Specifically, it was the flowering of 'identity politics' in the neo-progressive climate of the NSW education system (Barcan, 2010, p. 1), such as the rise of the feminist movement, that was responsible for subsequent changes to the NSW public school sports system to promote gender equity and inclusion. For instance, Dorethy Shackley, the outgoing president of the GSSSA, recommended that the CHS move towards facilitating recreational rather than competitive activities to promote sports participation amongst girls (*GSSSA Annual Report*, 1980). This need to promote SS amongst girls was significant in 1980 when the GSSSA merged with the CHS, as low participation rates in SS were recorded in sports such as tennis, softball, netball, and gymnastics, which had traditionally enjoyed high representation (*CHS Meeting Minutes*, 1980, September 19, p. 6). At the same time, the PSSA realised it would be scrutinised for failing to provide equal opportunities for both genders in sport following the legislation of the *Sex Discrimination Act* (1984) (*NSWPSSA Meeting Minutes*, 1984, p. 2) in response to the rise of feminism.

Consequently, the PSSA developed a *Sexism in Sport* document, which detailed non-sexist education policies and guidelines for sport, including administrative duties, roles, and responsibilities as part of its identity as a sports organisation (*NSWPSSA Meeting Minutes*, 1985, p. 1). Despite the efforts of the PSSA, girls' sport had little spectator appeal, which made it costly to administer, and girls felt intimidated by the nature of certain sports (Taylor, 1987). The introduction of the *Sex Discrimination Act* (1984), however, did ensure the practices of the NSW public school sports system reflected principles of gender equality, as this Act required schools to offer sports that suited

both genders. Notably, a girls' soccer competition was held for the first time in 1984, which signalled the *Sex Discrimination Act* (1984) was in effect. In addition, there was continued growth in the number of girls participating in SS, especially now that carnivals were held in all sports for girls by 1988, just as they were for boys, with the exception of various codes of football such as Rugby League and Rugby Union (Scott, 1998).

Another theme promoting the sporting culture and identity of the NSW public school sports system and the nation more broadly, which reinforced this period as the golden era of SS, was the introduction of the first Pacific School Games in 1982. This historical event provided a new phase to SS, as it tied the activities of this sport system to an international sports competition and consolidated the links between the NSW public education system and representative sporting pathways. As noted in the Pacific School Games' Vision and Mission statements, the event was established in 1982 to provide opportunities for school-aged students to participate at the highest level; the success of its establishment was marked by the tenth event conducted in Adelaide in 2017 (Pacific School Games, 2016). These Games were also considered the flagship event of SS for students from Australia and other nations, due to the high level of international sporting competitions conducted across 11 different sports (Pacific School Games, 2016). Media reports confirmed that the Pacific School Games in Sydney was a representation of Australia's best young athletic and swimming champions and was considered to be the lead-in event to the Commonwealth Games, and potentially the Olympic Games ("Pacific School Games focus on the future", 1988, p. 21). In light of Collins et al.'s (1991) statistical data, which reported that 28 students who participated in NSWCHS competitions from 1948 to 1989 went on to represent Australia at the Olympic Games, and the fact that hundreds of NSWPSA and NSWCHS students represented their country at international events specific to their sport, it was deduced that the public school sports system helped foster Australia's sporting champions through its representative pathways, especially during these 'golden years'.

At the same time, the NSW public education system encouraged students to participate in the Pacific School Games based on the broader political and social needs served by its establishment that were tied to the nation's identity and health. For instance, this event emerged following the shift to the corporate managerialism and the broader

activities falling under the control of politicians, including Ministers of Education, amidst the ‘new currents favouring neo-liberal policies’ in education in the 1980s (Barcan, 2010, p. 15). It followed that the NSW Education Minister, Mr. D.P Landa, supported the inauguration of the first Pacific School Games in 1982, as the event was representative of the influence of neo-progressive approaches on education. It was the activities of the special interest groups, such as School Sport Australia that helped shape the culture and identity of the nation and public schools’ sports system (“Bringing up ‘oldies”, 1981). At the same time, Landa declared that the 1982 Pacific School Games in Brisbane marked an event that was ‘beneficial to the nation’s youth [as] ... the fitness at school level was essential for better community health’ (“Bringing up ‘oldies”, 1981, p. 33). Ultimately, the introduction and support for the Pacific School Games helped raise the profile of SS and in doing so addressed the health concerns of the population, which were in the media spotlight as results of human performance tests conducted in Sydney revealed that NSW schoolchildren suffered from high blood pressure, obesity, and ‘other adult-like ailments’ (“Bringing up ‘oldies”, 1981, p. 33).

The Pacific School Games also paved a representative pathway tied and complementary to the nation’s and NSW public education system’s values of inclusion and assimilation in sport, which offered another explanation for the marking of this period as the ‘golden years’ of SS. In support of the sporting culture of the NSW public school system and Australia more broadly, the rationale for the Pacific School Games was to showcase the educational, multicultural, and social benefits of the curricular experiences of sport at school (Pacific School Games, 2016). The 1988 Pacific School Games in Sydney was particularly symbolic of notions of inclusion, as it hosted an international sporting event for student athletes with intellectual and physical disabilities for the first time in history. This event in Sydney provided students with opportunities to interact in a multicultural environment, as it was reported to have attracted over 3000 athletes from across 24 countries (“88 Pacific School Games, the biggest”, 1988). Moreover, the positive media publicity surrounding the 1988 Pacific School Games saw the Sydney event hallmarked as a ‘celebration of youth’ at the centenary of the founding of the colony of NSW and the ‘largest sporting carnival since the 1938 Empire Games’ to be held in this state (“Pacific School Games focus on the future”, 1988, p. 21). As a result, the Pacific School Games helped raise the profile of the NSW public school sports system, given

its strong ties and support of such an event that embodied the wider values afforded to participation in SS activities.

The combined activities of the NSW public school sporting bodies and the NSW education system in general, including international representative sporting opportunities such as the Pacific School Games from 1982, exemplified that SS gathered momentum from the late 1950s through to the 1980s to stamp this period as the ‘golden years’. Following the *Wyndham Report* (1957) and continued drive for success on the international sporting stage post-1956 Olympic Games, the focus of the public school sports system was for the most part on inclusivity and assimilation right through until 1989, which complemented the nation’s drive to promote its successful sporting culture and strong political identity post-WWII. In conclusion, this section has demonstrated that organised sport, ‘in connection with our [NSW’s] public schools’ and the neo-progressive approach to education, had assumed a strong place in the school curriculum by 1989, as the subject had evolved as an essential part of the identity of the NSW public education system and culture of Australia, since the way to prove one’s allegiance and unite the nation was by encouraging a ‘love for sport’ (*Education Gazette*, 1989, p. 8).

5.3.3 The ‘sports for all’ approach

While the history of SS in NSW public schools offered by Collins et al. (1990, 1991) also coined the 1970s and 1980s period of this subject the ‘golden years’, they arrived at this based on the successes of the sports-talented students. However, this section will offer an alternate and unexplored explanation for the reference to this period as the ‘golden years’, by highlighting that the formalisation of a ‘Sports Period’ in the *1972 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1972) proliferated the growth of SS through its ‘sports for all approach’. This section will also demonstrate that the national endorsement of the *Aussie Sport* (ASC, 1986) program consolidated an inclusive approach to SS in the NSW public education system that encouraged a greater number of students to participate in SS, thus further marking this period as the ‘golden years’.

Although the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) prescribed a ‘Sports Afternoon’, it was tied to provisions of PE. Therefore, the establishment of a ‘Sports Period’ in the *1972 Curriculum for Primary Schools* (NSW DOE, 1972, p. 116) was a

key landmark in the history of the NSW public education system, as it allocated SS a status separate to and distinct from PE. The impetus for the ‘sports for all’ approach to the ‘Sports Period’ was to counter criticisms that suggested public school sport only catered for the sports-talented students eligible to participate in PSSA inter-school sport competitions (NSW DOE, 1972, p. 116), as exemplified by Collins et al.’s (1990, 1991) preoccupations in their writings of the history of SS. Consequently, the philosophy of the ‘Sports Period’ was to ensure mandatory ‘sport for all’ for students through an intra-mural sports model (i.e. a class, house, junior/senior organised) that was to be conducted in parallel and on the same afternoon as PSSA sports competition, ensuring the ‘definite coaching’ of each child in sport (NSW DOE, 1972, p. 116).

Three specific curriculum prescriptions for sport under the seemingly overcrowded *1972 Curriculum for Primary Schools* also confirmed that the culture and identity of this subject in the NSW public education system was in support of an inclusive model of sport. Its ‘sport for all’ approach in particular was in line with the neo-progressive education system’s drive for social pluralism as a way to promote inclusion (Barcan, 2010, p. 1). For instance, students were encouraged to progressively develop their skills and techniques (throwing, catching, striking, and water safety/resuscitation) in selected major games and sports during the ‘Sports Period’, as a way to encourage regular participation and interest in recreational physical activities (NSW DOE, 1972). The opportunity to practice FMS as part of the ‘Sports Period’ was also perceived as a transferable learning experience that would enable students to become ‘physically talented’ and encourage them to join a PSSA and/or community sport team in the future (p. 116), thus manufacturing a love for sport amongst NSW public school students in support of Australia’s sporting culture. It was clear that the inclusion of a mandatory ‘Sports Period’ was an important feat in the history of SS, unreported by Collins et al. (1990, 1991), as it ensured SS had a central place in the school timetable, which in turn raised the status of the subject in the curriculum.

Amidst trends that indicated students were ‘dropping out’ of sport and/or not finding sport experiences enjoyable and satisfying—based on explanations such as adult pressures, heavy training requirements, and insufficient PA levels—the implementation of the *Aussie Sports* (ASC, 1986) program established by the ASC to support school sports programs foster positive beginnings to a student’s sporting life was significant

to the history of SS. The *Aussie Sports* (ASC, 1986) program was in response to the high dropout rates in sport, as its main objective was to create sporting experiences that would give ‘children a better chance of enjoying their early sport experiences’, resulting in ‘a greater likelihood of continuing in sport’ (p. 24). Moreover, the *Aussie Sports* program was also focused on ensuring that SS became ‘a training ground for just about every sport in NSW’ and addressing those stakeholders who ‘complain all the time about students being unfit’ (Susskind, 1989, p. 1). The objective of the *Aussie Sports* program thus furthered the ‘sports for all’ approach promoted by the *1972 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1972), by encouraging those factors enabling sport to be enjoyable and accessible for the majority of children. To achieve the national goal of increased participation rates and inclusion in sport, the *Aussie Sports* (ASC, 1986, p. 4) program offered schools a framework to reform and re-direct sports teaching towards more general learning outcomes. For example, good sporting behaviour, safe participation, suitable levels of competition, and fair play attitudes were considered the preferred outcomes of the *Aussie Sports* (ASC, 1986) program over the ‘winning at all costs’ approach common to competitive sport. Thus, it was anticipated that the uptake of these values would see school sport programs favourably contribute to the nation’s sporting culture.

Later investigations into the effectiveness of the *Aussie Sports* (ASC, 1986) program’s initiatives towards promoting inclusion conducted by Clough and Traill (1992) confirmed that the successful uptake and implementation of this program was attributed to the fact the ASC had worked together with the PSSA to create positive student attitudes and interests in sport. Specifically, it was found that the structured competitive PSSA sporting competitions were positioned as ‘a logical extension of the introductory experience of the *Aussie Sports* and intra-school sports programs’, and students reported that they enjoyed and looked forward to sport more so than in years prior to the introduction of *Aussie Sports* (Clough & Traill, 1992, p. 18). As a result, SS in NSW public schools continued to thrive through to the end of this era, as it was reported that students had the choice of 13 traditional sports associated with inter-school competitions and enjoyed healthy challenges at all sporting levels (p. 18). Therefore, the *Aussie Sport* (ASC, 1986) program was to be credited for ensuring ‘lessons [continued to] end early for students in years 7 to 10 on one afternoon a week, so that they [could] play a sport, supervised by teachers for the equivalent of three periods’

(Susskind, 1989, p. 1). Overall, it was clear that the *Aussie Sports* (ASC, 1986, p. 24) program contributed ‘to the maintenance of time’ allocated to sporting and physical activities in primary schools. Due to this, SS was conducted in NSW public schools right up until 1989, and its status in the curriculum was validated.

Summary

The post-1956 Melbourne Olympic Games and *Wyndham Report* (1957) era consolidated that a central theme of growing up in Australia was participation in SS. It was evident that all NSW public school students participated in some form of SS, initially as part of provisions set by the ‘Sports Afternoon’ in the *1952 Primary Curriculum* and later completely embedded in the *1972 Primary Curriculum* following the formalisation of a ‘Sports Period’, which helped SS gain legitimacy and consolidate its identity in the NSW public education system’s overcrowded curriculum. It also became clear during these ‘golden years’ that the NSW public education sports system was symbolic of an inclusive culture of sport, while at the same time offering representative pathways that complemented the nation’s politically and socially-driven goal of pursuing international sporting success following the Melbourne Olympic Games. The nationally endorsed *Aussie Sport* program also helped raise the status of SS, as it acknowledged that the subject served the educational outcomes of skill development and participation in sport beyond a student’s formal schooling years. This capacity of SS implied, rather than explicitly noted, that the nature of SS was complementary to the national agenda of active healthy lifestyles from 1957 to 1989.

5.4 Conclusion: Historical developments in SS (1880–1989)

The history of SS is much broader than that represented by Collins et al. (1990, 1991), given that two distinct approaches to SS co-existed in NSW public schools to confirm the subject’s place in the school curriculum from 1880 to 1989. This chapter demonstrated that the nature of SS in NSW public schools developed significantly from 1880, and quite exponentially from the WWII period right up until the end of the 1980s. The explanations for the upward trajectory of SS in terms of importance and value as a subject in the NSW public education system were embedded in a variety of political and social factors. Firstly, the strong governance of SS in NSW public schools under organisations including the PSSSA (later the PSSA) and CHS profoundly encouraged

the Australian 'love of sport' via the provision of a structured approach to sporting competitions during the period of economic depression and WWI. Additionally, SS was positioned as competitive sporting events for boys in line with ensuring the nation's citizens were fit for war. The games playing traditions evident in the literature covering the history of SS in private schools were also found to be characteristic of the NSW public school sports system from the outset of compulsory schooling, and especially following the need to ensure the students of this system had developed morals and character conducive to coping with the instabilities of the industrial age, economic depression, and WWI. Given these contributions of SS, the subject was included as part of the formal school day from 1907 onwards.

The period of eugenics continued the growth and status of SS, as provisions for this subject contributed to the rebuilding of the nation following the Depression and WWII. Although SS was interdependent with PE throughout this history, there was an increased need for sport to be taught in schools given the value of games playing ideologies to the eugenic agenda of racial survival and betterment. The importance of SS in the curriculum was increasingly realised following the introduction of a 'Sports Afternoon' into the *1952 Primary Curriculum* to develop students' technical expertise in FMS. Overall, this chapter concluded that SS as a subject reached its peak in 1989, following the introduction of SS into secondary schools and the 'sports for all' approach of the *1972 Primary Curriculum* and Pacific School Games. The 'golden years' confirmed that sport, as a social institution, was intrinsic to not only the traditions of attending a public school but also the Australian identity (Cashman, 1995), amidst acknowledgements of connections with international representative pathways for talented sportsmen and women following the inauguration of the Pacific School Games. Ultimately, SS occupied a central place in the school curriculum as it complemented wider political and social imperatives, such as a sense of nationalism, inclusion, assimilation, stability, and international sporting success.

Chapter Six: The history of Health Education (HE) (1880–1989)

The lack of academic literature on the history of HE has meant there is very little understanding of the term ‘HE’, which is now taken for granted. This chapter fills this gap in literature by providing a complete history of the subject in NSW public schools from 1880 until 1989. The data suggested there were three major eras in the history of HE that helped provide an understanding of its complex nature in response to major political and social markers. Firstly, the period of Hygiene Education (1880–1919) was a reflection of the high mortality and morbidity rates in this era due to the spread of venereal and infectious disease in the wider community, with schools established as a site to counteract these trends. The second period of Sex Education (1920–1949) complemented the eugenic agenda preoccupied with notions of breeding and the survival of the population amidst threats of national deterioration following WWI. Although the first and second periods of HE highlighted the significant role of HE in schools as a response to widespread health issues, it was not until the third period that the gradual realisation of the importance of HE (1950–1989) was actualised in line with the broader public health agenda. It was during the 1970s that HE was positioned as a means to counteracting the effects of a youth culture that saw an increase in drug use, sexual activity, and risky road behaviours, while the public fears over an AIDS epidemic in the 1980s elevated the subject further in the lead-up to the establishment of PDHPE.

6.1 Hygiene Education (1880–1919)

The commencement of compulsory primary school education in NSW in 1880 coincided with a national consciousness for establishing a racially pure population free from disease to guarantee economic progress. The state of children’s health was particularly concerning as the rates of disease were ‘endemic’, especially ‘wherever children in a low physical condition are congregated’ (“Pauper children in N.S.W”, 1880, p. 7). Most notably, the number of deaths amongst children caused by ‘local diseases’ such as pneumonia, heart disease, and zymotic diseases including measles, whooping cough, typhoid, and diarrhea had increased by 150 to 330 in 1880 (p. 7). These conditions were exacerbated by the economic depression of 1890, which saw early colonial societies face alarming health trends arising from the spread of venereal and other infectious diseases such as smallpox, measles, and rubella. Since the

emergence of viral infections affecting the health and ‘latency’ of children—and the nation more broadly—was found to originate from an individual’s personal hygiene practices and the conditions of their environment, as conceived by Lewis (2003, p. 15), there was an attempt to include Hygiene Education in schools from the outset of compulsory education in NSW. This paradigm was dominant in HE during this first era just as it was in the British approach to HE, upon which this system was modelled. St Leger’s (1992) research categorised this period under the umbrella of a phase in HE characterised by ‘Health Instructions’; however, his study overlooked the political and social factors driving historical developments in this subject and the fact it had become responsible for surveying and monitoring the health of students. Therefore, this section presents a comprehensive history of HE from 1880 to 1919 according to: (i) the issue of hygiene and the role of education, (ii) a course in Hygiene at teacher-training colleges, and (iii) the School Medical Service and Inspection Scheme in support of the nation’s health.

6.1.1 The issue of hygiene and the role of schools

The issues associated with hygiene in the wider community—such as major outbreaks and deaths—from the late nineteenth into the early twentieth century had become so widespread that policy makers along with educationists needed to address such trends, which led to the introduction of HE in schools. The value of Hygiene Education to the nation’s health and school curriculum became increasingly recognised in response to issues tied to political and social conditions, such as population growth and the Federation of Australia in 1901. Additionally, the *White Australia Policy* (1901) had sparked a growing sense of national identity, and increased government funding to primary schools was part of the corporal discourse of the Australian education system’s goal to strengthen the nation’s economy. Hygiene Education thus received significant backing, as it contributed to political imperatives tied to producing a ‘new nation’ characterised by healthy, literate, and numerate citizens (Wright, 2011, p. 4).

The impact of the spread of venereal and infectious disease was placed on the state and nation’s political agenda following the migration exchange between California and NSW that raised the state’s population (Jupp, 2001) and in response to the growing Australian population, which had reached 3 million by 1889 due to post-gold rush migration (Jupp, 2001). The population of NSW was experiencing an ‘alarming rate’

of infection of ‘the dreaded disease, smallpox’ and ‘rife’ rates of other diseases in 1881 (“Spread of the smallpox disease”, 1881, p. 6). The widespread nature of these diseases led to large numbers of deaths during 1881 in Sydney alone, from small-pox (40), measles (88), whooping cough (156), typhoid fever (266), diarrhoea (611), scarlet fever (35), and diphtheria (132) (“Spread of the smallpox disease”, 1881, p. 6). These statistics were exemplary of Cumpston’s (1914) history of small-pox in Australia from 1788–1905, which noted that the most serious outbreak of small-pox ever recorded in this nation occurred in Sydney in 1881 and lasted 271 days. The reasons ‘at fault’ for the small-pox epidemic of 1881–82 were tied to the insecure isolation of those infected, overcrowded conditions, and habits of uncleanliness, as cases of small-pox proved to be ‘more prevalent and fatal among those occupying badly drained houses’ (Cumpston, 1914, p. 12).

Consequently, the Board of Health instigated the provision of Hygiene Education in schools, asserting that ‘the first thing to do is to educate the people [and] ... obtain a properly educated public opinion in these [health] matters’, as doing so ‘gained a certain vantage point from which we [the State] can with some effect deal out blows against the miserable diseases which are now so prevalent in our midst’ (“Extinction of small pox and sanitary reform in Sydney”, 1883, p. 13). Given the body was viewed as a machine that could be fixed (Kirby, 1882), the Board of Health endorsed the introduction of elementary Hygiene Education into all the schools of the colony (“Extinction of small pox and sanitary reform in Sydney”, 1883, p. 13). For example, teachings under Hygiene Education emphasised proper hand washing routines and the importance of drinking uncontaminated water, to prevent the spread of venereal diseases (Dukes, 1885).

Hygiene Education remained the dominant paradigm in HE through to the 1900s, especially following the enactment of the *White Australia Policy* (1901) and the effects of the economic depression. In fact, these political and social conditions increased the profile of Hygiene Education in schools and society, as it was positioned as a strategy to counteract the spread of contagious diseases—resulting from conditions of severe drought, widespread unemployment, poverty, and industrial strikes—weakening the Australian economy. It followed that authorities viewed schools as morally responsible for the health of children in this state and a way to strengthen the economy through

fostering a literate and healthy population. Typical acknowledgements of this premise were captured in media reports highlighting that ‘the law compels children to attend schools’, hence it was ‘logical that [governments] should see that they are physically fit to do so’ (“School Hygiene”, 1908, p. 5).

Although Hygiene Education continued to teach students about ‘local conditions of filth’, ‘nuisance polluting air and water’, and the ‘reckless dissemination of contamination’ (p. 5), its focus evolved to address the impact of the more varied types of diseases affecting the state’s population. For instance, the imperative for applied Hygiene Education became significant as a response to the outbreak of different social ‘dire diseases’, such as cases of tuberculosis that accounted for 1,234 deaths in 1907 in NSW alone (“Things which might be attended to”, 1909, p. 5). Accordingly, Hygiene Education was extended to include ‘practical demonstrations on the nature and causes’ of such diseases, as a means to ensuring Health Instructions were acquired in a useful manner (“Hygiene in schools”, 1910, p. 4). Commentaries on Hygiene Education in schools at the time noted the value of practical demonstrations by stating it was:

useless merely to tell children that such and such things are desirable in the interest of their own health and comfort, but [rather], in order to produce in their minds lasting impressions of any value, they must be compelled to practice those things. (“Hygiene in schools”, 1910, p. 4)

Hence, the running theme of Hygiene Education was ‘education of the masses and the cooperation of the community’ to ensure the ‘prevention and cure’ of infectious and venereal disease outbreaks (“Things which might be attended to”, 1909, p. 5).

The state governments were also responsible for ensuring ‘that the schools themselves [were] not liable to damage the health of their inmates, as true education presupposes health in the individual’ (“School Hygiene”, 1908, p. 5). Consequently, matters relating to the hygiene of NSW schools received support from the Department of Public Instruction, Sydney, which issued a statement requiring the gradual remodeling of schoolrooms in regard to furniture, lightning, and ventilation (Cumpston, 1908, p. 283). The government’s focus on ensuring hygienic school environments was driven by the imperative to facilitate educational settings that would be of ‘advantage to the scholar’, thus producing an educated and employable society post-economic depression. Hence, schools were required to monitor the standards of the classroom

and playground, such as ensuring the classroom lighting did not strain a student's eyes and that playing equipment was safe to use ("Hygiene in schools", 1910, p. 4) in support of the ideals of Hygiene Education and the attainment of educational outcomes.

Overall, Hygiene Education was the dominant paradigm in HE from the outset of compulsory schooling as it supported students' 'physical well-being and the care and training necessary thereto' to reduce rates of venereal and infectious disease (*NSWDET Annual Report*, 1911, p. 42). Given that 'the effect of the very best system of Hygiene is annulled if the laws of health [were] not observed in the home', education authorities advocated that schools were an appropriate setting to facilitate Hygiene Education and encourage the application of this knowledge to the home environment, to ensure health benefits to the state ("Hygiene in home and school", 1912, p. 5). Overall, the implementation of Hygiene Education enabled schools to become 'model places' and men and women to be 'a model race', as its principles supported the production of an educated society amidst a climate of unemployment and economic depression ("Hygiene in home and school", 1912, p. 5), in addition to improving the health of its citizens.

6.1.2 A course in Hygiene at teacher-training colleges

The importance of addressing concerns over the threats of disease—and acknowledgements that Hygiene Education in schools was an appropriate countermeasure to such concerns—resulted in the impetus for teachers to be trained in this area. The need for teacher-training in Hygiene Education also became increasingly recognised following reports detailing 'grave doubts' over whether teachers were able to teach the subject 'with credit to themselves or advantage to their pupils' ("British Medical Association of NSW", 1883, p. 13). It was proposed that for 'sufficient knowledge' to 'be imparted to the ordinary candidates for the position of public school teachers', teacher-training Hygiene courses should be established to improve the quality of HE delivered in schools (p. 13).

Notably, Hygiene Education was classified as one of the 'special subjects' that fostered the 'building-up of a nation' following Federation, thus requiring teachers to be trained to educate youths on such subjects ("State education: The training of teachers", 1902,

p. 7). Despite the need, there was an absence of teacher-training opportunities in Hygiene Education until the early 1900s, when a seminarium near the University of Sydney was established 'to permit of attendance there, for special subjects ... [including] School Hygiene' (p. 7). It was the appointment of a Lecturer in Hygiene, Dr Mary Booth, in 1904 to the NSW Department of Education that demonstrated this education system's commitment to teacher-training in HE, as this role involved delivering 'lectures periodically to the female training students' and 'lessons to the girls in the upper two classes of the public schools at times arranged by the Department' (Cumpston, 1908, p. 283). Therefore, evidence confirmed teacher-training courses in Hygiene in NSW emerged from around 1903 to 1904, with the *NSW DET Annual Report* (1904) reinforcing that part of a teacher's role from this point involved providing Hygiene Education to students.

The Sydney Teachers' College at the University of Sydney addressed the noticeable 'inattention to proper Hygiene, in the scheme of training teachers in NSW' ("Our educational system", 1905), becoming the first teacher-training institution to formally include a subject in Hygiene as a part of its curricula in 1906. A subject in Hygiene was later introduced at a second teacher-training institution, the Sydney Technical College at Ultimo, from 1908 ("Qualification of teachers", 1908). It was found that 'for some time past they [pre-service teachers] have attended classes in agriculture, botany, physiology, zoology, physics and chemistry, and geology. Now another very important class has been added, that of practical school hygiene' ("Hygiene in schools", 1910, p. 4). Consequently, Hygiene was a compulsory course at two Sydney-based teacher-training institutions that included instruction in the methods of Hygiene Education implemented at the school level. These teacher-training courses were reported to prepare teachers to provide 'practical instruction in the branches of domestic science teaching, hygiene, cookery and needlework' ("The Teachers' Association", 1910, p. 4). For instance, it was conveyed that the training courses reinforced that a teacher's:

instructional work in this subject, must of necessity be applied hygiene, a knowledge of which cannot be obtained by book study alone ... in order to produce in their minds lasting impressions of any value, they must be compelled to practice those things [just like students]. ("Hygiene in schools", 1910, p. 4)

The need for teachers to be trained Hygiene Educators elevated the status of HE in the curriculum, as this function was increasingly recognised as supporting the wider political goals tied to the ‘building-up of a nation’ (“State Education: The training of teachers”, 1903, p. 7). Given the important role of the Hygiene Educator, courses in Hygiene were also offered to current ‘public school teachers, both men and women, from the lowest grades to headmasters and headmistresses’ by 1910 (“Hygiene in schools”, 1910, p. 4) in order to increase the number of teachers qualified in this subject area.

Another theme to emerge from the establishment of teacher-training courses in Hygiene Education was that teachers also played a preventative and surveillance role in relation to the health status of students. In turn, training courses in Hygiene acquainted teachers with the conditions determining the health of school children, especially conditions considered immediately under the control of the teacher (Laurie, 1911). For example, teachers were responsible for implementing and educating on guidelines tied to matters of Hygiene, including those concerned with the structure of the human body and its physiological symptoms, personal cleanliness (such as nail, skin, hair, and teeth care), work, rest, and the bodily deformities that may develop during a child’s schooling years (Laurie, 1911; Sydney Technical College, 1908). The role of the Hygiene Educator had also evolved to include responsibilities for the diagnosis and treatment of sight and hearing defects, the control of infectious disease, postural checks, and first aid (Laurie, 1911).

Therefore, from the outset Hygiene Education was considered not only an important subject, but the interpersonal nature of topics covered by curricula inferred specialised teacher-training was required to adequately fill the role of providing Health Instruction to children. Although it was conceived that teachers were ‘still learning’ to provide Health Instruction and facilitate knowledge of the ‘principles of hygiene’, the role of educators of Hygiene was positioned as important to wider national and educational outcomes (“Hygiene in home and school”, 1912, p. 5). Hence schools in Australia, just like their British counterparts, evolved as settings used by medical associations to monitor children’s standards and practices of the simple laws of health (Laurie, 1911), as will be covered in the next section.

6.1.3 The School Medical Service and Inspection Scheme

Given teachers' ill-preparedness to teach Hygiene Education, schools developed relationships with medical professionals to support the implementation of Hygiene Education. In addition, Hygiene Education evolved to occupy a health surveillance role in NSW public schools, which led to the establishment of a School Medical Service (SMS) and Inspection Scheme. The NSW Education Department also called upon qualified medical professionals to assess and prescribe treatment for the health and well-being of the 'country's best asset', youths ("Case of children's health", 1914, p. 4), which consolidated the place of Hygiene Education in the curriculum.

From as early as 1886, there was evidence suggesting that schools and teachers were responsible for monitoring and treating students' health through a school health service. It was the appointment of Doctor Emerick Roth to the NSW DOE in 1886, as its first Principal Medical Officer, that initiated a School Medical Service (SMS) (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1886, p. 146). This health service continued in schools for 14 years until the first principal School Medical Officer (SMO), Doctor Mary Booth, was appointed in 1900. It was clear from this time that the Education Department was aware of the need to access health professionals to support the imperative towards a healthy and compliant population, as the diagnosis and treatment of students' health issues was beyond the capacity of school teachers. The appointment of a SMO thus formalised the practice of the anthropometric assessment of children in schools, which later evolved into the Annual Anthropometric Survey in 1907 (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1907). In doing so, it was clear that the SMS was complementary to the formal Health Instruction provided by Hygiene Education programs in schools, and together these two preventative and curative measures were symbolic of the importance of school HE programs to the state and nation.

Amidst a national climate focused on counteracting the negative health effects caused by conditions of poverty and unemployment, the anthropometric assessments were also important as 'very little ha[d] been done in Australia in this direction [health measures], except the measurement of 2000 children made four years ago [1903] under the direction of the Government Statistician of NSW' ("The friend of women", 1907, p. 12). In turn, the anthropometric assessments offered a basis for comparing the physical development of children in NSW and Australia to one another (i.e. city versus country

children) and to those of other countries by collecting data on physiographical, climatic, and social circumstances leading to differences in growth rates (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1907). For instance, statistics of NSW children aged 4 to 18 in 1908 demonstrated there were notable differences between city and country children in NSW, but the average weight and heights in the three periods of growth amongst girls and boys was favourable compared to children in England, Scotland, and America (“Young Australia”, 1909). Although to a lesser extent than Britain, findings from the assessments indicated that children in Australia were exposed to crowded populations, morbid poverty, and neglected physical living conditions that affect their growth and development, and thus their health status (“Young Australia”, 1909).

The data furnished from these anthropometric assessments and the activities conducted under the auspices of the SMS and SMI schemes raised the status of the Hygiene Education programs in the school curriculum, prompting the Education Department to appoint SMOs to address the unregulated delivery of medical services in schools. The SMOs were required to visit each school once a year to detect ailments and report these to the students’ parents. In 1908, for example, 38 Sydney and suburban schools were visited, and of the 30,486 students examined approximately 3000 were found to be ‘suffering from ailments which appeared likely to interfere with physical development and progress in schoolwork’ (“Young Australia”, 1909, p. 10). In only 25% of cases did parents typically follow the advice provided by SMOs, thus most diagnosed cases of physical and/or mental defects were left untreated and students continued to suffer ailments ‘interfering with school life’ (p. 10). Consequently, the high rates of untreated defects were concerning to governments and educationists, as it took away from students’ potential to attain educational outcomes and the nation’s goal of increasing the number of literate and numerate citizens.

On the other hand, the State Education Department went on to act as an important precursor for the establishment of a formal School Medical Service (SMS) in 1913. Although a school’s relative accessibility to doctors varied, it was clear that the primary purpose of the SMS was:

detection rather than cure, [for] the doctor [was] there to find whether anything [was] wrong; the treatment [would], generally speaking be left to the medical advisers of the parent. But where it [was] difficult or

impossible for the parent to obtain the services of a doctor the Department [made] provision for treatment, in hospital if necessary. The whole scheme appear[ed] to be an admirable attempt to deal with a serious problem. (“The health of school children”, 1913, p. 8)

The consolidated ties between schools and the health profession meant that the SMS and SMIs were able to address the widespread issues affecting the growing number of school students enrolled in the NSW public education system. This premise was enabled by the allocation of 12 School Medical Inspectors across the 300,000 students in NSW by 1914 (“Case of children’s health”, 1914). Their role was to inspect approximately 50 students each day, and once all students were checked the Medical Inspectors started the process again, but due to the large number of students attending school in this state each student was only assessed once every four years instead of every year (p. 4). Despite the limitations restricting how often a student’s health was monitored during the school year, the health surveillance role fulfilled by the NSW public school system’s uniformed approach to the assessment of students set this scheme apart from SMI schemes in other countries, demonstrating that this state’s education system had taken its responsibility for the health of children seriously (p. 4).

Summary

During the 1880 to 1919 era of HE, the running theme was that Hygiene Education played a significant role in combatting the impact of disease and defects amongst children and the general population. In further support of this political and social agenda, health inspections and surveillance schemes evolved as part of the school program of Hygiene Education and responsibilities of teachers. Accordingly, Hygiene courses at teacher-training institutions were established to ensure teachers were qualified to provide health instruction knowledge to students as a preventative measure to help preserve the nation’s health status during this first era. Given the specialised nature of health defects, the NSW public education system aligned itself with medical professionals, via the establishment of the SMS and SMIs, to help diagnose and recommend treatment of children suffering from any complaint likely to interfere with educational progress and the nation’s health, as the role was beyond that of a teacher. The fact that schools had reached out to the medical profession consolidated earlier references to Hygiene Education as ‘the youngest stepchild of medicine’ (“School

Hygiene: Habitual headaches”, 1880, p. 3). Overall, Hygiene Education was validated as a subject in the curriculum based on its capacity to support the political and social imperative to build a healthy and compliant nation, thus it continued to be a focus in schools until the end of WWI.

6.2 Sex Education (1920–1945)

While the threat of infectious and venereal disease to the health of the state and nation provided the impetus for Hygiene Education, it was the issues associated with ‘breeding’ and eugenic preoccupations with ensuring the survival of the population following WWI that gave rise to a new branch of HE, namely Sex Education. To support racial survival, it was community and individual good health—including freedom from disease—that was acknowledged as ensuring ‘progeny the best start in life’ (Wyndham, 1996, p. 4). HE thus became increasingly significant in schools and society in the aftermath of WWI due to the return of soldiers from foreign fields and in the context of the eugenic push to reproduce the next generation of citizens, both of which contributed to increased rates of STIs. Since sex-related diseases were infectious, the teachings of Hygiene Education remained and featured prominently in this period. However, the approach to addressing health issues had evolved in line with notions of eugenics and required children to take ‘responsibility for their own health, with the nation’s racial betterment in mind’ (Rodwell, 1999, p. 94). In turn, there was a need for Sex Education between 1920 and 1945 in response to: (i) the imperative of social purity, and (ii) the eugenic preoccupation of racial betterment, which raised the value of HE in the curriculum given its alignment with broader political and social goals.

6.2.1 The imperative of social purity

There were signs from the early 1910s that the State Education Departments took responsibility for instructing on sexual matters because children were perceived to be prurient to these matters. Schools were positioned as sites that could assist with overcoming the ‘veil of lamentable ignorance’ that had prevented children from becoming ‘pure’ (“Education Commission: The teaching of sex physiology”, 1912, p. 2), which meant that Sex Education was viewed as just as important as Literacy, Industrial Training, and Moral Education in counteracting notions disrupting social purity (“Education Commission: The teaching of sex physiology”, 1912, p. 2). The

subject of HE also received significant backing following the employment of SMOs by the Education Department to monitor the general bodily health of children and reports confirming that Sex Education, in particular, was ‘vital in the development of the child’ given the high rates of transmission of sexual disease (“Thoughts for teachers—and others”, 1912, p. 5) and threats to racial welfare. The Royal Commission of Education (RCE) advised that ‘telling boys and girls what they must not do on pain of present disease or hell-fire hereafter’ was appropriate in the context of diseases such as tuberculosis; however, this approach was not the answer to addressing emerging health issues tied to sexual matters (“Education Commission: The teaching of sex physiology”, 1912, p. 2). Since the health issues related to sexual matters were having a growing impact on society, Sex Education became ‘a matter of great sociological importance’ (“Thoughts for teachers—and others”, 1912, p. 5) that required an educational approach separate and different to those prescribed by Hygiene Education.

Consequently, school programs of Sex Education evolved and aligned with the philosophy of the United Kingdom’s White Cross League’s (WCL) approach to fill the gap in this type of education in NSW public schools (“White Cross lectures”, 1915, p. 8). Although the Australasian WCL had been operating for nearly twenty years prior to 1915, it was not until this time that it became involved with the facilitation of Sex Education in schools. In particular, Sex Education was facilitated in schools through a series of lectures delivered by the Minister of the NSW Department of Education, R.H.W Bligh (“The White Cross Movement”, 1915), as this strategy was advocated by the Australasian WCL as a most appropriate and systematic ‘method of training the young’ (“White Cross lectures”, 1915, p. 8). Moreover, meetings held by the Department of Education to discuss teaching Sex Education insisted that ‘the subject should be taught in schools, by special teachers, or by visiting doctors’ (“Teaching children sex hygiene”, 1919, p. 13). Since the Australasian WCL stressed that mothers and/or parents did not possess the necessary biological training needed to undertake discussions on sex (“Teaching children sex hygiene”, 1919), schools evolved as the most appropriate setting to teach Sex Education.

Despite the great deal of political and social interest in teaching children about sex-related matters at school—given that ‘the great hope’ of social and national purity lied ‘in education [as] knowledge is health!’ (“White Cross League”, 1917, p. 5)—the

nature of school-based Sex Education, including that provided by the Australasian WCL, caused much controversy. The activities of the Australasian WCL, for instance, evolved with the objective to promote national purity by encouraging all men to treat women with chivalry. This strategy was proposed by the WCL to increase the number of citizens free from STIs (“National purity”, 1919), but this approach meant girls were often excluded from the sex lectures. In turn, there were concerns that this move could arouse a woman’s curiosity and result in consequences contrary to the intended outcomes of promoting respect for women (“National purity”, 1919). Another controversy accompanying the implementation of Sex Education was that the topics covered by the Sex Education lectures were sensitive, thus Headmasters refused ‘to allow children to attend the lectures without the written consent of their parents’ (“White Cross lectures”, 1915, p. 8).

Overall, it can be assumed that although Sex Education was occurring in schools, not all students received this type of education in a manner that was ‘scientific’, ‘utterly matter-of-fact’, and always gave ‘a truthful answer to a question’ (Russell, 1926, p. 17), given the sensitive nature of its topics. As a result, there remained gaps in students’ knowledge of sex-related matters leading to disruptions to social purity through the spread of STIs, which were viewed as ‘mainly preventable’ through education (“Your health”, 1922, p. 3). However, the activities of the Australasian WCL confirmed that, just like Hygiene Education, the place for Sex Education was through school-based programs, which elevated the status of this subject in the curriculum.

6.2.2 Eugenic preoccupations with racial betterment

The emergence of school-based HE in the form of Sex Education was an ‘obligation’ to the preservation of society (“Thoughts for teachers—and others”, 1912, p. 5) in line with eugenic ideals—the most enduring aspect of social Darwinism—posited to limit the reproduction of the unfit (Hofstadter, 1955). Specifically, Sex Education gathered momentum and significance in the curriculum as it was considered an important subject based on its capacity to support individuals in regulating their behaviours in accordance with the needs of humanity and race welfare (Piddington, 1929, p. 15). It was anticipated that students would be able to approach sex problems sanely, logically, and in a ‘eugenics-conscious’ manner after gaining knowledge of the ‘truths’ and facts about sexual matters, thus reducing the danger of contracting disease (p. 15). Therefore,

it will be demonstrated that Sex Education complemented the political and social eugenic imperatives focused on ensuring that young people were healthy for the greater good and survival of the nation. That is, Sex Education programs in schools complemented the wider societal goals of HE, which had placed an emphasis on imbuing the rising generation ‘with the great heritage of health’ (“Your health”, 1922, p. 3) since ‘the nation’s health means the nation’s efficiency’ (“Why be ill?”, 1921, p. 7).

Amidst the wide acceptance of the need to ‘instill into the community a little consideration of what each individual can do for himself and his neighbour in securing a healthy life’ (“Your health”, 1922, p. 3), governments and Education Departments supported initiatives such as ‘Health Week’ from 1922. For example, the Minister of NSW Health, Mr. Hughes, stated that ‘we [NSW] are always asking for more population on the understanding that each individual is worth so much in money to the State’ and ‘the first step towards this is education of the public regarding our aims and ideals’, which could be achieved through ‘Health Week’ (“Health Week”, 1931, p. 8). Hughes also concluded that if this state and the government wanted to:

reform the community they had to start with the children ...
[because] if these individuals are not healthy, or if they are not able
to produce a healthy race of children, with healthy minds and
healthy bodies, where is the financial success of such an attainment?
 (“Health Week”, 1931, p. 8)

Consequently, Sex Education and race welfare received significant backing from governments and educationists during these eugenic years. For instance, eugenicists attempted to impose marriage restrictions and legislation for the sterilisation, care, and control of mentally defective people following the work of geneticists such as Wilfred Agar (1928), who discouraged wide scale mixed-race marriages (i.e. Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal marriages) in support of racial survival. Specifically, Agar (1928, pp. 143–144) argued against mixed-race marriages as:

most of the coloured races would not make a desirable contribution to
a population living under a civilisation which has been slowly wrought
out by the white race in conformity with their own particular genius.
Nor does the experience of other countries with a large half-caste

population [such as America and European countries] encourage us [Australia] to try the irrevocable experiment.

Notably, the *Aboriginals Ordinance* (1918) (Act no. 9) policy restricted marriage between Indigenous women and non-Indigenous men in the Northern Territory, and although the Federal Government had the power to pass marriage laws at Federation, it did not exert this power until the passing of the *Marriage Act* (1961) and continued to maintain that the traditional union between two Aboriginals was not legally recognised. This political stance was sustained until the enactment of the *Authority and Reciprocity in Australian Aboriginal Marriage Arrangements (ARAMA)* (1967) (Hiatt, 1967), which legalised marriage in traditional Aboriginal societies (for further information on AMARA and the control of interracial marriage in Australia, see Ellinghaus, 2003; Hiatt, 1967).

Due to the absence of laws restricting mixed-race marriages in NSW, the Director of the Institute of Family Relations (Sydney), Marion Piddington (1920), advocated that ‘education before procreation’ was of ‘paramount importance’ in this state, while extramarital births were ‘just as important as [births] in marriage, if the eugenic ideal [was] to permeate our [i.e. Australia’s] national life’. At the same time, Piddington (1920) supported segregation or a ‘slight surgical interference with nature’ to eliminate the unfit, and the use of birth control was encouraged to minimise the ‘hideous result of reckless procreation’ (p. 9). Consequently, the subject of HE was concerned with raising the health of the nation’s children and consciousness of the impact of poor health on breeding and reproducing the next generation of citizens to promote racial survival and betterment. In particular, ‘new methods of sex training’ were needed to support the survival of a White population that was increasingly threatened by issues tied to sexual promiscuity, which were pronounced to ‘be the source from which the scourge of [sexual] venereal disease spring and extend’ (Piddington, 1931, p. 41).

Therefore, the nature of the topics covered by Sex Education evolved in response to eugenic preoccupations with racial betterment and survival. Since the culture of promiscuity amongst young people was newly conceived as a medical explanation for the spread of STIs, especially syphilis and gonorrhoea, Sex Education taught young men to carry prophylactic tubes in their waistcoat pockets and young girls to carry these tubes in their vanity case, as adolescent girls were also found to have ‘share[d] in the

promiscuity so prevalent to-day' (Piddington, 1931, p. 41). Moreover, eugenic ideals projected that the habit of masturbation 'should never be allowed to take its place in the daily routine of a child's mind', because it impaired the life cells from being able to reproduce (p. 41). It was also perceived that the habit of masturbation indicated there was something 'wrong with the child's whole adjustment' and carried risk of 'insanity and feeble-mindedness', to the extent that in cases of persistent masturbation, intervention from a mental expert was necessary to protect against threats to racial survival and betterment (p. 41).

6.2.2.1 The influence of religion

The growth of Sex Education throughout the 1930s into the 1940s coincided with the influence of different religious denominations in NSW and exertion of their political strengths in a conservative Australian society. Despite evidence in history, as noted above, encouraging extramarital births as a response to the political and social push for procreation to ensure racial survival, developments in Sex Education connected HE with aspects of moral education. Specifically, provisions under Sex Education were noted as having the capacity to develop students' morals, which was considered 'requisite' to adjusting to the nation's conditions and ensuring young people were equipped to face 'all problems, with all solutions from reputable and scientific writers' (Wynn, 1937, p. 153). In doing so, provisions for Sex Education in schools were positioned as the means to counteracting the 'many mistakes ... made through sheer lack of knowledge' (Machin, 1939, p. 10), the ignorance of sex-related issues, and/or actions to cause offense to conservative opinions amidst the growth of religious denominations in NSW (Wynn, 1937). Given that eugenic preoccupations with racial betterment and survival also depended on 'the crucible of character training', embedding aspects of moral education into the delivery of Sex Education ensured the latter subject received significant backing from the NSW Department of Education as its Director, Mr. Charles Fenner, confirmed that 'the one important element in the crucible [of character training] was Sex Education' (*Education Gazette*, 1945, p. 60).

Ultimately, Sex Education was of 'interest to the students [and educationists during the period] of eugenics' (Wynn, 1937, p. 154) as its focus helped to protect the nation and its agencies against issues tied to a youth culture of sexual promiscuity, a culture that

threatened to cause serious illness (Machin, 1939) such as STIs and lead the nation to ‘slide into an abyss’ due to death rates outweighing birth rates (Wyn, 1937, p. 153).

Summary

The inter-war period, as this section has demonstrated, saw Sex Education emerge as the dominant form of HE. The reason for this was that the topics and provisions falling under Sex Education saw students receive instruction on sexual knowledge in anticipation that a society educated on sexual matters would see a reversal in social trends, such as the spread of STIs, threatening the health and survival of the nation. Sex Education thus had a valid place in the curriculum, given its function as a tangible and realistic means to maintaining civilised social order by counteracting social and moral panics associated with sex-related diseases and ensuring ‘that amelioration or cure may be effected’ (Machin, 1939, p. 10) in line with eugenic ideals. In a political and social climate underpinned by conservatism, approaches to Sex Education demonstrated ties with students’ moral development; in doing so, the Education Department reinforced that Sex Education should be ‘a definite part of the education of all boys and girls at school’ (p. 10). Overall, Sex Education evolved as a marker of progress from conditions of ignorance to the promotion of social purity, despite the controversies associated with its implementation, to serve the eugenic agenda of reproducing the next generation of healthy Australians following the aftermath of war.

6.3 The gradual realisation of the importance of HE (1946–1989)

The first two eras of HE were characterised by distinct sub-branches of the subject, namely Hygiene Education and Sex Education; however, it was during the post-WWII period that a broad subject of HE was formally established in the context of the NSW public education system, which had evolved and adopted a ‘liberal humanist-realist’ approach (Barcan, 2009, p. 67). This approach to the NSW education system supported rebuilding the nation following WWII by reinforcing the importance of specialist services and curriculum taking account of the ‘total situation affecting the child’ (i.e. social and emotional factors) and ensuring a student’s rate of progress was not affected by such issues as irregular school attendance and unsatisfactory home conditions (Halliwell, 1950, p. 3). The inclusion of HE in curricula was thus exemplary of a move by ‘education, together with health and other social services’ to redress the economic

hardships and national instabilities caused by WWI and promote the welfare of the state (Barcan, 2009, p. 55). This post-WWII period was also characterised by the arrival of migrants, the new age 'youth' culture, and later the threat of an AIDS epidemic. Consequently, HE was consolidated in the curriculum as this subject had the capacity to respond to such political and social conditions. These developments in HE from 1946 to 1989 were represented in: (i) the establishment of formal curriculum for 'Health Education', (ii) the emergence of a youth culture disrupting social order, (iii) AIDS Education, and (iv) the shift in the role of Health Educators to demonstrate the gradual realisation of the importance of HE throughout this era.

6.3.1 The establishment of formal curriculum for 'Health Education'

From the late 1940s into the 1950s, HE was characterised by political and social conditions that saw a push for the establishment of an encompassing curriculum. The most significant driver for a broader HE curriculum was the need to rebuild the nation as part of the aftermath of WWII. For instance, the national Minister for Health, Senator McKenna, acknowledged that the post-war conditions were affecting infants and children's growth, development, and nutrition, leading to other diseases related to fundamental bio-chemistry and physiological issues ("Children's health in Australia", 1947). In turn, McKenna confirmed that 11 million pounds would be funded to education, especially 'health and physical education', to shape 'proportionately therein' the many 'sub-normal children in the state' and address the 'indifference that has been shown towards the [health] care and training' of children ("Sub-normal children", 1947, p. 2). Compounding the 'badly inadequate' health services available for school children ("Health in schools neglected", 1947) was the arrival of immigrants with their own set of health issues, which furthered the need for HE in schools. The status of HE was therefore elevated, given its perceived value to broader aims of education, when it was officially included alongside seven other subjects, including PE, in the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) and later introduced into the secondary school system following the *Wyndham Report* (1957). The 1950s period of HE confirmed that the all-encompassing nature of 'Health Education' was formally conducted in (i) primary schools and (ii) secondary schools, as will be covered in the next two sub-sections.

6.3.1.1 HE in primary schools

Under the ‘liberal humanist-realist’ context of the NSW education system and impetus to rebuild the nation, the establishment of the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* was positioned as ‘a first requirement’ to ensuring a child’s education prepared them to ‘live the life that will be his in the years ahead’ (“Important changes in primary education”, 1954, p. 2). In particular, provisions under this curriculum were representative of the fact it had been widely ‘accepted that attention to the health, education, and social adjustment of children [was] essential for the development of healthy, well-informed, and socially well-adjusted adults’ (Halliwell, 1950, p. 2). Although the increase in the number of subjects covered by the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* forced teachers to make choices in terms of what subjects to teach (Barcan, 2009, p. 67), HE was positioned as an essential part of the general education of the primary school child, as it was closely aligned with this curriculum’s focus on ‘social, health, and character education’ (NSW DOE, 1952, p. vii), thus occupied a valid space in the curriculum.

The implementation of the *1952 Primary Curriculum* was a key marker in the history of HE, as it signified the first formal guide to teaching of the subject of ‘Health Education’. Since HE was also referred to as a ‘preliminary’ method to the nation and state ‘sustaining and strengthening an evolving adult society’ (NSW DOE, 1952, p. vii), the inclusion of HE in this curriculum was considered valuable to effective living, the building of character, and the transmission of moral and civic heritage, as well as addressing the growing interest in the welfare of children. Therefore, this curriculum focused on the ‘habits’ of health causing matters of ongoing concern amongst individuals and communities (p. 10). The curriculum structured student learning in line with these major outcomes by covering the following HE topic areas: helping oneself to stay well, grow, and be happy; safe and healthful ways of living; people who can help us to be healthy and contributors to community health; and how to care for one’s body and surroundings. Accordingly, provisions for HE had moved beyond concentrating on controlling communicable diseases through Health Instruction to introducing students to ways of maintaining individual and community health aligned with new scientific knowledge. For instance, students learnt about processes of immunisation, first aid, and quarantining those infected with the plague, smallpox, and yellow fever as ways to support the development of healthy citizens (NSW DOE, 1952).

Although the Generalist Primary Classroom Teacher was responsible for teaching six other subject areas, the provisions under the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) officially required these teachers to take responsibility for teaching HE. Specifically, teachers were required to encourage students to espouse the Health Pledge—‘I will work to make my body healthy, clean, and strong, so that I may be a good Australian and do my very best work in the world’ (p. 8)—as part of the teachings in this subject. In line with the liberal humanist-realist approach to education, HE and its teachers were required to defy totalitarian regimes in favour of a democratic spirit and a zeal for improvement. Specifically, it was the teacher’s role to facilitate HE in a way that would influence students’ attitudes and practices relating to ‘a healthier life for the individual’ (p. 4) and ‘a richer life for the community’ (p. vi). In turn, the HE curriculum covered topics such as specific food recommendations to fuel the body and the value of preferring fresh air, sunshine, and ‘playing out-of-doors’ rather than ‘sitting over a fire if the weather is fine’ (p. 4). Therefore, a sub-theme to emerge from the preoccupations in HE with methods promoting healthful living under the *1952 Primary Curriculum* was the implication that HE relied on aspects of PE and SS to achieve this outcome, thus suggesting links between the three subjects.

Overall, the introduction of formal curriculum for the broad subject of HE in the *1952 Primary Curriculum* was progressive, as it reflected the first move away from narrow preoccupations in HE such as Hygiene and Sex Education to encouraging students to develop healthy habits that promoted individual and community health. Following the implementation of the *1952 Primary Curriculum*, it was clear that ‘all the activities of the school, including the specific lessons in Health’ had become ‘a focal point’ to support the welfare of children and rebuilding the nation post-WWII (NSW DOE, 1952, p. 4). It was this gradual realisation of the significance of HE to national progress that elevated the profile of the subject in the school curriculum and society, amidst an influx of migrants to Australia in the 1950s.

6.3.1.2 HE in secondary schools

Once again, it was the *Wyndham Report* (1957, p. 57) that validated the role of HE in NSW secondary schools in the same way it helped proliferate PE and SS, by stressing that schooling at this level ‘must offer an appropriate background of information which will enable pupils to appreciate the significance of health and understand the basic

means of achieving it'. This impetus for HE was increasingly important given the influx of migrants and the economic growth of Australia resulting in widespread employment and prospects of a good standard of living. Therefore, the first HE curriculum in secondary schools echoed the primary curriculum's focus on 'the welfare of the young' (Stanton, 1957, p. 6).

6.3.1.2.1 The Temperance Movement

To support the welfare of Australia's youth, the expressions of HE in the secondary curriculum focused on the growing influence of the Temperance Movement of the 1950s. This preoccupation in HE reflected the wider social movement of Temperance driven by the Salvation Army's concerns over the major barriers to achieving healthy citizens, such as the high prevalence of alcoholism. Subsequently, the NSW DOE endorsed the *Health and Temperance Manual* (Stanton, 1957, p. 6) as a guide to the teaching of HE in schools, given the 'distinct need for a work [curriculum] of this kind [temperance] for use in secondary schools in NSW'. This manual covered the three main topics of Hygiene, Temperance, and First Aid to support the goal of promoting healthy Australian citizens. Although the focus on Temperance in the *Health and Temperance Manual* was short-lived due to the introduction of the *Syllabus in Physical and Health Education* in 1965 (NSW Secondary Schools Board, 1965) covered in Section 6.3.2, this phase of HE was worth noting in the history of HE as it confirmed that the content of this subject was intertwined with the social conditions and health issues affecting the nation.

The values of the Temperance Movement, for instance, were supported by the NSW Minister of Health (1927–1930), Doctor Richard Arthur, who was charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the health of secondary school students (Stanton, 1957, p. 6) as a means to achieving 'sober, self-reliant, healthy citizens ... for our nation's sake' (p. 91). Media reports at the time confirmed that 'liquor traffic [i.e. alcohol use] ... would be solved, only by an awakened Christian conscience and by good citizens witnessing to the benefits and duty of total abstinence' ("Temperance Conference", 1950, p. 6). It was clear that the issue of alcohol was a major social issue that needed to be addressed through educating citizens, as the national Minister for Transport, Senator G. McLeay, reported that 'every week nearly 100 children under 17 years are killed on Australian roads' due to liquor-related accidents (p. 6). Hence, the Australian

Temperance Conference attended by state political delegates expressed that key stakeholders in public life—including teachers, doctors, and preachers—were to ‘flash the light on beverage alcohol as a habit-forming drug’ and illuminate modern methods promoting the principles of safety first ‘for which the pioneers of the temperance movement toiled’ (p. 6).

The Temperance undertones to HE had found general fervor amongst the various religious denominations during the 1950s, as ‘almost everyone, when asked, claimed a denominational affiliation’ (Hilliard, 1988, p. 219). In turn, this approach to HE was accepted, as the Temperance Movement maintained ‘Christian standards’ as the dominant social ideology within multicultural Australia during the 1950s. The Temperance Movement also supported the religious training of children ‘as the basis of moral values and a builder of character’, which aligned with the political impetus to support the prosperity of the nation during this post-WWII rebuilding period (p. 219). It was thus projected that ‘Christian standards’ were the only secure means of preventing juvenile delinquency, which was a social issue that emerged following the influx of immigrants to Australia that saw a change to living conditions, such as easier access to alcohol, for local and migrant young people. Under the Temperance Movement, the ‘message of Christianity [was] a message of joy, but not of careless self-indulgence’; hence it was projected that emulating ‘the good soldier of Jesus Christ begins with self-discipline’ to be able to ‘take his part fitly in the fight for social righteousness’ (“Three migrants ask, what constitutes an Australian citizen?”, 1951, p. 2). Notions of Temperance were thus pushed as an appropriate approach to HE during the 1950s and received backing from religious groups along with health professionals, who reinforced that it was adherence to principles of temperance that led to the increase in the average length of life from 40 years in 1845 to 59 years in 1921 amongst Australians (Stanton, 1957, p. 12). Consequently, the principles of Temperance found their way into documents guiding provisions for HE. Specifically, students were taught the Temperance ideal of ‘moderation in all things good, and abstinence from all things bad’ (p. 14), as a way to combat the major causes of ill health and poor health habits—especially excessive alcohol consumption—that were affecting the welfare of the nation.

In line with the broader Temperance Movement, provisions in the *Health and Temperance Manual* (Stanton, 1957) encouraged students to display notions of Temperance beyond issues tied to alcohol, such as practicing self-control and self-discipline and resisting the temptation to over-indulge in the context of wider health choices. This approach to HE became increasingly relevant given the growth of the Australian economy, which saw full employment and a good standard of living, meant that the population had a greater amount of disposable income for purchasing amenities such as alcohol, as already noted, and tobacco. Hence, provisions under the *Health and Temperance Manual* encouraged students to display temperance in relation to major personal and societal issues, particularly alcohol and tobacco, and adhere to a set of rules termed the ‘Laws of Health’ with respect to food choices, fresh air, sunshine, rest, and eye care (p. 6). For instance, students were instructed to avoid overindulging in sunshine by adhering to the rule of twenty minutes a day (albeit not in the middle of the day). Since the issue of obesity—noted as a concern during the National Fitness movement—had resurfaced as ‘one of the most frequent physical abnormalities among white people’ (Stanton, 1957, p. 32), principles of temperance were emphasised as a means to counteract this contemporary health issue. For instance, statistics indicated that ‘roughly one in five individuals were carrying too much fat, leading to predisposition to disease and premature death’ (Everitt, 1954, p. 11); to address this, HE taught students that it is ‘a good rule to stop eating just before we feel we have had enough’ (p. 32).

As noted in the introduction to this section, the *Health and Temperance Manual* (Stanton, 1957) also covered instruction on the topics of Hygiene and First Aid. Since the Temperance Movement projected that ‘the human being, young or old, prefers to be guided as to what to do rather than [be] repressed and told only what not to do’ (Stanton, 1957, p. 3), these topics provided instructions that were ‘ample for the guidance of young people who may not yet be quite old enough to study the subject [for example, First Aid] fully’ (p.44). Again, the focus of these topics was a reflection of the emerging social trends that required students to receive instructions associated with civic hygiene and germ control under the topic of Hygiene, as the spread of anthrax was threatening the welfare of the nation’s citizens. Meanwhile, First Aid was taught as it was projected young people should learn what to do ‘until the doctor comes’ (p. 44) early in their life, and First Aid was the difference between life and death.

Therefore, the *Health and Temperance Manual* (Stanton, 1957) taught the first steps to stopping bleeding, restoring breathing, removing causes of injury, and transporting patients to safety. The value of First Aid in HE was increasingly realised following the social trends indicating that injuries and accidents were threatening the rebuilding of the nation's population. For example, there were a total of 51,858 injuries resulting from road accidents throughout Australia in 1953 ("Speed deaths, 195), and an all-time high of 19,951 injuries resulting from road accidents in 1958 ("Road deaths highest ever, 1959).

The *Wyndham Report* (1957) was a key marker in the history of HE as it instigated the introduction of HE into NSW secondary schools. At the same time, the late 1950s into the 1960s period of this subject exemplified that HE had evolved to cover a broader range of topics to counteract the effects of emerging social movements, such as the influence of Temperance, and health issues. It will be demonstrated that this broader nature of HE was consolidated by the encompassing *Syllabus in Physical and Health Education* (NSW Secondary Schools Board, 1965), to be discussed later in this chapter.

Summary

Overall, HE had evolved to encapsulate more contemporary health issues in support of the welfare of citizens during this nation-building post-WWII period (Stanton, 1957). The inclusion of more varied topics in HE was also aligned with the political agenda of supporting the welfare of the state's citizens, the 'liberal humanist-realist' goals of the NSW education system, and the rise of Christianity and the Temperance Movement in an increasingly multicultural Australian society during the 1950s. As a result, the broadened range of topics covered by HE consolidated the subject's place in the primary and secondary school curriculum, as policy makers and educationists recognised the value of this subject to the fundamental needs of growing children and the prominent issues affecting the healthy living of citizens.

6.3.2 Public health and the emergence of a youth culture disrupting social order

The second major theme that raised the profile of HE was the national and international public health movement focused on addressing the poor health of citizens caused by

social regressions, environmental conditions, and political struggles (Lupton, 1995). The impact of such political and social issues on the health status of the nation followed on from the effects of post-WWII migration that created demographic changes to Australia in terms of its population size and age distribution (Krupinski, 1984). Specifically, the physical morbidity trends of the newly multicultural nation had changed; for instance, there were increased rates of mental health issues such as depression due to shifts in the social environments (i.e. changed eating habits), and regressions (i.e. traumatic experiences associated with migration) (Krupinski, 1984, p. 927).

At the same time, the evolving multicultural and modern Australian society saw a new age of life in the form of a ‘youth culture’ (Malone, 2002, p. 160) tied to ‘out-of-control’ and ‘risky, self-indulgent, and anti-social behaviours’ (p. 163). The conceptualisation of the youth culture as a social issue that in turn influenced health outcomes was exemplified by the establishment of various legislations, colloquially known as ‘Larrikin Acts’, which were put in place to support the incarceration of many working-class youth during the 1960s (Malone, 2002, p. 160). Consequently, it will be demonstrated that the nature of HE curriculum had evolved to encompass a broader range of youth-related topics—with a particular focus on Drug, Safety, Sex Education, and PD—and as such was hallmarked as a valuable public health strategy (Lupton, 1995) and subject in the curriculum.

The need for a broader HE curriculum was heightened by the fact youths were experiencing rates of poor health, and that schools had a responsibility to support public health, which was also increasingly under constant supervision by governments and health professionals (Huntly, 1964). The high rates of certain health conditions amongst youths were explained based on the emerging youth culture causing disruptions to social order, which meant ‘the role of school regarding Health [became] an important one’ (O’Flynn, Jones & Lund, 1960, p. ii). Hence, the Physical Education Branch of the Department of Education—along with special interest groups such as the National Health and Education Service, which supported personal and community health—contributed to the push for a HE strand in the secondary school syllabus (Colvin, 1971). In response, the Board of Secondary School Studies established a Physical and Health Education Syllabus Committee in 1962—as noted in Chapter Four—which developed

a *Physical and Health Education Syllabus* (Secondary Schools Board, 1965) published three years later. The implementation of the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus* (Secondary Schools Board, 1965) signalled a commitment to public health and that HE had become widely accepted as forming ‘an essential part of the general education of the school child’ (O’Flynn et al., 1960, p. ii), as exemplified by the establishment of formal HE curriculum.

Specifically, the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus* (Secondary Schools Board, 1965) was focused on achieving ‘a state of dynamic harmony between the physiological, psychological, social, and cultural elements that make up the human organism living in society’, especially youths (Krister, 1964, p. 5). To account for the diverse nature of issues affecting the health of youths, a greater range of topics beyond those noted in the *Health and Temperance Manual* were prescribed under the HE component of the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus*, as it was perceived that students only responded to HE when they were emotionally invested in the curriculum and felt their needs had been met (Clements & McCloskey, 1964). Thus, the nature of HE was extended to cover 12 relevant areas: namely, personal health, social health, family life, community health, safety education, accident prevention, sex education, physical body functions (basic anatomy and physiology), nutrition, dental health, mental health, and use of beverages, alcohol, tobacco, and narcotics (drug education) (Secondary Schools Board, 1965). These 12 areas were found to cover 30 topics areas; however, due to the absence of specialist Health Educators, teachers—particularly PE, Home Science, and General Science teachers (representing over 90% of the teachers teaching HE)—were teaching to their professional strengths and tending to focus on anatomy and physiology (Colvin, 1971). Despite this, teachers were under the guidance of the School Principal when selecting the topics to cover in HE, but often Principals required teachers to leave out controversial topics such as aspects of family health and use their HE lessons to delve deeper into ‘current social questions’ such as drug dependence (p. 26).

Although it was clear that HE had a valid place in schools, the nature of HE varied between schools. For instance, the Report of the Chief Officer of the Department of Education and Science (1966 as cited in Colvin, 1971, p. 18) stressed that ‘HE in schools is the primary responsibility of the teachers’, while at the same time

acknowledging that it could hardly be ‘expected’ that the syllabus was ‘fully implemented’, based on a number of reasons. As touched on, the prescriptions for HE provided ‘more material than it would be possible to teach on a one period per week basis for the four forms’ (Colvin, 1971, p. 26). Most significantly, the ad hoc uptake and overlapping nature of HE with other areas of the curriculum reiterated the longstanding ‘incidental nature’ of the implementation of HE in schools; for example, HE was commonly taught as part of PE, and/or integrated into other areas such as Social Studies, Science, and Home Science (p. 18). Moreover, it was conceived that parts of the HE syllabus could also be handled by other members of staff, along with ‘the judicious use of visiting lecturers, films, and talks at appropriate times’ (p. 27). It was also reported that this new syllabus was initially introduced as a ‘Sex Syllabus’ (Colvin, 1971, p. 35), which suggested that views of HE in this state paralleled the context of HE overseas, particularly in Europe where:

two of the most serious barriers to progress [in HE] have been the lack of understanding of what HE is and what it can do for school children and the lack of co-operation and co-ordination between the many and varied authorities and persons concerned with HE. (p. 3)

Although the Secondary Schools Board (1965) of NSW endorsed the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus*, Colvin (1971) noted that the syllabus was not implemented into all schools by the end of 1969. In addition to the aforementioned explanations for this, evidence found that ‘a number of male PE specialists saw the introduction of HE as a threat to the traditional competitive Sports Afternoon’ (p. 27), as provisions under this syllabus allowed for the maximum of two periods each week devoted to sport to potentially be allocated to HE in 3rd and 4th form (Secondary Schools Board, 1965). Moreover, HE could replace one of the three periods of sport or any other subject area (except PE in 2nd form), and there were strict instructions for one period of HE a week in 1st form (Secondary Schools Board, 1965).

It was, however, clear that the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus* (Secondary Schools Board, 1965) reiterated the prominence of HE in the curriculum and confirmed the running theme of this section: that HE had evolved to become a much broader subject as part of its growing status in the curriculum, with a tendency to focus on the current social and emotional questions posed by the content areas of tobacco, alcohol,

drugs, and sex (Colvin, 1971). This finding confirmed Musch's (1972) research that concluded school-based HE programs of the 1960s and 1970s were centred on advocating specific health behaviours in relation to the most prominent issues accompanying the growing youth culture. It was also clear that this syllabus had extended the traditional conception of HE as 'health instruction, a healthy school environment, and the school health service' to reflect a 'total health programme' (O'Flynn et al., 1960, p. ii), in attempting to influence students' understanding, attitudes, and conduct in regard to individual and community health (Moss, Southworth, & Reichart, 1961). Such evidence confirmed the gradual realisation of the place of HE in the curriculum was attributed to its capacity to counteract major youth health issues and support the public health agenda. The growing prominence of a broadened HE curriculum was furthered by the political and social factors driving the need for the focus on (i) Drug Education, (ii) Safety Education, (iii) Sex Education, and (iv) Personal Development, as discussed over the next four sections.

6.3.2.1 Drug Education

As noted by Colvin (1971, p. 35), it was the 'sensationalism associated with Drug Dependence' in the media that saw this form of HE emerge as a dominant theme in the subject. Specifically, the media spotlight focused on evidence suggesting that Australia's 'best young people' had a 'drug problem' ("Drugs: A new menace", 1967, p. 14); for example, the national average of high school marijuana smokers during the 1960s was about 10 per cent (Bland, 1969). The explanation for high drug use rates amongst youths was that this sub-group had become 'radicals' following the generation gap, which 'has been at its widest on matters of behaviour concerned with sex, religion, and alcohol and issues associated with politics and drugs' ("Pot, sex, and God mean instant double standards", 1969, p. 8). The concerns over widespread drug use amongst young people were accompanied by increased political and community fears over high rates of usage of certain types of drugs amongst youths, particularly alcohol. Despite acknowledgements that access to accurate figures on alcohol consumption by young people was unattainable, the Minister for Health, Mr. A. Jago, reinforced that many Australians were 'getting a drinking problem at an earlier age' because young people enjoyed greater freedom and money ("Rise in young drinkers feared", 1966, p. 11).

Following the late 1950s, the issue of alcohol consumption by young people was increasingly recognised as reflecting the context of a wider national problem, whereby the prevailing cultural attitude and norm towards alcohol consumption meant it was considered ‘an acceptable social lubricant until it causes harm’ (Muir, 1966, p. 2). As a result, the youth health issue of alcohol consumption, which fell under the umbrella of Drug Education, was ‘anxiously discussed’ by policy makers and educationists and included as part of HE. The consumption of alcohol was so widespread and accepted by the 1970s that Stolz (1972) suggested Alcohol Education should be an isolated subject in the school curriculum. Although a separate curriculum focused solely on Alcohol Education never eventuated, the topic of alcohol remained part of the HE curriculum from the 1950s until 2012, thus reinforcing the theme that provisions for HE were often in response to political and/or social interests.

Since most of the new victims adding to the rising drug addiction rates were youths and the ‘tragic and tangible manifestation’ of drug use was ‘something that was barely acknowledged’ in education (“Drugs: A new menace”, 1967, p. 14), the Department of Education confirmed Drug Education was to be taught as part of the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus* (“Schools teach risk of drugs”, 1967). Given the political and social push for the school curriculum to combat drug dependence (Thompson, 1972), this syllabus addressed topics such as the ‘use of beverages, alcohol, tobacco, and narcotics’ and the dangers of drugs, including narcotics, stimulants, and depressants (“Schools teach risk of drugs”, 1967, p. 4). Consequently, Drug Education ranked second only to the topic of ‘Physical body functions’ as the most commonly taught HE topic in NSW high schools. This finding highlighted the value afforded to Drug Education in HE, as the reason ‘Physical body functions’ ranked first was that it mirrored principles of Basic Anatomy and Physiology, which in the absence of a coordinated approach to HE meant that teachers—particularly specialists in PE, Home Science, and General Science—commonly taught anatomy and physiology when instructed to teach HE as it aligned with their personal strengths, as noted previously (Colvin, 1971, p. 55).

In general, the importance of HE was elevated in a politico-social climate that had widely accepted that youths should ‘be introduced to the mysteries of drugs through teaching and knowledge’ (“Training beats drugs”, 1968, p. 6). Such provisions picked

up on references that suggested the most effective approaches to Drug Education were those aligned with scientific advancements that also taught students about the prescriptive drugs that have been medically proven to be the ‘most modern, effective cures’ to health issues (“Drugs cost emphasised”, 1960, p. 18). Hence, Drug Education evolved from focusing solely on drug abuse to also covering the positive influence of drugs in society as part of the broadened nature of HE. For instance, education on the discovery of anesthesia, the drugs controlling diabetes, and those preventing smallpox found their way into the HE curriculum to help address such contemporary public health issues (Bland, 1969), in turn elevating the significance of HE in the curriculum.

6.3.2.2 Safety Education

The sub-topic of Safety Education, which showed some overlap with Drug Education, became a focus in HE that similarly elevated the status of this subject, as it was positioned as a means to combating the ‘full and zestful’ youth culture that pursued ‘element[s] of danger’ (Einstein, 1972, p. 54). Given the widespread public concerns and media coverage of health issues amongst the culture of youths, it was common during the 1960s and 1970s that this group was referred to as ‘experimenters’ and ‘status seeking’ (Bland, 1969, p. 33). In turn, there was a need to provide Safety Education to counteract the risky behaviours stemming from the audacity and status seeking behaviours of youths that made this group more open to accidents (“Greater risks are youth and drink”, 1972). The inclusion of Safety Education under the umbrella subject of HE was well-placed to encourage young people to modify their health behaviours, as it was the subject tied to youth interests, needs, and growth characteristics (Le Maistre, 1960).

A major emphasis under Safety Education was Driver Education, which was given prominence in HE as statistics on road accidents worsened from the 1950s, with figures highlighting that 20% of all road accidents involved those aged 17–20 (“Significant step in the public welfare”, 1967). It followed that a Driver Education course endorsed by the National Roads and Motorists’ Association (NRMA) was introduced into NSW high schools from 1969, and its importance continued through to the 1970s as car crashes were the cause of 50% of male deaths for those under 20 years during this period (“Greater risks are youth and drink”, 1972). External providers such as the NRMA were encouraged to participate in teaching this form of Safety Education, as the

use of external educators to deliver this content was perceived as ‘useful as a teaching method’ (Colvin, 1971, p. 36). For example, the NRMA driver course also covered the social problems involved in accidents, which were linked to alcohol and drug issue (Colvin, 1971), as it was noted that ‘alcohol, drugs, and traffic accidents’ had become a ‘part of our [Australia’s] way of life’ (Milner, 1972, p. 44).

Accordingly, Safety Education elevated the value of HE as it was positioned as a method to address the state and nation’s youth problem and reduce ‘name-calling’ young people out in society as risk-takers and experimenters (Milner, 1972, p. 44), which often led to defiant behaviours resulting in preventable deaths and poor health outcomes. Since the causes of one youth health issue, such as road accidents, were linked to other youth health issues, the aim of Safety Education was to help students to ‘develop the proper attitudes and a sense of responsibility’ that could be applied across the broad range of issues that were now included in the HE curriculum (“Driver Education in high schools”, 1969, p. 5). In turn, HE was recognised as becoming increasingly responsible for developing the ‘knowledge, skills, judgement, and attitudes’ that encouraged student ‘anticipation and avoidance of unnecessary risks’ (Einstein, 1972, p. 54), thus the subject of HE had a valid place in the curriculum.

On a final note, the imperative for Safety Education and its impact on HE in general was so strong that a Strand of ‘Safety’ emerged as its own topic in the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus* (Secondary Schools Board, 1965). The importance of Safety Education was also consolidated in the *1972 Curriculum for Primary Schools: Natural Science, Health and Physical Education* (NSW DOE, 1972), which prescribed the study of the topic ‘Safe ways of living’. For instance, students were required to learn safety precautions in everyday situations (e.g. avoiding getting lost in the bush) and responsible behaviour in relation to self and others (i.e. fire and explosives) to address the risk-taking nature of youths (NSW DOE, 1972). Overall, it was clear that the imperative and subsequent inclusion of Safety Education in HE complemented the public health agenda and elevated the status of the subject.

6.3.2.3 Sex Education

The emergence of a more affluent and independent group of youths and the rise of feminism—which changed the relationship between sex and procreation during the

1960s and 1970s—supported the growing realisation of the importance of Sex Education in HE. Notably, the social changes and concerns over the introduction of the contraceptive pill in 1961 and the rise in teenage pregnancies meant that the ‘NSW government was forced to accept the principle of instruction for school children on marriage and the use of contraceptives’ (“Sex education report”, 1967, p. 17). The need for ‘a major breakthrough in this type of education [Sex Education]’ (p. 17) was increasingly realised following widely reported social trends and statistics highlighting that the number of ‘pregnancies amongst 13 to 16-year olds had increased by 210% over the previous three years and Australian teenagers had become sexually experienced at an earlier age’ (“Teenage morals: Australian Alarm”, 1965, p. 7). As a result, the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus* (Secondary Schools Board, 1965) was positioned as the NSW Education Department’s ‘bold new plan [that] involved the sex education of 12 and 13-year olds’ (“Sex classes at school”, 1967, p. 1). This milestone was significant to the history of HE and its status in the curriculum, as this syllabus represented ‘the first time Sex Education ha[d] been specifically introduced into State Schools’ in a formal curriculum document (“Sex classes at school”, 1967, p. 1). Moreover, this milestone reinforced that the emphasis placed on certain topics throughout the history of HE reflected topical political and social pressures, along with dominant and/or emerging health issues.

Notably, the push towards a more progressive approach to Sex Education that included teachings on issues of sexuality, particularly homosexuality, attracted increased attention in the media and raised the profile of HE generally. Despite statistics that 250,000 Australian men were homosexual, representing 1 in 22 (“Doctors hold out hope”, 1968), the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus* (Secondary Schools Board, 1965) required the study of ‘boy-girl relations, family living, and preparation for marriage and parenthood’ in a political climate characterised by the growth of various religious denominations (“Sex classes at school”, 1967, p. 1). Therefore, the politically conscious undertone to HE in this syllabus was that sexual relations would only eventuate with someone of the opposite sex, as exemplified by the *Physical and Health Education Syllabus*’s conceptualisation of heterosexual normality in line with traditional conservative approaches. Thus, topics of Sex Education and sexuality in particular taught human reproductive, anatomy, and physiological processes from a medical perspective (“Sex classes at school”, 1967, p. 1). Nonetheless, the inclusion of

Sex Education in a formal syllabus raised its profile and that of HE in the curriculum, as it explored ‘feelings about oneself, as a boy or girl’ and the idea that ‘the need to prove this in some way is not necessarily through sex experience’, in a topic that was ‘not easy [to teach] ... especially in a classroom situation’ that sat within broader political and social confines (Clement, 1971, p. 13).

The changes in Sex Education that occurred during the 1970s ensured that HE provided youths with more relevant information; in doing so, the subject was positioned as ‘a great step forward in the progress of our society’ (Auchmuty, 1977, p. 23). A strong example of this was the imperative for education on homosexuality, which had attracted greater attention in the mid-1970s following reports that found that 80% of syphilis cases were transmitted homosexually (“Health journal withdraw”, 1976). An explanation for this trend was offered by the State Government Committee, who reported that the Sex Education delivered to NSW students was ‘inadequate’ and the needs of young people were not met; instead, the committee urged that programs should be extended to cover the physiological, psychological, social, and ethical aspects of sexual behaviours by including the topics of homosexuality, family life, laws on sex, and a code of responsible sexual behaviours (‘Broader sex education recommended’, 1972, p. 2). Accordingly, the nature of Sex Education evolved to cater for social change by equipping young people with the: ‘knowledge of the facts of sex and sexuality disentangled from the old ethical and religious constraints’, and opportunity to arrive at ‘their own values on social and moral questions on the basis of informed consideration of the issues involved’ (Auchmuty, 1977, p. 23).

6.3.2.4 Personal Development (PD)

Another growing topic that contributed to the history and status of HE in the NSW public education system was the subject area of Personal Development (PD). Although PD included a number of topics that overlapped with those already covered by HE, particularly Sex Education, there was strong evidence indicating that PD was a focus in HE that had a separate and growing prominence that warranted its own history. From the 1950s, for example, PD was noted as having existed as a variety of short programs in NSW Department schools, but was ‘camouflaged under a variety of names’ such as ‘Growth and Development’; similarly, in Victoria and Tasmania these topics were grouped under the umbrella of ‘Human Relationships’ (“Sex Education slowly finds a

home at school”, 1984, p. 9). The NSW DOE’s (1974, p. 5) *Personal Development in secondary schools: The place of Sex Education* claimed that PD was never intended as a pseudonym for Sex Education, declaring that ‘in choosing to speak of a program in PD, we [NSW DOE] are not seeking to evade issues or emotional reactions to the term “sex education” ... Sex Education is a part of the program [of PD] but only one part” (p. 5). As a result, the NSW DOE resisted ‘alternative terms’ to PD being used to label a program ‘concerned with the individual’s knowledge and understanding of himself and other and of the world around him’ (p. 5). Hence, this section will cover ‘what is all this fuss about PD’ (NSW Division of Guidance and Special Education [NSWDGSE], 1981, p. 2) by exploring the factors influencing historical developments in this form of HE leading up to the establishment of the PDHPE curriculum.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the value of PD came to the fore when it was increasingly recognised as contributing to a program that provided children with ‘valid information on which to base decisions concerning his personal well-being both now and in later life’, along with contributing to students’ identity formation and knowledge of issues tied to growth and development (NSW DOE, 1972, p. 51). The impetus for focusing on topics such as self-esteem and confidence was noted as an important part of HE in the *1972 Primary Curriculum*, given its relationship with individuals’ recognisable stages of growth and development and capacity to support students’ perceptive understanding, mature judgement, self-direction, and moral autonomy in society (NSW DOE, 1972). It was increased recognition that the issues tied to growth and development in fact complemented the state government’s urge to support youth knowledge on responsible sexual behaviour, sexuality, promiscuity, masturbation, and homosexuality (“New sex guide for schools”, 1974) that gave rise to the value of a program of PD.

Moreover, it was the impact of social phenomena in an industrialised society such as ‘the urban drift, personal alienation, unrest, self-abuse, the abuse of others, violence on the streets, and in the homes, and high divorce and suicide rates’ that stimulated the need for a program to prove a ‘panacea for these social ills’ (NSW DOE, 1974, p. 6). Therefore, a program of PD provided a necessary resource to promote students’ understanding of personal growth, relationships, and mental and physical well-being, even though there was no ‘prospect of illuminating all ills or ensuring all people would

behave in rational ways because of their increased knowledge about themselves' (p. 6). However, it was expected that following PD education students would make:

fewer decisions in ignorance or act less rashly if they have had occasion to consider the consequences of an action for themselves and for other who could be involved or to consider alternatives to that action ... [as] evidence suggests that people need, and may benefit from, better guidance in self-perception and in understanding the needs of others. (NSW DOE, 1974, p. 6)

Consequently, the growing importance of a program of PD became known as industrialisation was disrupting the stability of many aspects of life, leading to individuals having to deal with changes in values and relationships. In particular, the emerging youth culture during the late 1970s meant that young people were acquiring knowledge and attitudes, especially in the area of sex, from a network of information influences such as peers, the mass media, and popular culture (NSW DOE, 1974). Since young people could not 'be insulated from its effects' (p. 7), a program of PD in schools had the advantage of meeting adolescent needs to discuss issues of growth and development with responsible adults who were not too emotionally involved with the students. As a result, the implementation of a PD program in schools could be facilitated through teaching aides and techniques that would help students to discuss and debate moral obligations relating to the achievement of favourable living conditions (NSW DOE, 1974). It is for these reasons that by the 1980s, schoolteachers were encouraged to 'incorporate PD into the normal day's lessons so it [was] a more natural part of learning' (Richter, 1986, p. 17) given that the topics covered by PD supported the livelihood of citizens during the period of industrialisation

Another explanation for the growth of this sub-branch in HE was that PD programs provided a response to teachers seeking clarification of the school's role in teaching about sexuality and reproduction. Although there was a strong overlap between the topics covered by PD and Sex Education, it was the social conditions experienced by youths that reinforced the need for an educational program that moved beyond topics traditionally falling under Sex Education toward concerns with individuals' knowledge and understanding of themselves and of the world around (NSW DOE, 1974). It was acknowledged that the nucleus of PD was the content and processes of

basic interactions between the teacher and student that occurred under many curriculum areas such as Math, Music, Craft, Language, and the Arts; however, a formal PD program ensured a unified and validated approach to teaching issues that were particularly important during a student's period of growth and development, such as self-esteem, communication, values, and relationships in a classroom setting (Logan, 1991). Therefore, the *Personal Development in the Primary School* policy statement (NSW DOE, 1981) released in 1981 rekindled interest in PD amongst the primary schools in NSW by requiring schools to supplement their 'incidental' approach with a specific PD program aimed at encouraging amongst students a sense of dignity, worth, responsibility for one's decisions and actions, and an ability to communicate and form lasting and satisfying relationships (NSWDGSE, 1981).

In the absence of a formal curriculum document guiding teaching in PD, the NSW DOE's (1974) statement on *Personal Development in secondary schools: The place of Sex Education* detailed that a program of PD should cover the following areas of study: biological aspects, family life, social aspects and population problems, and health. Specifically, these areas should support students' acquisition of knowledge and understanding concerning:

- sexual components of one's personality, and an appreciation of the satisfying role sexuality can play in life
- a sense of worth and dignity
- sensitivities to the needs, feelings, and interests of others
- the ability to make responsible personal decisions and as part of a group
- the place of moral values in decision-making and helping to acquire standards, attitudes, and ideals fundamental to personal and social life
- an appreciation of the importance of family. (NSW DOE, 1974)

Meanwhile, media reports corroborated that a key focus in PD classes during the 1980s was self-esteem, assertiveness training, and other confidence building exercises, 'as well as the usual lessons on relationships, contraception, and sexual health care programs' ("Sex Education slowly finds a home at school", 1984, p. 9).

Amidst the absence of formal curriculum for PD, the delivery of PD lessons in schools was reported to be ad hoc and organic in nature. For instance, recollections by students conveyed that ‘you can say what you feel ... in PD classes. You can talk about anything’ (Rutherford, 1989, p. 3) and ‘there’s lots of self-exposure in PD courses’, which meant that teachers and students had ‘to be prepared for that’ (Susskind, 1987a, p. 1). At the same time, it was important that teachers were able to see the value of PD lessons and covering a broad range of personal topics that could be freely discussed in PD (Richter, 1986) and allowed for understanding the reasons for differing human behaviours, affirmation of one’s worth, and understanding one’s own body (NSWDGSE, 1981). Despite the importance of the aforementioned topics covered by PD to the growth and development of youths, John Campbell, a consultant in the Education Department’s Personal Development Unit, acknowledged that the NSW education system had not yet made PD a compulsory subject. Instead, primary school teachers were to implement a PD program from 1980 following attendance at either a 4- or 10-day ‘Personal Development in Primary School’ course that was available in each region of NSW and endorsed by the PD committee (NSWDGSE, 1981). It was suggested that a definite time slot should be allocated to PD as either one or two half hour lessons for all classes from Kindergarten through to Year 6. Lessons were particularly focused on self-esteem, co-operation, self-discipline, relationships, tolerance, and communication of feelings (NSWDGSE, 1981). Without the endorsement of the NSW DOE as a mandatory provision, a PD program could also fit into informal lessons—such as using a spare five minutes of class time—and/or incidental lessons, including when a problem arose or as part of everyday interactions that coincided with the topics falling under PD (NSWDGSE, 1981).

While PD was ‘not taught as such’ in high schools, it was highly encouraged that aspects of PD were ‘integrated into social science, home science, health, and physical education’ (“Schools deal with sex in diverse ways”, 1987, p. 19), despite the ‘ever widening range of responsibilities’ of the secondary school and its curricula (NSWDGSE, 1981, p. 8). In the absence of formal curriculum at the high school level, the co-operative venture that led to the development of a *Lifestyles K–12 Health and Personal Development Guidelines* (Health Commission of NSW & Northern Metropolitan Health Region [HCNSW & NMHR], 1981) provided a continuum of learning in PD that was open to interpretation by individual teachers and schools. The

major theme of these guidelines was consistent with the rationales and foci of PD presented in this section, but also acknowledged that PD played a role in the following: promoting a feeling of wellbeing, adopting a preventative rather than curative approach, helping students to cope with stress, accepting change, and encouraging individuality and opportunities to experience and exploit talents (HCNSW & NMHR, 1981). Amidst the growing influence of a youth culture associated with experimentation and risk-taking behaviours, it was also recommended that PD in secondary schools deal with the growing incidence of negative attention-seeking behaviour, the breakdown of the traditional family, responsibilities attached to beginning a family, and the health effects of overexposure to media. It was thus envisaged that PD, along with HE more broadly, would acquire subject status through opportunities to integrate the topics of social and emotional health, family life and sexuality, values and moral development, and growth and development within other subjects (HCNSW & NMHR, 1981).

Once again, to fill the gap in teachers' professional knowledge in the area of PD due to the absence of formal curriculum, the NSW DOE endorsed a *K-6 PD Bulletin* in 1981 that was subsumed by a *Personal Development K-12 Bulletin* from 1982, following the growing importance of this subject across all levels of schooling. These Bulletin publications were significant to the history of PD and thus HE, as they indicated that the topics to be covered in PD evolved in response to emerging social trends. For instance, the 1982 edition specifically noted that 'Personal Development [is] always changing to meet needs' (NSW DOE, 1982, p. 1) and help children to cope with a rapidly changing world, which had become 'an essential ingredient in education' (p. 6). Thus, education was to be viewed as a lifelong and learner-centred process [to which] PD contributes to critical thinking, sense of one's worth, caring attitudes, communication, and relationship skills which were just as vital as basic literacy, numeracy, and oracy skills' (p. 6). There was also an imperative for PD to support students and teachers to cope with change through topics addressing the effects of the 'failing' nuclear family (NSW DOE, 1982, p. 12), 'working with street kids' (p. 16), and the 'death of a classmate', which appeared in response to the growing effects of a youth culture experimenting with drugs, alcohol, and speeding on the roads (NSW DOE, 1983, p. 25).

Although references to PD suggested this form of HE was ‘vague’, ‘lacking academic standing’ (Susskind, 1987c), and operating in ‘a vacuum of low status’ (“Regular shorts”, 1987, p. 14), the Education Department confirmed that 85–87% of NSW public schools were running PD courses in 1987 (McKnight, 1987, p. 19), which justified the need to cover this subject area as part of a history of HE in this education system. On a final note, PD was conceptualised as one of the Education Department’s ‘growth’ areas towards the late 1980s (Langley, 1988, p. 13) given its capacity to redress the impact of youth health issues by supporting identity formation, which offered a potential explanation for its inclusion in the KLA of PDHPE, as will be covered in Chapter Seven.

Summary

The importance of HE was increasingly realised following confirmation that its outcomes favourably influenced students’ understanding, attitudes, and conduct in regard to individual and community health (Moss et al., 1961). Accompanying the youth culture characterised by the desire for ‘greater freedom’ and putting ‘thumb to ... noses at authority and parents’ (Totaro, 1989, p. 4), was a range of social health issues that needed to be addressed under a more encompassing subject of HE. At the fore of this umbrella subject of ‘HE’ were topics associated with Drug Education, Safety Education, Sex Education, and PD. It was anticipated that the broadening of the subject beyond preoccupations with Hygiene Education and Sex Education would make children who reach the age of ‘experimentation aware of the options and associated risks’ of their health choices (Margo, 1989, p. 15). The topics covered by HE became increasingly important towards the end of the 1980s, as increased rates of alcohol misuse, for example, were considered ‘commonplace’ given that nearly half of schoolboys and a third of schoolgirls in NSW drank alcohol weekly by the age of 16 (Totaro, 1989, p. 4).

6.3.3 AIDS Education

The growth and value of HE throughout the 1980s was elevated based on the capacity of this overarching subject to support wider health promotion campaigns, most significantly those concerned with addressing social and political fears of an AIDS epidemic. Specifically, it was the moral predicaments associated with the nature of

AIDS—such as homosexual behaviour, challenges to the cultural norm of monogamy, and the epidemic scale of the disease—that confirmed school-based Sex Education ‘was the only known way of preventing the spread of the disease’ (Susskind, 1987b, p.1). Consequently, the NSW DOE confirmed that AIDS Education had started to be embedded in subjects including PD, health programs, science, and social science by mid to late-1980s (Barrett, 1987, p. 3); either way, it was clear that the introduction of AIDS Education into the school curriculum raised the profile of HE.

A sub-theme to emerge following the 1960s and 1970s period of HE history and consolidated by the introduction of AIDS Education was that the subject had moved from focusing on *protecting* individuals’ health to *promoting* individual—specifically youth—and community health. A Red Cross national strategy on AIDS, for instance, was established in 1983 and provided the impetus for forming a National Advisory Committee on AIDS (NACAIDS). The work of this committee was valuable to the nation’s state of public health, as it was responsible for raising awareness of AIDS through health promotion strategies such as the Australia-wide *Grim Reaper* AIDS campaign (NACAIDS, 1987). Most significant to the focus of this chapter, the NACAIDS produced and disseminated AIDS Education Kits for use in schools in consultation with Education Departments, confirming AIDS Education as part of the history of HE in NSW public schools.

In fact, the endorsement of the AIDS Education Kits by the NSW Education Department suggested that this state’s education system had ‘the most comprehensive [AIDS Education] of its kind in the world’ (Susskind, 1987a, p. 1). For instance, this AIDS teaching kit contained ‘detailed material for students on the benefits of condoms and self-protective attitudes’ and covered topics including ‘love, safe sex, and STIs’ and how to say no to unwanted sex (Susskind, 1987a, p. 1). Notably, the topics addressed by this kit had responded to political and social concerns over the effects of the ‘increasingly undefined boundaries in relation to sexuality, especially the alternative lifestyle of homosexuality’ and provided students with access to topics falling under Sex Education that parents and/or the formal school curriculum may have previously denied (Auchmuty, 1978, p. 1). It followed that the implementation of the AIDS Education Kits received significant media attention, as such an approach to a highly controversial health issue mobilised public opinion on previously dominant

issues such as heterosexual norms and chastity; for instance, students learnt about ‘the possible risks of having sex with one or more partners’ as opposed to the norm of monogamy (“Calmer approach to AIDS virus”, 1987, p. 3). At the same time, the National AIDS Task Force pushed for ‘the importance of understanding the facts—not the rumours about the disease [AIDS]’ (ABC, 1987, p. 1). Consequently, the introduction of AIDS Education into schools inferred that notions of HE were progressive, as it had become widely accepted that the ‘most effective approach was not education about how to cope with AIDS in a permissive society but rather education in those moral values [that] would negate the potential for AIDS to have any impact’ (ABC, 1987, p. 1).

In line with the evolving knowledge on and socialised nature of AIDS and STIs generally, there was a major shift in Sex Education to adopting a ‘safe sex’ approach, which also accounted for wider movements shaping the demand for this type of education. For instance, notions of ‘safe sex’ took into consideration the diverse nature of gendered sexuality and the accomplishments of the feminist movement, such as the greater public acceptance of females using the contraceptive pill. As noted by the ABS (1989), the number of younger women taking the pill had increased markedly between 1977 and 1989, and this trend reflected the increased willingness of doctors to prescribe the pill to unmarried women. In response, contraceptive methods were covered under the ‘safe sex’ approach in HE. However, the ‘safe sex’ concepts inadvertently upheld prevailing heterosexual ideologies. This finding was exemplified by the fact that the ‘safe sex’ strategy was defined on ‘the basis of health risk’ and ‘risky behaviour’, and thus advocated that a male should wear a condom during penetrative sex with a female to ensure it is ‘safe’ (“Answering the questions”, 1987, p. 3); ‘safe sex’ for lesbians, meanwhile, was largely overlooked.

On a final note, the fact that the ‘safe sex’ approach recognised that AIDS affected ‘women’s lives in a myriad of ways’ (Buttrose, 1988, p. 16) indicated that NSW AIDS Education programs were responsive to increased scientific knowledge that challenged the traditional stereotypical perception of AIDS as a ‘homosexual disease’ (“Answering the questions”, 1987, p. 3), in turn supporting the social feminist movement. There was an increase in the cases of women reported to have contracted AIDS through heterosexual transmission and intravenous drug use, and such findings

suggested that the reason for this trend was that women often lacked the confidence to be assertive and insist on safe sexual practices. As a result, there was a push in ‘safe sex’ education to teach women to take responsibility for saying ‘no’, as something they have the right to do (Buttrose, 1988, p. 16). Consequently, the importance of Sex Education and HE was gradually realised as it became evident the subject was ‘not just about condoms and clean needles’, but also ‘about the way [individuals] relate to each other’ (Buttrose, 1988, p. 16), implying that the subject had reinforced the value of HE as complementing the development of moral citizens.

In summary, Sex Education responded to the increasing spread of AIDS by encouraging students to make ‘safe sex’ health decisions in line with the stronghold of neo-progressive international and national public health movements. The importance of HE was reinforced by special interest groups such as the NACAIDS that pushed for the inclusion of AIDS Education in the school curriculum, as it was felt that ‘if English and Maths are mandatory, then AIDS Education should be too’ (Lumby & O’Neill, 1989, p. 15). Despite the importance of this type of education, HE was again accompanied by controversial debate given that its focus was tied to controversial issues such as sexuality. However, the fact that teachings in AIDS Education should be conducted with an awareness of one’s ‘values, assertiveness, and other relationships skills, decision-making, and self-esteem’ reiterated the overlap between this focus in HE and those of PD programs, reinforcing the importance of the latter (Susskind, 1987a, p. 1). Overall, the value of AIDS Education was justified and highlighted the significance of an encompassing HE curriculum during the 1980s, as it promoted the health status of the state and nation.

6.3.4 The shift in the role of Health Educators

This final section will demonstrate that the gradual realisation of the importance of HE to addressing political and social change from 1949 to 1989 meant that the role of the Health Educator also became increasingly significant and specialised. The growing status of teachers of HE was stimulated by the *1952 Primary Curriculum and Wyndham Report* (1957), which saw Generalist Classroom Teachers and Physical Educators accountable for teaching HE at primary and secondary schools respectively. It was clear that Health Educators—rather than School Medical Officers and Doctors, as was the case previously—were the agents responsible for ensuring preventative measures were

implemented to combat emerging social health issues from the 1950s. This premise was confirmed in the climate of growing public health concerns, particularly amongst youths, and the establishment of a broader HE curriculum addressing sensitive and controversial topics such as sex, drugs, and AIDS.

The evolution of the responsibilities of Health Educators from the post-WWII period into the 1980s reinforced the growing prominence of HE. In the 1950s, teachers were responsible for monitoring and reporting on the health of students, as HE—according to the *1952 Primary Curriculum*—involved supporting the tasks of the School Health Service and facilitating Health Instructions and a healthy school environment (O’Flynn et al., 1960). This role was significant because the community health sector relied on teachers to monitor health habits and implement corrective practices to ‘safeguard the physical well-being of the children’ (Huntly, 1964, p. 32). Towards the late 1960s and into the 1970s, however, the political and social push for HE was accompanied by intensified realisations of the importance of HE and the status of those teaching the subject, resulting in both factors reaching ‘a new height’ (Ramsay, 1969, p. 10). This premise was exemplified by the fact that the Health Department, through the Health Education Advisory Council and the Division of Health Education, declared that teachers were the ‘biggest single influence outside of the Education Department on the implementation of the Health Syllabus’ (Colvin, 1971, p. 33).

Therefore, the growing importance of Health Educators accompanied the growth of topics covered under the HE syllabus, which had evolved to cater for the social changes that saw the emergence of a youth culture experimenting with drugs, sex, and engaging in unsafe and risky behaviours (Ramsay, 1969). In turn, teachers of HE needed to handle the controversial material and resist extremist pressures associated with teaching HE that had broader implications for public health. These circumstances also increased the importance of the role of Health Educators at the primary and secondary level and set a preference for teachers in HE who possessed:

a mature approach to the subject, an educated attitude to daily living and a sound appraisal of the health problems facing society and apply himself (sic) more and more to achieving a greater understanding of health and that he takes a greater interest in the individual health of every child under his care. (Ramsay, 1969, p. 10)

It was the growing prominence of the emerging public health issues, particularly amongst youths, and the broadening of the HE curriculum that prompted developments at the Teachers' College level. Consequently, HE courses in teacher-training institutions were extended beyond the focus on Hygiene Education to ensure Health Educators had an appreciation of the important issues in the health field and the knowledge and pedagogy to 'make some contribution to the development of the health educated individual' (Thompson, 1972, p. 89). Moreover, the Wollongong Teachers College introduced a Health Certificate Course as part of its PE specialist qualification in 1971 ("Health Certificate Course at Wollongong Teachers College", 1971). This evidence supported the premise that Physical Educators commonly adopted the role of a Health Educator and suggested these subjects and responsibilities overlapped in support of addressing public health issues. This principle was further exemplified by the fact that the NSW DOE provided opportunities for in-school promotion through the specialist areas of Health and PE in NSW secondary schools ("Establishment of Health and Physical Education subject departments in NSW secondary schools", 1971).

The greater emphasis placed on HE at all Teachers Colleges in NSW was additional evidence of the gradual realisation of the importance of this subject in the curriculum. It was expected, for instance, that final year teacher-trainees in all faculties had completed a health course 'concentrating on preventative medicine and many of the social health issues current in our society' (Colvin, 1971, p. 40). Such evidence confirmed that developments at teacher-training institutions, just like developments in HE, evolved in response to social changes that required the Generalist Primary School Teacher to also teach HE. Following developments at the teacher-training level, there was an expectation that Health Educators, along with other important adults in a child's life, positively influenced students' morals on healthy behaviours and bridged the generation gaps in health knowledge (Fort, 1971). In this way, the provisions for HE in the *1972 Primary Curriculum* required Health Educators to accept these values and demonstrate personal willingness to support the actions needed to achieve good public health (NSW DOE, 1972) and model this responsibility 'not only by what he says but what he does' (Fort, 1971, p. 16). Consequently, the role of the Health Educator—along with the nature of HE—had become a moralising one. This premise was confirmed by Thompson's (1972, p. 51) research, which discerned that 'if a teacher sees nothing

undesirable about alcohol or marijuana or indiscriminate sexual intercourse, it would seem best for him not to teach, and not to be assigned such a course’.

Overall, the growth of HE from 1946 to 1989 elevated the significance of this subject in the curriculum and signalled the need for teachers to be trained in the broad topics covered by HE. The reason for this was that the role of Health Educators had become an important one, as they were increasingly responsibly for teaching students about the dangers shortening life and/or causing injury or poor health. Notably, it was the shift from providing health instructions (i.e. a surveillance role) to acting as important agents in the (re)production of knowledge on healthy lifestyles based on advancements in scientific measures (i.e. a health promoting role) that prompted a resurgence in teacher-training programs for Health Educators. The growing need for teachers to be qualified in the area of HE signified that the subject had a valid place alongside subjects such as Mathematics and English in the curriculum and society in general, given its influence on public health from the 1970s through to the 1980s.

6.4 Conclusion: Historical developments in Health Education (1880–1989)

The history of HE from 1880 to 1989 has illustrated how each major change in the subject was stimulated and/or accompanied by wider issues, such as the changing nature of diseases affecting the health of individuals and communities, partnerships with external providers, policy developments, and social movements such as the AIDS crisis. From 1880 to 1919, the focus in HE was Hygiene Education to prevent the spread of infectious and venereal diseases caused by poor hygiene practices and environmental conditions. In the second era, from 1920 to 1949, the undertones of Hygiene Education were sustained but newly expressed in the form of Sex Education, following the outbreak of STIs and growing emphasis on breeding to guarantee the eugenic goal of racial betterment and survival post-WWI.

Most significantly, the third era from 1947 to 1989 was characterised by the proliferation of HE, as reflected in the establishment of formal HE curriculum as a distinct yet broad subject at the primary and secondary level. The growing prominence of the subject in the school curriculum from the 1950s paralleled the increased realisation by politicians and educationists that HE was a valuable means to addressing health issues affecting the welfare of the nation in a post-WWII climate accompanied

by an influx of migrants, and the fact that the future of this country depended on the health of its youths. Hence, the issues disrupting social order and public health such as risk-taking behaviours and the threat of an AIDS epidemic determined the major topics of focus in the umbrella subject of HE. By 1989, it was clear that HE (and the role of Health Educators) had attained the level of ‘importance which it rightly deserves and that it, in association with PE’ had formed a subject area that had received ‘full recognition as a most important part of our [Australia and NSW] education’ (Ramsay, 1969, p. 10), a premise furthered in the KLA of PDHPE from 1990 to 2012, as demonstrated in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven: The establishment of the KLA of PDHPE (1990–2012)

The individual histories of PE, SS, and HE from 1880 to 1989 demonstrated that the subjects had a consolidated place in the NSW education system based on the political and social needs served by their curricula. National documents reflecting a shift in the new political control of education furthered this history by setting preconditions for schooling Australia-wide, thus affecting the NSW education system through initiatives such as the establishment of broad Key Learning Areas (KLAs). In this context, educational changes were responding to the political and social climate of the late 1980s, which was characterised by the effects of economic uncertainties, the erosion of academic performance in schools, increases in national rates of obesity and related diseases, and escalating public health care costs. The scientific link between obesity, physical inactivity, and nutrition, in addition to the influence of hereditary and central nervous control factors, had been established by medical experts (Wishon, Bower, & Eller, 1983) and was acknowledged by educationists in the field of PE and HE. Therefore, this chapter will explore the combined role of PE, SS, and HE in supporting lifelong physical activity and participation, enabling health promotion, and encouraging healthy and active lifestyles and personal wellbeing (Stolz, 2014). This combined history of these subjects between 1990 and 2012 will revolve around the following themes: (1) the factors leading to the formation of KLAs and PDHPE, (2) the exponential growth and prominence of HE, (3) the gradual decline of SS, and PE to a lesser extent, and (4) the challenges to the status and legitimacy of PDHPE.

7.1 The factors leading to the formation of KLAs and PDHPE

This section will cover the political and social reasons for: (i) the national and state educational reforms leading to the establishment of the KLAs in general, as well as (ii) the history behind the establishment of the KLA of PDHPE in NSW, and (iii) the nature of the PDHPE curriculum.

7.1.1 National and state educational reforms

Amidst heightened concerns for Australia's economic future, it was John Dawkins—the Commonwealth Minister for Education, Training, and Employment—who pushed for a national curriculum rather than separate state-based curriculums in the late 1980s

(Marsh, 1994). Consequently, the *Hobart Declaration on Schooling* (Ministerial Council for Education, Early Childhood Development and Youth Affairs [MCEEDYA], 1989) and the *National Goals for Schooling* (Australian Education Council [AEC], 1989) formalised a process for encouraging cooperation between schools, states and territories, and the Commonwealth in the areas of curriculum and assessment. As part of these educational policies, the Ministers of the AEC drew up *National Statements and Profiles* (Curriculum Corporation, 1994a, 1994b) to guide curriculum for Australia-wide compulsory schooling from Years 1 to 10 and reinforced that it was the Ministers of Education in each state—and political advisors rather than educational professionals—who were to advise on curriculum development (Barcan, 2010). This stream of activity towards constructing ‘statements and profiles’ and concepts of ‘essential learnings’ stimulated attempts to establish a common national curriculum framework (Yates & Collins, 2008, p. 8) in eight curriculum areas: Mathematics, English, Technology, Science, the Arts, Languages other than English (LOTE), Studies of Society and the Environment, and most significant to this thesis, Health and Physical Education (HPE) (NSW DET, 1996).

The *National Statements and Profiles* reflected common agreements on the shape and coverage of each of the KLAs and it was anticipated that arriving at such a consensus would see bureaucratic resolutions to curriculum and an agreement on levels of student achievement within each KLA (Yates & Collins, 2008). Specifically, the *Statements* provided a framework of what should be taught to achieve the outcomes of the KLA, while the *Profiles* showed the typical progression in achieving the KLA’s learning outcomes (Scott, 1995, p. 20). Therefore, together the *Statements* and *Profiles* supported the national view that school education in Australia contributed to instrumental economism and child-focused developmentalism (Yates & Collins, 2008). The draft *Statements and Profiles* were distributed to the schools of each state and teachers were ‘invited to use them as they like’ (Muller, 1993, p. 12). In NSW, many teachers were described as being ‘enthusiastic about them’ (Muller, 1993, p. 12) and ‘education ministers were originally supportive of the idea’, as they were proposed during the bicentennial year of Australia [1988] ‘when the euphoria for the national "vision thing" tended to blur good judgment’ (“The national curriculum folly”, 1993, p. 10).

Although the educational philosophy behind the *Statements* and *Profiles* was that Australia as one nation should have a single set of standards and guidelines for school curriculum (“The national curriculum folly”, 1993, p. 10), the proposal for the compulsory adoption of the *Statements* and *Profiles* was rejected in mid-1993 (Yates & Collins, 1993) based on views that ‘at best, the profiles have a marginal educational value’ (“The national curriculum folly”, 1993, p. 10). In line with critics who suggested that ‘schooling is one area of national life that should be left to the states’ (“The national curriculum folly”, 1993, p. 10), the guidelines set by these documents were not made compulsory at a state level. However, it was reported that most states still applied these curriculum frameworks set by the AEC, as was the case in NSW, where the *Statements* and *Profiles* were considered ‘useful’ even ‘when incorporated into a curriculum which is essentially state-based’ (Muller, 1993, p. 12). Since the *7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1991) had already been implemented in schools, the *National Statement and Profile in HPE* documents were conceived as a ‘de facto’ to the curriculum developments in this subject area, hence the latter documents will only be referenced as part of the discussion on the PDHPE syllabi, which dictated movements in this KLA in NSW (Muller, 1993, p. 12).

7.1.2 The establishment of the KLA of PDHPE in NSW

The story on the national educational reforms regarding the ‘essential learnings’, ‘new basics’, and ‘capabilities’ in relation to specific subject knowledge under the KLAs (Yates & Collins, 2008, p. 11) filtered down to the state level in the form of the White Paper titled *Excellence and Equity: NSW Curriculum Reform* (Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs [MEYA], 1989). In line with the *National Goals for Schooling* (AEC, 1989), the White Paper called for NSW to provide ‘a broad education for the whole of life’ (MEYA, 1989, p. 5) and as such prompted the 1990 *NSW Education Reform Act* (ERA, 1990), which established a ‘series of KLAs to reorganise what children learn into specific subjects’ in the NSW education system (Totaro, 1990a, p. 2). The provisions set by the *NSW ERA* (1990) were significant, as this ‘marked the first time in the history of NSW education that a minimum curriculum had been legally set down’ (Taylor, 1993, p. 52).

The State Education Minister, Dr Terry Metherell, confirmed that the changes to education enforced by the *NSW ERA* (1990) were to ensure that ‘as the economic

climate spirals downwards, children [were] better prepared to compete and work in an internationalist society' (Totaro, 1990c, p. 77). He envisaged that the way Australia could recover from its sense of national economic stagnation and decline symbolised by the early 1980s recession—which saw the annual average Gross Domestic Product drop to a historical low and resulted in high unemployment levels (Stevens, 2008)—was to 'compete effectively with the rest of the world' (Totaro, 1990c, p. 77) by changing the existing culture of schooling. Thus, Metherell argued that:

if NSW does not get it right then no-one will. This State is the engine room of the nation; we have to lift our skills and education is of paramount importance. We have to be better informed and a more co-operative society; we are not enough an internationalist society ... as a nation that view can only change through better education. (p. 77)

Consequently, Metherell urged that the re-conception and readjustment of schooling and education through curriculum developments such as the formation of the KLAs could help Australia 'catch up in adverse circumstances' (Totaro, 1990c, p. 77). These educational changes were deemed necessary, as young people were bearing the 'brunt of the change' that saw factors such as increased urbanisation producing 'more and more problems' (Casimir, 1989, p. 1), including unemployment and health issues.

The established KLAs in NSW differed slightly from those determined by the AEC (1989) on a national level and saw the emergence of PDHPE—rather than Health and Physical Education—alongside English, Mathematics, Science and Technology, Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE), and Creative and Practical Arts for Kindergarten to Year 6, along with these same KLAs—plus Languages other than English (LOTE) and Technological and Applied Studies (TAS)—from Years 7 to 10 (*NSW ERA*, 1990). According to provisions set by the *NSW ERA* (1990), PDHPE was one of the 'other' KLAs that 'need not be provided [to students] during each Year' [see section 10(1)(b)], which suggested from the outset that PDHPE was not deemed as important as the mandatory yearly components of a student's schooling, such as English, Mathematics, and Science. However, the *NSW ERA* (1990) did require that courses be approved by the State Minister of Education and should be taught in accordance with a syllabus developed or endorsed by governing bodies [see section

10(1)(d)(e) of the *NSW ERA* (1990)], as exemplified by the development of PDHPE syllabi at all levels of schooling from 1991.

In line with the neo-liberal perspectives of the NSW education system post-1990s, it was educational rather than professional bodies that were responsible for curriculum development. Hence, the NSW government established an authorising Board of Studies (BOS) that took over the responsibility from the NSW DOE's Curriculum Directorate for curriculum development at all levels of schooling (Totaro, 1990a, p. 2). The 'new independent' NSW BOS still accessed funding and the subject experts from the NSW DOE Curriculum Directorate to develop curricula for primary and secondary schools in all KLAs; however, it was clear that the NSW BOS had established itself as an 'educational empire with its own bureaucracy' and held the power 'to decide what will be taught in NSW schools' (p. 2). Accordingly, the NSW BOS was independently responsible for the development of PDHPE curriculum 'founded on a broadly-based notion of health that encompasses the total well-being of the individual and aims to develop skills and foster attitudes empowering children to adopt healthy lifestyles and make informed decisions in their personal lives' (Totaro, 1991b, p. 9).

In turn, the NSW BOS (1991, p. 9) declared that the *7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* produced in 1991, representative of the first curriculum of this KLA, was designed to prepare students for adulthood and provide a 'springboard for extra, more specialised studies in Year 11 and 12'. It followed that such fundamental curriculum work by the NSW BOS in PDHPE was later supplemented and enriched by curriculum for students responding to broader political and social factors from Kindergarten to Year 12 from 1991, as will be covered throughout this chapter.

7.1.3 The political and social reasons for the nature of PDHPE curriculum

There were a number of specific political and social factors explaining the inclusion and expression of PDHPE as one of the prescribed KLAs in the NSW curriculum. Firstly, the neo-liberal educational reforms and curriculum developments in NSW during the late 1980s into the early 1990s saw the state government adopt a more active role in school education rather than simply funding its systems. The provisions for PDHPE were positioned as a way to address wider political concerns emerging from reports in the late 1980s suggesting that 'emphasis on the economic aims of education

had overshadowed other functions of education’, including the social, intellectual, and cultural well-being of the nation (Susskind, 1988, p. 12). For instance, PDHPE was able to address concerns that ‘education had failed to show an adequate awareness of the personality attributes’ (Susskind, 1988, p. 12) by ensuring that the social well-being and self-esteem of individuals, previously covered by ad hoc PD programs during the late 1980s, was ‘not to be seen as something that is separate’ from PE and HE (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 4). Consequently, PDHPE emphasised that its curriculum provided for a broad education by supporting students’ growth and development and self-identity, which was noted to be shaped by ‘the sum of many interrelated parts’ and ‘development of the whole person’ (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 4) as part of student learning in this KLA.

In support of educational outcomes, the establishment of PDHPE was also a response to the lack of clarity around the subjects falling under this KLA, along with the national political and social agenda of producing a healthy population. It was these factors that took the subject areas of focus in this thesis in new directions, as will be shown. The *Years 7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1991) is referred to extensively in this section and more broadly throughout this chapter, as it represented the first PDHPE curriculum thus cemented the key political and social factors driving the nature of this KLA. These underlying motivations for PDHPE will not be repeated in the discussion of curriculum developments that follows, to avoid repetition in this chapter; however, broader movements prompting changes to the focus of PHDPE will be covered. It will also be demonstrated throughout this chapter that the longstanding philosophical approach of ‘physical education-as-sports-techniques’ (Kirk, 2010, p. 7) was sustained as part of the ‘Games and Sport’, ‘Gymnastics’, and ‘Dance’ [i.e. forms of sport] Content Strands of the PDHPE curriculum; as a result, although SS was not named as part of this KLA there was strong evidence that opportunities for playing sports were provided to students through prescriptions for PE.

Accordingly, PD was to be taught as interconnected to HE and PE in supporting the wellbeing of the student to produce a more informed and cooperative society and reduce the duplication of services, such as health care in support of the welfare of the nation’s citizens. Consequently, the importance of PD and its topics—such as self-image, self-confidence, interpersonal skills, and feelings of connectedness—were consolidated in the formation of the KLA of PDHPE. Although these topics were mostly embedded in

Content Strands aligned with theoretical HE lessons—including ‘Growth and Development’, ‘Personal Awareness’, and ‘Interpersonal Relationships’—as a continuation of the positioning of PD in the 1980, there were acknowledgements that certain aspects of PD, such as opportunities for developing relationships, could also be facilitated through practical PE and sport lessons (NSW BOS, 1991). Either way, the PD component of the KLA complemented the need for a subject that educated students on social and wellbeing aspects—not just intellectual aspects—in line with the broader focus of NSW education in the early 1990s.

The establishment of the PDHPE curriculum was a key marker in NSW education history, as it provided a response to substantial and longstanding debates, which had attracted media attention, concerning the number of ‘contradictions’ in the teaching of certain topics amongst the ‘science, the Agriculture syllabus, the Home Science curriculum, and the Personal Development and Health course’ (Totaro, 1990a, p. 2) and the ‘areas of duplication which previously existed in the subject area’ (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 1). By drawing ‘all curriculum areas of the KLA into the one comprehensive course’ in NSW (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 1), PDHPE was also able to subdue concerns over the lack of a unified approach to traditional ‘non-mandatory PD and HE courses’ (Delvecchio, 1995, p. 16). The PDHPE curriculum was able to achieve a cohesive approach to teaching and learning in this KLA through the organisation of topics under ten ‘Content Strands’ that were ‘not mutually exclusive’; rather, ‘particular content may well be treated in a number of strands’ (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 14).

The integrated teaching of the subjects under PDHPE paralleled expressions of this subject area in the national curriculum reform attempts projected by the *Statements and Profiles* in HPE, which supported the integrated teaching of Health and Physical Education in one curriculum area of study (Curriculum Corporation, 1994a, 1994b). It was thus clear that approaches in this subject area had moved towards replacing ‘traditional PE classes’ with integrated lessons comprised of ‘previously separate parts of the curriculum such as PD and nutrition’ (“Changes afoot for all years”, 1993, p. 1). Such an interlaced approach enforced that key understandings and skills in PDHPE could be achieved in either theoretical HE lessons and/or practical PE and sport lessons, which confirmed the student outcomes of the subjects falling under this umbrella KLA were synergetic, and thus could be achieved simultaneously.

Another political driver of the inclusion and development of an encompassing KLA of PDHPE was the need for an education program in schools focused on the physical development and personal health and fitness of students, as well as the creative use of leisure time, as projected by the *National Goals of Schooling* (AEC, 1989). This premise was articulated in the rationale for the PDHPE curriculum, which was to ‘develop students’ social well-being and self-esteem [traditionally topics covered under PD] through movement skill and personal fitness [PE] and their ability and commitment to making and acting upon informed health decisions [HE]’ (p. 1). Given the growing profile of health in society, the first PDHPE syllabus was conceived as providing a cohesive context for the study of lifestyle-related issues by recognising the role each of its constituent subjects played in supporting learning about health-enhancing behaviours (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 1). The flow-on effect was that the PDHPE curriculum was also positioned as a strategy to overcome inconsistencies between schools in addressing such health topics and certain adolescent health behaviours. In particular, the KLA of PDHPE provided a standardised approach to areas of HE that saw gaps in students’ knowledge of drugs, AIDs, and sex (Totaro, 1990b, p. 3). For instance, it was reported that some schools had a ‘comprehensive’ Sex Education program while others preferred ‘not to talk much about it’ and were ‘reluctant to teach it’, even though a third of 14 to 16 year olds were reported to ‘do it’ [i.e. engage in sexual behaviours] (Lumby & O’Neill, 1989, p. 15). However, the inclusion of Sex Education topics in formal PDHPE curriculum meant that all schools were required to cover this health issue.

Overall, it was clear that a major driver for the inclusion and expressions of PDHPE in the school curriculum was the need to provide a coherent and comprehensive course that covered and mandated a range of topics previously covered under various other subjects. Notably, the outcomes of student learning in the subject areas covered by PDHPE were overlapping and thus could be achieved in either practical and/or theoretical lessons, which marked a significant shift in the histories of these subjects. Moreover, the political and social push for a more comprehensive program of HE, given its raised profile globally, was so significant that it resulted in the growth and consolidated prominence of HE over PE and SS during this 1990 to 2012 period, as will be discussed in the next section.

7.2 The exponential growth and prominence of HE

A major theme to emerge at the time of the formation of the KLA of PDHPE was that HE was the ‘shining light’ of the three subjects discussed in this thesis, due to the economic burden arising from poor health amongst adolescents and the Australian population generally. For instance, statistics highlighted that Australian health care costs had increased by 41% since 1984–1985, at an annual growth rate of approximately 3% (“Cost of health increased 41%”, 1990). The exponential growth of HE was also a flow-on effect from the health concerns characteristic of the youth culture of the 1970s and 1980s, as the issues compromising the health of young people were intensified and widely publicised in the media at the time of the establishment of PDHPE, given such trends were jeopardising the nation’s longevity. For example, there was a push to encourage school attendance, as there was a clear relationship between increasing disenchantment with school and smoking, getting intoxicated, and to a lesser degree not exercising and eating unhealthy food (Smith, 1993).

As a result, the HE components of PDHPE in particular were positioned as a strategy to address the effects of health-related behaviours contributing to rising national health care expenditure and public and political concerns over young people’s engagement in risk-taking and anti-social behaviours such as drug use and sexual activities, at a time when they felt alienated from their world. This section will demonstrate that the growing prominence of HE was evidenced by: (i) the health-related approach to PE and the public health agenda, (ii) the theorised PDHPE subject at the high-stakes level, (iii) the health concerns of young children amidst social change, and (iv) the socio-cultural perspective of health underpinning PDHPE curriculum post-1999.

7.2.1 The health-related approach to PE and the public health agenda

A major explanation for the exponential growth of HE was the notable paradigm shift in PE from its traditional focus on practical FMS development to a health-related approach to PE. This shift in the approach to PE embodied by PDHPE was in favour of society’s view in the late 1980s that ‘proof of good health’ was to become fit and have a slender body (Kirk & Colquhoun, 1989, p. 10) and the global public health movement’s emphasis on PA and fitness was a major determinant of a nation’s health.

The paradigm shift towards a health-related focus in PE contributed to the significant growth of HE during the post-1990s period and reinforced the interdependent nature of the subject areas covered in PDHPE. For example, the *Years 7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1991) was projected to provide students with opportunities to experience and learn the health benefits of engaging in PA as part of learning in this KLA. Prescriptions in the ‘Active Lifestyle’ Content Strand, for example, required students to ‘examine the role of nutrition [i.e. HE] in an active lifestyle [i.e. PE or sport]’ (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 1), which was exemplary of how the subjects could work together to promote students to adopt healthy lifestyles, thus helping to reduce national health care expenditure. The value of the interdependent expression of PDHPE was confirmed in the literature; for example, Caspersen, Powell, and Christenson (1985) reiterated the importance given to the health-related components of physical fitness (i.e. cardiorespiratory endurance, muscular endurance, muscular strength, body composition, and flexibility) and leisure time PA, including sport within the school curriculum. Accordingly, practical PE and sport experiences were prescribed in more than one Content Strand, given their value to health outcomes (NSW BOS, 1991). Moreover, students’ levels of cardiovascular and muscular strength were increasingly formally assessed as part of requirements in PDHPE under the ‘Active’ Lifestyles and/or ‘Composition and Performance’ Strands that suggested using the 1.6km run test to measure students’ cardiovascular fitness [i.e. a health-related outcome] (NSW BOS, 1991).

A major explanation for the exponential growth of HE in PDHPE was that its nature was positioned as a preventative measure that aligned with the international and national public health movements’ assertions, which suggested the onus for the increased economic and social burden of health issues resided with individuals. Although it was known that ‘schools cannot accept the total responsibility for the development of high standards of public health and well-being’, PDHPE was the most suitable KLA to formally influence the ‘way students think, feel and act to support personal and community well-being’ (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 1), which had to appear somewhere in the revamped syllabi focused on ‘better education’ (Totaro, 1990c, p. 77). In turn, it was the push to support public health outcomes that raised the status of HE in the curriculum, as its nature complemented the broader aim of the PDHPE focused on preventing social and health problems and/or minimising the impact or

potential harm caused to others (NSW BOS, 1991). For instance, the 'Personal Choice' Content Strand taught that the risks associated with poor health were largely dependent upon individual decisions related to lifestyle choices, as exemplified by the links between safe sex practices and rates of HIV/AIDS and other STIs (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 17).

The political impetus for HE gathered momentum following the international Health Promoting Schools (HPS) framework, which emerged as a public health promotion strategy from the World Health Organisation's (WHO) Ottawa Charter (WHO, 1986). This global movement significantly raised the status of HE in the curriculum, as it enacted earlier references to the value of 'the total health programme within the school' (O'Flynn et al., 1960). In doing so, it stressed the importance of proliferating HE outcomes through the school curriculum (formal curriculum) and environment (hidden curriculum), and students' interaction with the home and wider community (school outreach) (Nutbeam et al., 1987), to complement the HPS framework. In considering the impact of factors beyond the formal school curriculum conducive to public health, it was anticipated that a wider HPS approach would influence students' knowledge, attitudes, and skills for developing healthy choices. The implementation of school policies for sun protection safety (hidden curriculum), for example, would promote the use of sunscreen and hats at school and in the wider community (school outreach), while the formal HE school curriculum could teach sun safety in relation to rates of skin cancer (Nutbeam, 1992). However, there was an emphasis on formal HE curriculum under this framework to promote health-enabling physical and social environments to shape students' health behaviours (Nutbeam, 1992), which elevated its profile in the school curriculum.

In addition to the association between PDHPE and the WHO's (1986) HPS framework, the importance of HE was elevated by the need for this KLA to act as a public health promotion strategy that also complemented the broader international goal of 'Health for All by the Year 2000' (NSW BOS, 1991, p. 61). To satisfy the political impetus, PDHPE became more closely aligned with the objective of the state and nation to become an internationalist and healthy society (also see Mitchell et al., 2000; Ridge et al., 2002; St Leger, 1997; St Leger & Nutbeam; 2000; Stokes & Mukherjee, 2000) through provisions in this KLA that emphasised the need for students to value lifelong

learning in regard to the building blocks for health (skills, knowledge, competencies, and behaviours). For example, the Content Strand ‘Personal Choice’ in the 7–10 *PDHPE Syllabus* focused on reducing the impact of individual risk-taking behaviours and promoting healthy decision-making skills with consideration to the influence of community factors (NSW BOS, 1991). Moreover, students were required to study the risk and protective factors affecting the health of vulnerable population groups in Australia, such as those from low socio-economic and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander backgrounds (NSW BOS, 1991) to reinforce the dominance of HE. Notably, this was the first reference to the study of the health inequalities endured by ATSI people as part of the NSW education system. The inclusion of the health of ATSI people as part of PDHPE was to ensure the KLA addressed the *Education Reform Act (1990)* requirements, which identified ‘provision of an education for Aboriginal children that has regard to their special needs’ and ‘development of an understanding of Aboriginal history and culture by all children’ (see Sect 6 (1)(f)(g), p. 5) as objectives of the NSW education system.

On a final note, another body of evidence suggesting that public health concerns furthered the prominence of HE was the provision of mandatory supplementary HE courses, in addition to the prescribed PDHPE curriculum. Specifically, HE had received strong backing by governments and educationists, as the *Excellence and Equity: NSW Curriculum Reform* (MEYA, 1989) required all senior secondary students to complete an additional 25-hour course focused on Drug and HIV/AIDS Education. Although this course was ‘usually knocked over in one concentrated effort at a seminar or health camp’ (Garcia, 1996, p. 14), such provisions confirmed that HE enjoyed a high profile in schools and was positioned as a space for addressing growing social public health trends suggesting that drug use and sexual practices amongst young people were affecting the nation’s health, and thus were a priority for reform among educationists and policy makers.

The shift towards a health-related approach to PE suggested that the subjects were not equally emphasised in this KLA and corroborated that the growing prominence of HE was stimulated by the political and social costs of poor health and the need to produce a more health-conscious society. A major explanation for the growth of HE was the need to address the financial and social costs to the individual and community triggered

by lifestyle-related health issues (NSW BOS, 1991). However, the growing focus on HE in PDHPE also reinforced the value of its interdependent relationships with PE and opportunities for sport in support of the public health agenda.

7.2.2 The theorised PDHPE subject at the high-stakes level

The growth experienced by HE at the time the KLA of PDHPE was formed in 1990 was furthered by the establishment of an examinable *2 Unit PDHPE Course* (NSW BOS, 1994) in 1994 at the high-stakes HSC level (i.e. Years 11 and 12), given that its curriculum was heavily theorised and served broader political needs.

The implementation of a HE curriculum at this high-stakes level of schooling not only raised the status of HE, but helped the KLA to achieve valid status in light of wider educational pressures. At the same time the Higher School Certificate (HSC) Course in PDHPE was inaugurated, for example, the HSC in general was evolving as ‘a more flexible program to cater for students with a wide range of personal and academic circumstances’, since job prospects for school-leavers were ‘gloomy’ (Orchard, 1993, p. 1). Notably, the national unemployment rate had reached a record high of 11.3% by the end of 1992 (Lagan, 1993). As a result, the benefits to the heavily theorised aspects of PDHPE at this level of schooling were twofold. Firstly, the nature of HE reinforced there were academic components to this KLA to ensure it was positioned as an elective that could appeal to students and help promote completion rates of Year 11 and 12; and secondly, it was anticipated that studying this course provided opportunities to gain employment in the growing markets of the education, fitness, sport, leisure, recreation, medical, and health industries (Curriculum Corporation, 1994a).

It was also the theoretical underpinnings to the *2 Unit PDHPE Course* (NSW BOS, 1994) that addressed criticisms that curricula at the senior secondary level had failed to account for factors contributing to a healthy and ‘whole’ individual and community (Totaro, 1991a, p. 1), thus reinforcing the growing prominence of HE during the 1990s period. For instance, the Honourable Virginia Chadwick, NSW Minister for Education, was in favour of the ‘comprehensive course’ of PDHPE for ‘mature-age school [HSC] students’, as its outcomes were focused not only on developing students’ physical well-being and motor skills but also their ‘self-confidence, self-esteem, social skills, decision-making, values, and attitudes’ (p. 1). The growing emphasis on HE in this

HSC PDHPE Course was exemplified by its projected objective, which was to enhance students' sense of personal health and capacity to act as responsible individuals and members of society (NSW BOS, 1994) in line with the ideals of the public health agenda.

Overall, the introduction of HE at the high-stakes level raised the profile of PDHPE, as it was this component of the course that provided the theoretical backing to the subject. The introduction of more varied subjects such as PDHPE at this level of schooling was also valuable to the broader goals of education, as it offered students another subject option in line with the goal of increasing senior secondary school completion rates. Therefore, the *2 Unit PDHPE Course* (NSW BOS, 1994) not only contributed to improving the health of the population, but supported the political and social imperative to overturn the emerging trend of the first generation since the Depression to have a lower standard of education than their parents, which explained why students had reduced employment prospects (Catalano, 1993) and the high rates of unemployment during the late 1980s.

7.2.3 Health concerns of young children amidst social change

Meanwhile at the primary school level, provisions under the *NSW ERA* (1990) kept the Generalist Primary School Teachers on 'their toes' as they were 'handed new curricula for the six main subjects over a five-year period' (Taylor, 1993, p. 1), one of which was PDHPE. Although a draft syllabus was released in 1992, it was not until 1999 that the inaugural *K–6 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1999a) was endorsed. This curriculum development marked the milestone that PDHPE was formally taught at all levels of schooling in the NSW education system. In a similar way to the *7–10 PDHPE Syllabus*, this curriculum was developed in response to certain political and social factors that elevated the status of HE, as will be shown throughout this section.

The NSW public primary schools were using the *1972 Primary School Curriculum* until the *K–6 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1999a) was introduced in 1999. A major driver of the development of this syllabus was the political and social imperative to support opportunities for PA, in turn increasing health benefits. This finding was deduced from media reports—following the release of the draft primary PDHPE syllabus—stressing that the 'age of technology' was driving children into a sedentary

lifestyle (Williams, 1996, p. 4). Consequently, provisions for PDHPE at the primary school level needed to provide young children with opportunities to gain competency in FMS through PE and sport programs during these years of schooling, as ‘they are seldom learnt later in life’, which was a point noted and emphasised by the *National Statement in HPE* (Curriculum Corporation, 1994a, p. 47). In doing so, it was anticipated that barriers to ongoing PA in adolescence and adulthood, growing concerns over childhood obesity rates, and reports indicating that children appeared to be getting ‘more enjoyment out of computerised games than out of PA’ (Williams, 1996, p. 4) would be overturned in support of the nation’s health.

While the establishment of the theorised HSC PDHPE Syllabus helped raise the profile of HE at the high-stakes level of the curriculum, it was provisions under the *K–6 PDHPE Syllabus* that elevated the importance of HE at the primary school level. In particular, the *K–6 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1999a) was positioned as a means to counteracting the growing childhood obesity levels resulting from increased levels of physical inactivity; as such, this syllabus was heavily focused on encouraging students to participate in regular and varied PE to establish the foundation for a lifelong commitment to valuing and learning healthy lifestyles. It was found that the interconnected nature of the topics covered under PDHPE complemented the growing importance of a healthy lifestyle in the context of a rapidly changing Australian society. This premise was exemplified by the fact that the *K–6 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1999a) represented the integration of previously separate parts of the curriculum at the primary level of schooling into one encompassing curriculum that developed students’ ‘self-esteem, social responsibility, personal fitness, and the ability to make informed decisions about health and lifestyle’ (Raethel, 1997a, p. 12).

However, the retained focus on the traditional elements of ‘Games and Sport’ (including Aquatics and Athletics), ‘Dance’, and ‘Gymnastics’ indicated that such topics related to traditional teachings in PE were a means to supporting the health priorities of young people, which were fitness and PA. Notably, the ‘Games and Sport’ Strand made reference to the focus on developing students’ FMS so that they could move towards participating in more games- and sport-specific skills in non-competitive and competitive environments (NSW BPS, 1999a) as part of the impetus of encouraging young children to become more physically active, thus improving HE

outcomes. It was also anticipated that the positioning of the Content Strands covering ‘Active Lifestyles’ and ‘Personal Health Choices’ to parallel the *Years 7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1991) would help address the health issues affecting young people—through teachings in areas including drug education, child protection, and nutrition—in addition to the provisions in fitness and PA noted above.

Another explanation for the growing prominence of HE was that the PDHPE curriculum needed to recognise that the nature of health issues varied due to geographical location and the age group of the students. As a result, prescriptions for PDHPE were to be determined at an individual level in order to be flexible and respond to social factors (NSW BOS, 1991). The capacity for PDHPE to be flexible became increasingly significant, as youth health trends suggested that ‘in some areas, marijuana is a big problem’ whereas ‘in others it’s heroin’, and amongst Year 10 students in particular ‘it’s more likely to be binge drinking’ (Delvecchio, 1995, p. 16). It was also widely acknowledged that students ‘were already very well informed of the topics in the PDHPE syllabus’ (Garcia, 1996, p. 14) through sources such as the media and the internet. In turn, the NSW DOE encouraged a culture where schools negotiated the focus of curriculum rather than adhered to a prescriptive approach (Delvecchio, 1995, p. 16). This receptive feature of PDHPE aligned with Metherell’s push for the dismantling of the ‘giant, creaking bureaucracy’ of the NSW DOE, by encouraging schools to become individually responsible for their own affairs amidst the education climate of neo-liberalism (Totaro, 1990c, p. 77). Although it was clear that discussion around the capacity for PDHPE to be adjusted in terms of its focus on particular health issues reinforced the prominence of HE, the PDHPE syllabus made it clear that undue emphasis was not to be placed on one area of HE, as doing so would undermine the integrated nature of the syllabus (NSW BOS, 1991).

Overall, the introduction of a PDHPE curriculum at the primary school level confirmed that this KLA supported the development of the whole person and contributed to ‘improved and ongoing quality of life for all individuals in the community’ (NSW BOS, 1999a, p. 5). This curriculum development confirmed that HE was prominent over PE and SS at all levels of schooling, reinforcing that its nature complemented the impact of wider social, economic, environmental, and political factors on the health status of individuals and populations (NSW BOS, 1999a).

7.2.4 The socio-cultural perspective of health underpinning PDHPE curricula post-1999

As already noted, HE experienced exponential growth at the time of the establishment of the KLA of PDHPE; however, this section will demonstrate that HE had consolidated its prominence over PE and SS following the momentum gathered that required revisions to the focus of HE. Specifically, the major political and social influences necessitating revisions to PDHPE—including the growing impact of health inequalities in Australia, as reflected in the shift from the public health to the ‘new’ public health movement globally (Smith, 1993)—contributed to sustaining the high profile of HE.

It was the *National Statement and Profile in HPE* that pushed for this subject area to align with the ‘new’ public health movement, following increased recognition of the *impact* of cultural, technological, and sociological factors and the need to create supportive environments conducive to individual and community health, especially amongst vulnerable population groups (Curriculum Corporation, 1994a, 1994b). In turn, it was projected that an outcome under *HPE* should be awareness of social justice principles and an understanding of the influence of cultural factors on an individual’s attitudes towards PA, health decisions, and body image (Curriculum Corporation, 1994a, 1994b). At the same time, media reports had hinted at the influence of socio-cultural factors, such as an individual’s age and growing economic inequalities, and the risk of particular health issues. For example, the fact that youth suicide rates had tripled in the past 20 years (between 1973 and 1993) (Smith, 1993) was publicly noted. These trends suggested that health inequalities could be addressed by empowering teenagers to feel in control of their own lives through access to health-enabling resources at home and school (Smith, 1993), through HE for example.

Health Education was positioned as a remedy to ‘the problems of a constantly changing society’ (Raethel, 1997a, p. 12), especially following the increased recognition of the influence of social factors on health and shift towards socio-cultural perspectives to health in developments and revisions to the PDHPE curriculum from the mid-1990s. Accordingly, the KLA of PDHPE in NSW had become aligned with the broader goals of the new public health movement, as suggested by the national approach to this subject area set by the *National Statement and Profile in HPE* framework. Given that the draft *Statement and Profile in HPE* was released prior to 1994, the 2 Unit HSC

PDHPE Course (NSW BOS, 1994) was informed by this national approach and reflected the first PDHPE curriculum to consider the socio-cultural perspectives of the ‘new’ public health approach focused on reducing inequalities in health and PA, in turn reinforcing the focus on HE in this KLA. Notably, the *HSC PDHPE Course* recognised that social, global, and environmental factors (i.e. changes in patterns of living and future trends) offered explanations for the most prevalent health issues affecting individuals and populations. In turn, this syllabus dedicated specific Content Strands to Human Sexuality, Community Health Issues, and the two most prevalent Social Health Issues, Drug Use and HIV/AIDS (NSW BOS, 1994), to reflect the new public health approach to major health issues affecting the population and need for students to become critical health consumers during this ‘health boom’. To help overcome the health issues arising from socio-cultural factors, this syllabus placed emphasis on teaching students ‘to know who to believe’ when accessing health care services (NSW BOS, 1994, p. 25) in an ever-expanding health and welfare industry.

It was the revised *Stage 6 PHDPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1999b) that consolidated the prominence of HE, as its curriculum was completely embedded in socio-cultural perspectives to health exemplary of the global new public health movement. Moreover, the socio-cultural approaches to HE at this level of schooling also aligned with the push for the HSC to support civics and citizenship education as part of the HSC Review (ACER, 1995) to confirm the high profile afforded to HE. Specifically, the revised *Stage 6 PHDPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1999b, p. 51) typified the promoted status of HE by shedding most of the science-focused and individual lifestyle approach of its predecessor, in favour of promoting ‘a social view of health where the principles of diversity, social justice, and supportive environments are fundamental aspects of health’ (NSW BOS, 1999b, p. 6). The push for a focus on ‘civics and citizenship education’ as part of the HSC Review (Raethel, 1997a, p. 12) also furthered the value of HE, as a new outcome of the HSC PDHPE Course was to ensure every individual was able to ‘lead a fulfilled life that is active and healthy’ and ‘be a part of a society that promotes this as a key value and supports its members in leading healthy lifestyles’ (NSW BOS, 1999b, p. 6). These outcomes suggested the KLA, specifically the emphasis on HE, had accounted for the more diverse student population, and their capacity to be active and employable citizens (ACER, 1997). Additionally, addressing health inequities as part of PDHPE curriculum coincided with the recommendation

coming out of the HSC Review (ACER, 1995, p. 2) that the purpose of senior secondary school should also be conceived as ‘a preparation for adult life, as an end in itself, and as an instrument for social change through reducing social inequities’. In turn, the adoption of a socio-cultural approach in PDHPE further promoted HE while satisfying all the aforementioned imperatives of education at the high-stakes level, including civics and citizenship education.

The prominence of HE was also consolidated by the revised *7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* and the general high profile of ‘health’ in contemporary Australia, which had made health messages ‘much more obvious’ (Maley, 2004, p. 4). Hence, the revised *7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 2003, p. 27) had also adopted a socio-cultural approach to health, as it formally recognised that ‘different circumstances can mean individuals have varying degrees of control over influencing behaviours’ affecting one’s health and the health of others (NSW BOS, 2003, p. 27). During this period of the new public health movement, there were particular concerns over the obesity crisis, illicit drugs, road deaths, and mental health issues affecting young people, thus the ‘new’ *7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* represented an important HE intervention that considered these issues in light of ever-changing ‘individual, socio-cultural, political, economic and environmental factors’ (p. 60). Accordingly, there was a shift in PDHPE from teaching students about the negative outcomes associated with health choices, such as the consequences of unprotected sex, to deterring risk-taking behaviours according to the socio-cultural approach focused on harm minimisation as part of the preoccupation with HE.

Finally, the prominence of HE in PDHPE was furthered by the public profile and need to get ‘young people away from their computer screens and running around engaging in some sort of activity’, which was a concern that had received increased media attention as a cause of poor health amongst young people (McDougall, 2004, p. 11). Consequently, the socio-cultural paradigm giving rise to HE received further support, as it was positioned as an approach that encouraged students ‘to be wise and be smart and be safe’ (Maley, 2004, p. 4) with respect to health behaviours and decisions through the development of critical literacy and advocacy skills (i.e. when examining health products and services) (NSW BOS, 2003) amidst the pressures of post-2000 society. By 2003, the socio-cultural approach to PDHPE was implemented at all levels of high schooling and noted in the inaugural primary PDHPE curriculum, given its recognition

of the impact of technological advancements (i.e. a socio-cultural factor) and levels of physical inactivity on the health of young children. Therefore, the socio-cultural underpinnings of PDHPE elevated the status of HE over PE and SS in achieving wider political, educational, and social goals tied to the new public health agenda.

7.3 The gradual decline of traditional SS, and PE to a lesser extent

The clear focus on HE in PDHPE meant that SS traditions and PE to a lesser extent in the NSW public education system were on the decline, even though the imperative of this KLA gave schools a profile to support students to exercise, keep fit, and play sport. Thus, the longstanding intertwined nature of PE and SS, as discussed in the next chapter, meant that the poor status of sport in NSW and Australia more broadly filtered down to affect the status of both subjects. Accordingly, the diminished state of SS and PE from 1990 to 2012 will be explored under the following themes: (i) the challenges faced by sport and PE, (ii) the absence of Specialist Teachers in primary schools, (iii) safety concerns in sport, and (iv) the deregulated nature of sport.

7.3.1 The challenges faced by sport and PE

The concerns over the poor state of sport and PE were a national issue, with findings from the *1992 Senate Inquiry into Sport and Physical Education* (COA, 1992) coming as ‘a shock to a nation that prides itself on its sporting culture’ (Raethel, 1996, p. 6) and regards PE as a valuable social institution. Specifically, it was acknowledged that ‘sport ha[d] been viewed more as an optional extra rather than a standard feature’ of the curriculum across all states (COA, 1992, p. 16), while the decreased status of PE was also concerning despite there being ‘no dispute about the importance of PE’ (p. xiii). These concerns were founded on conclusions that provisions for these subjects in schools were not equating to improved levels of health, fitness, and/or enjoyment in PA on a national or state scale (Raethel, 1996, p. 6).

One of the main reasons for the poor state of these subjects was that students were receiving fewer opportunities in school to acquire the skills enabling them to successfully participate in sport and PE (COA, 1992). Although it was reported that most primary schools allocated 90 minutes to sport per week, the *1997 NSW Schools Fitness and Physical Activity Survey* (Booth et al., 1997) found that less than 50% of primary school students had mastered FMS and the majority of students demonstrated

‘at risk’ levels of PA and fitness levels. The trend towards reducing the curriculum time allocated to PE was evident at the high school level, as it was found that out of the minimum 300 hours of mandatory PDHPE across the four years from Years 7 to 10, only 100 of these each year were spent in PE (Raethel, 1996). The implication of these trends was reduced opportunities for PA and the development of sporting skills in PE to transfer into SS. However, it could be inferred that the remaining 200 hours were allocated to theoretical HE lessons, including the sub-branch of PD, to reinforce the prominence of HE during the post-1990s period.

The case was the same at the high-stakes HSC level, as the students who chose to study PDHPE were exposed to few practical PE and sport opportunities during lesson time. The reason for this was that the *2 Unit PDHPE Course* was mostly theoretical, as previously noted, hence the concepts of sport were only experienced in theoretical lessons and only as part of Elective Modules, which may not have been taught by all schools, such as ‘First Aid and Sport Injuries’, ‘Sociology of Games and Sport’, and ‘The Art and Science of Coaching’ (NSW BOS, 1994, p. 10). Overall, this suggested that sport was not as important as the Core Modules focused on the analysis and management of personal and community health and movement elements, composition, skill and performance. Despite the inclusion of practical experiences in the movement Core Modules in Year 11 and 12, there was still an emphasis on the theoretical concepts including: the foundations and elements of movement, applied anatomy and physical fitness, exercise physiology, nutrition, sports psychology, skill acquisition and mastery, and the design of exercise programs for specific purposes and criteria for evaluating skilled performance (NSW BOS, 1994). The theoretical focus of the high-stakes of the *1994 2 Unit PDHPE Course* was sustained in the *1999 Stage PDHPE Syllabus*.

The reduced opportunities for SS and PE were found to be affecting students’ practical skills, as data indicated that boys and girls in all school year levels lacked physical competence in sport (Walkley, Holland, Treloar, & Probyn-Smith., 1993). This trend was concerning as it led to a situation wherein ‘children get into early adolescent years ... [and] they drop out of sport in their droves’, and the major explanation offered by these children was that ‘they cannot do the skills’ (Raethel, 1996, p. 9). It was thus important that students developed these FMS during their primary school years, to increase their high school sport competency and overcome the downward slide that saw

just over a third of high school students meet the daily PA requirement of two hours (Hardy et al., 2011; NSW Ministry of Health, 2010). Hence the media commonly referred to the state of sport in NSW as in a 'shambles', because 'the notion of looking to develop our children's skills and abilities in sport in the long term seem[ed] to be a foreign concept to many decision-makers' (ASC, 1994, p. 4) in the area of curriculum development.

A second major explanation for the poor state of SS was the withdrawal of funding nationally, with effects filtering down to sport at the state and community level (COA, 1992). For example, the widely reported national trend that saw a 'fortune' spent on 'a few elite athletes at the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS)' and only 'a pittance on the physical health and fitness of most Australian schoolchildren was 'storing up trouble for the years ahead' (Williams, 1996, p. 4). The case was the same in NSW, where it was also publicised that the state government was throwing a huge amount of money at the elite competitors, at the expense of the grass-roots levels of sport such as SS (Wells, 1996). This trend became increasingly concerning leading up to the 2000 Olympic Games, which was an event to showcase the social and political standing of 'the host' country [and state] on the world sporting stage (Wells, 1996, p. 25). Instead, parents were to be seen yelling at children because they were not achieving Olympic standards, because the deprived funding to grass-roots sport meant the school sports system was failing children. The lack of funding to sport highlighted that a state government [NSW] 'about to host the showpiece of world sport [the 2000 Sydney Olympics] ... must surely be embarrassed' about its sports profile (Wells, 1996, p. 25), to which SS had always contributed. Thus, the decline of these two subjects during the post-1990s period could be attributed to the funding bodies' preoccupation with 'pouring' a significant amount of money into 'the support of elite athletes in the pursuit of gold medals', which led to 'downgraded' SS and PE school programs and children's levels of fitness coming 'a very shabby last in priorities' (Williams, 1996, p. 4) compared to the political drive for international sporting success.

Another challenge to the profile of sport and PE was the gendered nature of these subjects, which contributed to high dropout rates in sport amongst girls. For instance, it was found that more than 60% of schoolgirls aged 13 to 15 dropped out of sport and even top-performing girls were 'dropping out in droves because of economic and social

barriers’, leading to an imbalance between males and females participating in sport (Phelan, 1995, p. 7). This trend was sustained throughout the 1990s and into the post-Sydney Olympics period that had supposedly raised the profile of sport in society, with reports confirming girls were still less likely to play sport compared to boys and most likely to ‘drop out’ of sport if they did in fact once participate (Signy, 2002, p. 4). An explanation offered for high dropout rates and girls refraining from participating in sport in the high school age group was sexual stereotyping. For example, the stereotypical assumptions that girls ‘simply don’t have the same drive for vigorous competition that boys do’ was compounded by typical perceptions amongst girls that ‘having muddy knees and sweat-plastered hair might make them [appear] unattractive’ (p. 4), thus decreasing their likelihood of participating in and continuing to play SS.

Similarly, PE lessons were not ‘geared to the needs of girls’ and instead tended to reproduce ‘constructions of young women as weaker, less enthusiastic, and less skilled in sports than young men’ (COA, 2006, p. 32). Given the interconnected nature of SS and PE, the social constructions influencing PE lessons created pre-conditions for a girl’s desire and interests in sport, resulting in them deciding to ‘give up’ on sport at some stage (COA, 2006, p. 32). Compounding the gender exclusive nature of PE lessons were wider social and cultural trends, such as the unequal attention to women’s sport in the media (i.e. coverage and promotion), poor remuneration and attribution in women’s sport competitions (i.e. lack of vocational opportunities in sport for girls), and ineffective recruitment and retention at grassroots levels in girls’ sport (COA, 2006). It could thus be inferred that the lower public demand for sports competitions for women filtered down and contributed to the downward spiral of SS, decreasing the demand for such opportunities for girls at the school level, which was widely conceived as providing representative and post-schooling pathways in sport.

Finally, the gradual decline of SS and PE was simply exemplary of well-established literature, such as the work by Stolz (2014), suggesting that subjects characterised by controversial and practical features tend to assume a low status within a tradition of schooling favouring the three R’s of reading, writing, and arithmetic (Hughes, 2002; Musgrave, 1979). In particular, the poor status of PE and SS reinforced Stolz’s (2014) position that it was the traditional Westernised view of ‘Cartesian dualism’—which treated the mind and body as separate and the body as inferior to the mind—that offered

an explanation for the place and values of subjects in the curriculum. Specifically, certain knowledge had been compartmentalised into important ‘conceptual’ subjects involving the mind (i.e. Mathematics) and ‘less important’ subjects (i.e. PE and SS) involving the body (Tinning, McCuaig, & Hunter, 2006, p. 125), and it was this ‘theory’ and ‘practical’ delineation of school subjects (Shilling, 2004) that afforded SS and PE lower status in the curriculum given their ties to the education of the body. In contrast, HE was conceived to engage the mind and thus was more aligned with theoretical subjects that enjoyed higher status in the curriculum status quo.

7.3.2 The absence of Specialist Teachers in primary schools

Amidst the findings provided by the *Senate Inquiry* (ASC, 1994, p. 1) was confirmation that teachers associated with SS and PE played an ‘important role in providing for the physical development and fitness of young Australians’ and enhancing ‘educational experience’. Similarly, the *Statement and Profile in HPE* (Curriculum Corporation, 1994a, 1994b) conceived that the key to quality junior sport and physical development was appropriately trained teachers. Therefore, another explanation for the haphazard nature and decline of SS and PE was the absence of Specialist Teachers in NSW public primary schools in these subject areas.

The issue of the absence of Specialist Teachers was found to have contributed to the diminished state of SS and PE, as it was reported that NSW public school students were ‘often bored by sport and many lack[ed] basic skills, such as running and throwing’ (Raethel, 1996, p. 9) and were in need of ‘regular, comprehensive PE’ (William, 1996, p. 4). While many primary school teachers strongly supported the idea of SS and PE, ‘they [themselves] often lack the skills’ (Raethel, 1996, p. 9) to adequately teach the subjects. This finding was concerning, as the primary school years were the time when students’ habits in sport and PA are being formed, as previously noted, because ‘by the time many students reach high school they have already learnt to hate sport and have become experts at escaping PA’ (p. 9). In addition, the role of the Generalist Primary School Teacher according to the PDHPE syllabus required classroom teachers to fill the responsibilities of a physical educator, home economics teacher, health educator, personal development educator, traffic safety educator, drug and alcohol educator, and sport educator (Webster, 2001). These diverse responsibilities falling under the Generalist Primary School Teacher of PDHPE were in addition to the requirement of

teaching all other KLAs, which meant that it was not uncommon to see a slide in areas such as PE and SS, given the crowded nature of the NSW primary school curriculum.

The trend of the absence of Specialist Teachers and pressures of the multitude of responsibilities falling under the role of the Generalist Primary School Teacher led primary schools to outsource PE and/or sport to external providers, in turn furthering the decline of these subjects. For instance, media reports noted that outsourcing PE and sport to external providers became an alternative to the tendency for 'NSW primary schools [to not] have PE specialists' and the fact that 'classroom teachers don't feel confident in giving them [students] PE' (William, 1996, p. 4). Hence, some NSW public primary schools outsourced their PE and sport activities to external providers (i.e. commercial groups) for a cost, commonly incurred by the student to ensure students' experiences in sport were conducted by qualified specialists (Tinning, 1991). The schools that required students to pay for sessions conducted by external providers in mandatory components of KLAs were in breach of Principle 4 of the *K-10 Curriculum Framework* (NSW BOS, 2000, p. 4), which stated that NSW schools had an obligation to facilitate 'an inclusive curriculum that provides equitable access, participation and outcomes for all students'. The move to attach an additional cost to sports participation not only undermined the rights of a child in the NSW education system, but was in conflict with the longstanding value placed on the inclusive nature of NSW public school sports traditions and indirectly portrayed sport and PE as separate (and less important) to HE in the curriculum

The absence of Specialist Teachers was sustained through to 2012 as an explanation for the decline of SS and PE. This was confirmed by the *2010 NSW Schools Fitness and Physical Activity Survey* (Hardy et al., 2011), which highlighted the importance of professional development for teachers in sport and PDHPE in general. Similarly, the *Audit of NSW Government Schools* (Audit Office of NSW [AONSW], 2012) stressed the need to improve the physical skill levels of the primary school teacher workforce by recruiting PE specialists to teach and/or provide on-the-job training and support for Generalist Classroom Teachers.

7.3.3 Safety in sport

The diminished state of SS could also be inferred from the rise in the number of legal cases during the 1990s of parents and guardians suing the NSW DOE for their child sustaining an injury during sport (Ford, 2015), which stimulated significant media attention to the issue. An example of a typical case in NSW occurred in 1993 (see *Reynolds v Haines*, Supreme Court of New South Wales, McLaughlin M, 27 October 1993) and prompted a NSW Youth Sport Injury Study from 1994 to 1995 involving more than 15,000 high school students across the state (Quinlan, 1997). The findings confirmed that 54% of students in NSW had sustained a ‘needless’ injury in sport in the last six months and 29% had reported having time off school as a result of sporting injuries ranging from bruising to muscle and ligament strain, broken bones, and concussion (Quinlan, 1997, p. 5). The trends in sports injuries in NSW paralleled those occurring nationally, as Australia-wide statistics found more than 90 per cent of children played sport but more than half of them had been injured in the last year (Quinlan, 1997).

Consequently, parental and/or students’ fears over sustaining and injury resulted in decreased participation in SS and sport in general, particularly amongst adolescents going through rapid phases of growth and development which increased the risk of injury (Smith, 1990). It was found, for instance, that late-developing teenagers may ‘drop out’ of sport, ‘forgoing the well-documented health benefits of exercise because they can’t effectively compete against early maturers of the same age’ due to differences in height and body size (Smith, 1990, p. 1). This thesis inferred that the increased fears of incurring an injury in sport also had implications for participating safely in PE, and thus its status in the curriculum, given the inextricable links between the two subject areas. This conclusion was corroborated by evidence suggesting that by 1995 the level of PE in Australia's schools had dropped to a point regarded as below that of a Third World country, due to perceptions of the increased risk of injury, especially amongst those in the growth periods between 12 and 14 years (Robinson, 1995).

In turn, the strategies implemented at a state level to address the negative attention attracted by safety concerns in sport contributed to its diminished position in the NSW public school system. Since the impact of the high rates of injuries endured by students was ‘unacceptable’, public schools worked with Sports Medicine Australia to increase

the number of teachers qualified with first aid sports injury training (Sweet, 1996, p. 8). Moreover, the Education Department's School Sport Unit introduced rule modifications to reduce the high incidence of particular injuries in certain sports, such as ankle injuries in netball (Byrne, 1995). The push to establish guidelines to support the safe organisation and participation in sports events, excursions, camps, and other special focus activities contributing to the SS program such as Walkathons and Gala Days (Robinson, 1995) was met by the NSW DET's (1999) endorsement of the *Guidelines for the Safe Conduct of Sport and Physical Activity in Schools* (NSW DET, 1999).

Given that approximately 760,000 students in NSW public schools were participating in planned sport and PA at various levels by 1999 (NSW DET, 1999), these guidelines ensured students were not discouraged from participating in SS based on the threat of injury, by providing specific control measures with respect to the supervision and welfare of students engaged in over 50 different sports and physical activities (e.g. fencing, mountain biking). The guidelines also outlined protective measures (i.e. sun protection, the use of starting guns and caps) that were all aligned with the NSW Sporting Injuries Insurance Scheme to reduce the number of legal cases threatening participation rates in sport and its reputation in the public education system (NSW DET, 1999). Overall, the need for such modifications confirmed that the diminished profiles of PE and SS were acknowledged by policy makers and educationists, reinforcing this theme in the history of the subjects' post-1990s.

7.3.4 The deregulation of longstanding SS traditions

The deregulated and changing nature of SS, which saw a departure from its longstanding traditions in NSW public education, offered the final explanation for the sidelining of this subject. For one, the introduction of PDHPE as part of the formation of the KLAs in the NSW education system was not accompanied by compulsory requirements for SS according to the provisions set by the NSW BOS. Instead, the NSW DET went out alone (i.e. separate to the private and Catholic school systems) to ensure that SS remained 'mandatory for all students' attending public schools, but this move did not have the backing of the wider NSW education system, a requirement of schooling in this state (Raethel, 1996, p. 9), implying that the subject area was less important than those endorsed by the NSW BOS. However, public school students from

Kindergarten to Year 10 were required to play 120 minutes of planned weekly sport and Year 11 students were to play 80 minutes, while it was highly recommended but 'optional' in Year 12 (Raethel, 1996, p. 9).

Secondly, the longstanding traditions of the NSW public school sport system were challenged by the deregulated nature of its system and preference for catering for highly competitive SS opportunities that favoured the 'more skilled' and talented sportsmen and women. Notably, it was widely supported that the NSW DET provided many opportunities for participation in specialist sports training, such as the NSWCHS Gifted and Talented Program (COA, 1992), which reinforced the tradition of the public school sport system as an avenue for producing state, national, and international sportsmen and women, as opposed to an inclusive model of SS. Consequently, the strength of the NSW public education system as a representative SS pathway was sustained, as it continued to host the largest and longest-running gifted and talented program in the state right up until 2012, along with another talent identification program that was congruous with the traits of talented sportsmen and women (Booth, 1995). Students were able to qualify to be selected to participate at school, zone, region, state, and national level competitions across 18 sports at the primary school level and 28 at the high school level in 2012 (NSW DOE, 2012). This accolade was attributed to the strength and longevity of the operational relationships between the governing NSWPSA and NSWCHSSA sporting bodies and the ten regional and 200 zone associations under the School Sport Unit (NSW DOE, 2012). However, the effect of focusing on the talented minority of students overturned the inclusive model of SS that had given rise to the subject's growth during the 'golden years' of the 1970s and 1980s, leading to its decline through less inclusive sporting practices.

The prioritisation of catering for elite sports people within the NSW public education system was furthered by the declaration of sports high schools and the representative pathways provided by this education system. The establishment of sports high schools, such as Westfield Sports High in 1991 and Narrabeen Sports High in 1994 (Raethel, 1996), emerged from the *White Paper's* focus on Excellence and Equity (MEYA, 1989, p. 66), which recognised that 'all too often the exceptionally talented and gifted child is neglected and discouraged within our schools'. These schools were designated as selective sports high schools to attract 'talented and motivated athletes' to their

specialised academic, cultural, and sporting programs and curriculum (Universal Magazines, 2014, n.p.). The emergence of specialist high schools catered for those children ‘with exceptional talents’ more adequately (MEYA, 1989, p. 66) and aligned with the goals of excellence and equity; however, by excluding the majority of students in sport in favour of catering for those who possessed exceptional sporting talents, the initiative contributed to sport’s decline in the NSW public education system overall.

Another theme that emerged during the post-2000 period that reflected a deregulated approach, and thus a decline in sport, was the fact that provisions for sport and PA were increasingly left to the discretion of the individual state Education Departments, schools, and teachers (ASC, 2009). Under these circumstances, the ASC (2009, p. 27) was concerned to:

learn from experts Australia-wide that the education system no longer reliably provide[d] the platform upon which much of the nation’s sporting activity is based. It no longer consistently carried out the vital role of introducing children to PA and organised sport.

In the context of NSW, the government was not responsible for monitoring the quality and quantity of planned PA and sport in primary schools, nor did it monitor student progress in terms of physical fitness and skills levels (AONSW, 2012). Therefore, it was not surprising that 30% of public primary schools failed to meet the minimum requirements for sport each week (DEC, 2012). The common reasons public schools cited for failing to meet the mandatory guidelines included the time required for setting up equipment, instruction giving, and transporting students to and from venues, and the fact sports lessons did not demand the intensity levels reflecting moderate and vigorous PA requirements (DEC, 2012).

On a final note, the conforming to wider ‘out-of-school’ sport preferences towards more recreational types of sports (ABS, 2012) offered another explanation for the shift away from playing traditional sports in schools and the decline of SS in NSW public schools. For example, the list of sports had been extended to include more contemporary and recreational sports such as canoeing, ice skating, martial arts, trampolining, and skateboarding (NSW DOE, 2012). While the ‘Sports Afternoon’ continued to be compulsory in NSW public schools right through to 2012, the fact that such experiences were deregulated and geared towards recreational sports meant that

the subject had become not only a diminished part of the curriculum, but stereotyped as a ‘bludge’ subject [i.e. an Australian colloquial word describing an easy option]. It was reported, for example, that for many teachers and students sport was ‘a way of filling in an afternoon of school time’, leading to the perception that the subject ‘may as well not be there [in the schools] at all’ (Georgakis as cited in Stevenson & Robertson, 2012, n.p).

The decline of SS had wider implications for community sport due to the longstanding relationship between the subject and sporting associations. For example, the ABS (2012) reported that only 40% of youths aged 5–14 in NSW had participated in organised sport (excluding dancing) outside of school in the previous 12 months, which placed NSW as the third lowest ranked state for out-of-school sport involvement. Although the statistics on dropout are ambiguous—for example, figures overlook participants who transfer between sports—the estimation is that up to 35% of youth sport participants drop out of organised sport every year in Australia. There was, however, consensus that there is a higher dropout rate amongst late childhood and early adolescent children, which corresponds to declines in PA and increasingly sedentary lifestyles beyond the schooling years (Vella, Cliff, & Oakley, 2014). These trends are concerning; in the past, participation in organised sport and PA generally decreased during the post-schooling years, but based on this evidence it was already occurring amongst school-aged students, thus potentially impacting the nation’s health status.

Summary

The downward spiral of SS was a major theme to emerge from the period spanning 1990 to 2012, as it had become common for no more than 10% of students to be involved in grade or knockout sport (Hardy et al., 2011). These trends were also contrary to the research suggesting that in cities bidding and hosting an Olympic Games, the promotion of the Games domestically was attuned with possible legacy benefits, such as increased participation in sports (Cashman, 2006). However, the case was different for NSW following the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, as this state’s government was preoccupied with delivering the games rather than the aftermath (Cashman, 2006), thus contributing to the declined profile of sport in schools and the wider community.

7.4 The challenges to the status and legitimacy of PDHPE

During the early 1990s, PDHPE was put on the agenda of the NSW education system as part of the establishment of KLAs; however, it was the introduction of a PDHPE Course at the high-stakes HSC level that raised its status. At the same time the SS and PE were struggling to maintain their place and value in the NSW education system, the KLA of PDHPE was experiencing issues of its own. Therefore, this section will present the (i) early accolades that raised the status of PDHPE, and subsequent challenges that gradually overshadowed and undermined this KLA's legitimacy in education based on (ii) the overloading of topics in an already 'crowded' curriculum, and (iii) the 'practical' nature of PDHPE in a climate of high-stakes testing.

7.4.1 The initial rise of PDHPE

While the establishment of the KLAs in 1990 resulted in the exponential growth of HE from this point, it was the establishment in 1994 of an examinable *2 Unit PDHPE Course* (NSW BOS, 1994) that reinstated the place of the KLA within the broader curriculum. The fact that a course in PDHPE was supported by a NSW BOS-endorsed syllabus meant it 'counted' towards a student's Tertiary Entrance Rank (TER) (Taylor, 1993, p. 1) in a climate where the *White Paper* (MEYA, 1989) recommended that reforms to the HSC should include the NSW BOS reducing the number of Other Approved Studies (OAS) courses developed by teachers in response to local needs and scope of career choice ("Nurturing the bigger picture", 1990, p. 44). The reason for this was that the MEYA (1989) was concerned about the 'quality control' problems across more than 10,000 OAS courses listed in 1989 ("High school students face fewer choices", 1989, p. 6).

Consequently, there was an emphasis on NSW BOS-developed courses that were 'externally examined' and contributed 'to the aggregate marks for the HSC' (p. 6). Notably, PDHPE was referred to as one of the NSW BOS-developed courses that covered all important subject areas, and was appropriate to all ability levels; thus, it offered students 'a greater scope of career choice' and raised the status of PDHPE in the curriculum ("Nurturing the bigger picture", 1990, p. 44). Specifically, students were required to study at least 10 units from NSW BOS-developed courses, from which two had to be English and at least one subject from the following two groups: 1) Science,

Mathematics, and Technology and Applied Studies, and 2) PDHPE, Modern and Classic Languages, Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE), and Creative Arts (Taylor, 1993).

The fact that the HSC PDHPE Course was positioned as a 2-Unit NSW BOS-developed course was significant, given that a student's HSC marks and TER had become increasingly important in a climate where school graduates wanted to qualify for as many post-school options as possible (Orchard, 1993, p. 1). The reason for this was that high school leavers were faced with a climate of high unemployment rates, particularly amongst socio-economically disadvantaged groups in society (Curriculum Corporation, 1994a, 1994b), and the fact they high-school leavers were ineligible for unemployment benefits due to being under 18 years of age (Orchard, 1993). In this context, the NSW BOS pushed for a TER to reflect a curriculum that appealed to the 'whole' individual and encouraged young people to complete secondary education (Taylor, 1993, p. 1). The nature of PDHPE was viewed as supporting the NSW BOS agenda of appealing to the 'whole' individual, as it was 'concerned with the promotion of fitness and skilled movement as an important means of developing and maintaining healthy lifestyles' (NSW BOS, 1994, p. 1). In addition, the practical PE experiences of PDHPE, which were found to be in fact limited, attracted students to study this subject and stay engaged in post-compulsory schooling, which also elevated its status.

Only one year after the *2 Unit PDHPE HSC Course* was implemented, the whole HSC went under immediate review as only two-thirds of students were continuing into senior secondary schooling, which had been in existence since 1967, while the majority left school after Year 10 (Australian Council of Educational Research [ACER], 1995, p. 1). It was also found that students were choosing 'soft options' (i.e. 'easier' subjects such as PDHPE) in order to maximise their TER, hence critics suggested that the HSC had become less rigorous and appeared to be irrelevant to the current context, leading to a trend where young people were 'generally ill-prepared for adult life' (ACER, 1995, p. 1). A formal review of the HSC was therefore commissioned by the NSW government that prompted its restructure according to the *Shaping their Future: Options for reform for the Higher School Certificate* (Australian Council of Educational Research [ACER], 1995) and revisions to syllabi following the subsequent *Securing their Future* (ACER, 1997) document.

Since the review of the HSC was aware that the student body had grown and diversified, and senior secondary schooling was ‘only one piece in the fabric of education’, the *Shaping their Future* (ACER, 1995, p. 7) document demanded ‘a commitment to maintaining a broad purpose [for the HSC] under which differentiated individual purposes can be pursued’. The underlying motivation for this change was to ensure a greater number of students completed secondary education and proceeded to complete post-schooling education and/or qualifications to help them gain employment in the future. As a result, the HSC needed to reflect ‘a qualification that [was] sufficiently broadly-based to provide a quality grounding in knowledge and skills for further tertiary study while, at the same time, offer an appropriate platform for students wishing to pursue vocational or on-the-job training’ (p. 7).

As part of the political imperative to ensure the academic rigour of the HSC was upheld, the HSC PDHPE Course went under review. In particular, concerns were expressed by Professor Barry McGaw, the head of the NSW government's HSC review, that the curriculum in general needed to be ‘pruned’ based on the premise that ‘we cannot load it [the curriculum] up anymore ... schools are doing bits of everything and nothing properly’ (Raethel, 1997a, p. 12). Because the HSC curricula, including PDHPE, had become so overloaded and there was overlap between the content studied within each KLA, the HSC Review saw an urgency to reassess priorities in line with the push for subjects to show greater support for civics and citizenship education (Raethel, 1997a, p. 12). However, the drive for the reform of the HSC in the mid-1990s coincided with a downfall in the status of PDHPE at all levels of schooling, as will be demonstrated in the following two sections.

7.4.2 The overloading of topics in PDHPE in an already ‘crowded’ curriculum

As noted throughout the histories of PE, SS, and HE, the topics covered by the encompassing PDHPE curriculum were conceived as relevant to students and complementary to political and social agendas. For instance, the shift that saw ‘health and personal development become mandatory’ was met with ‘growing’ student interest, as students could not seem to ‘get enough of it [PDHPE] the sex, drugs and (censored) videotapes, friendship, families, first aid, food and loping laps around the oval’ (Garcia, 1996, p. 14). Meanwhile, the KLA had become increasingly positioned

as a response to social trends, such as those highlighted by the ABS; for example, teenage pregnancies outside marriage had increased from 33% in 1971 to 82% in 1991 (Delvecchio, 1995, p. 16) and there was growing need to support children to establish proper diet and lifestyle habits following increased rates of childhood obesity (Williams, 1996, p. 4).

Given the links between PDHPE and meeting political and social needs, the KLA was 'a mandatory subject which involved every student in every school in the state' (Garcia, 1996, p. 14), from Kindergarten to Year 10. However, the capacity for PDHPE to meet such imperatives was ironically challenged by the fact that interest groups were required to make a claim for space for their KLA in the 'crowded' curriculum (Raethel, 1997a, p. 12). In this context, it was found that when 'you put all the range of topics together into one syllabus, you have to find space for it [PDHPE]' alongside the traditional subjects like English, Maths, and Science, which meant that this KLA was often conceived as an 'extra' (Garcia, 1996, p. 14). As noted above, the HSC curriculum was also 'overcrowded' as schools could choose to offer subjects from a list of 150 courses across 78 subjects by 1996, in a climate characterised by an increase in the number of 'vocational subjects' such as computer, business, and legal studies (O'Neill, 1996, p. 15), thus PDHPE needed to compete for status and value in the overcrowded curriculum.

The impact of the 'overcrowded' NSW curriculum meant that there was a squeeze on subjects that did not have 'the same standing as Maths and English' (Williams, 1996, p. 4). Although it was agreed that 'just as near enough is not good enough when students are learning the basics of Maths', the same perspective was not afforded to 'the need to exercise and to keep fit and to play sport', which meant that the push for PDHPE to hold 'a vital place in the curriculum' was not achieved (p. 4). Instead, the pressure for curriculum time resulted in watered down versions of PDHPE. For instance, it was reported that when teachers felt pressured for time, they tended to teach PE as 'a competitive team sport' or students were 'made to run around the oval' (Patty, 2009, p. 7). Alternatively, a game would be set up where a few students would 'dominate the game', resulting in the other students 'developing a negative perception of their own ability [because] they [were not] being taught any skills' as part of PDHPE lessons (p. 7).

Another sub-theme to emerge under the ‘overcrowded’ NSW curriculum in general was evidence suggesting that the PDHPE curriculum itself was also overloaded. For example, it was reported that a ‘wide range of issues, ranging from human sexuality to health, fitness and safety’ (Delvecchio, 1995, p. 16) had been ‘dumped’ into the PDHPE curriculum (Williams, 1996, p. 4) and this trend was viewed as ‘overwhelming’ (Garcia, 1996, p. 14). The status of PDHPE was thus ‘handicapped by the limited amount of time allocated to its increasingly crammed syllabus’ (p. 14), which limited the capacity for teachers to be ‘miracle workers of modern society’ (Jones, 1996, p. 4) and achieve the broad goals of this KLA. Instead, teachers of PDHPE were reported to be frustrated with the fact that they did not have enough time to address the vast range of issues covered by PDHPE, leading to a ‘blow out’ of this KLA (Garcia, 1996, p. 14). Since PDHPE was ‘expected to cover everything from domestic violence to the right sort of snack to bring for recess’—because ‘if they [educationists] can’t decide where something belongs, they bung it into PDHPE’—teachers were forced to question ‘what do you leave out? ... Sexuality? Nutrition? Road Safety? Personal values? What do you decide they [students] can do without?’ (p. 14).

The overloading of subjects in PDHPE meant that levels of teacher preparedness and qualifications to meet the extensive topics covered by this curriculum also contributed to its challenged status. This premise was exacerbated by awareness that ‘twenty years ago ... if you were a PE teacher that was it—that’s all you did’ (Williams, 1996, p. 14). However, the shift that saw ‘Health and PE become mandatory’ demanded a ‘new era’ of Health and PE teachers and the need to ‘make them [traditional PE teachers] much more professional’ (Williams, 1996, p. 4). For instance, the curriculum changes in PDHPE that prioritised issues relevant to adolescents and Australian society meant that teachers (i.e. PE teachers in high schools and Generalist Teachers in primary schools) were to adequately cover all topics falling under this KLA from Kindergarten to Year 10 in an already crowded curriculum. Hence, the nature of the work of teachers of this KLA had changed according to the expectation that PDHPE filled the role in supporting health promotion, planning (i.e. self-esteem, communication, goal setting), safe living (i.e. road safety, emergency health, and protective factors), interpersonal relationships, and ‘of course’ movement skills (Garcia, 1996, p. 14).

Overall, it was clear that the NSW education system and government were aware of the changing responsibilities and increased number of topics falling under the role of the teacher of PDHPE, which contributed to the challenged state of PDHPE. Consequently, there was a growing necessity to facilitate a ‘natural career development for PE teachers who have been struggling with coming from a PE background’ and were now required to teach PD and Health (Williams, 1996, p. 4). To fill the gap in qualified teachers in PDHPE, teachers were trained for the first time in Australia under the University of Sydney’s (i.e. the Old Sydney Teachers’ College) Bachelor of Human Movement and Health Education and as part of the University of Newcastle Faculty of Medicine’s Bachelor of Health and Physical Education from the early 1990s (Williams, 1996). An alternate suggestion was that public primary schools should employ more specialist teachers (i.e. Sport Specialists) so that ‘teachers can concentrate on the core business of teaching’ (Jones, 1996, p. 4), which was usually associated with those subjects examined as part of the Basic Skills testing and National Assessment Program–Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), as demonstrated in the next section. However, gaps in the qualifications of teachers in the subject areas falling under this KLA remained an explanation, as it had been throughout the individual subject histories, for the poor status of PDHPE compared to other KLAs.

7.4.3 The practical nature of PDHPE in a climate of high-stakes testing

The second major theme explaining the squeeze on PDHPE in the curriculum was that its seemingly ‘practical’ outcomes were not relevant to the measurable literacy, numeracy, and language testing components of the Basic Skills Testing conducted in NSW schools from 1989 (“Basic skills should be tested”, 1989, p. 3). The implementation of these tests coincided with the formalisation of the KLAs and responded to acknowledgements by the NSW Education Minister that the students’ skills and the education system of this state were ‘under scrutiny’ (Totaro, 1990c, p. 77). At the primary school level, the testing of more than 60,000 children in English, Maths, and Science was introduced by the NSW Education Department to keep track of student and school performance ‘essential to a sound education’ system (“Basic skills should be tested”, 1989, p. 3). Even though the PDHPE curriculum contributed to the broader social and educational outcomes focused on increasing the likelihood of participation in PE, active free play, and outside-school sport for health benefits (NSW

BOS, 1999a), the subject was not examined as part of the Basic Skills Testing and/or regulated; as a result, it was deemed less important than subjects such as English, Maths, and Science.

The omission of benchmarks for PDHPE in a climate of high-stakes testing had implications for the KLA, as students became aware of the poor status afforded to this KLA. For instance, a situation arose by the mid-1990s in junior high schools where it was reported that:

for many students, PDHPE lessons (the cumbersome title alone is enough to convince many children that it is just a joke), are regarded as a "bludge"—like religious education, lessons about life and survival can be slept through or wagged. This is the optional stuff that doesn't count when it comes to getting good marks, the topics that don't represent any strain on the brain, unless you count doing your maths homework under the desk. (Garcia, 1996, p. 14)

Therefore, it was not surprising that statistics demonstrated that students in their final years of high school tend to 'drop' sport when more 'academic demands' become a priority (Raethel, 1996, p. 9). This finding inferred that the practical nature of PDHPE (i.e. games and sport in PE) was devalued in a climate of high-stakes testing.

The interplay between strong emphasis on the subjects tied to the Basic Skills Testing, the low status afforded to PDHPE, and the fact that individual schools were increasingly responsible for making decisions at a curriculum level was another explanation for why sport is 'one of the things that does drop off' in favour of other KLAs (Robotham, 2011, p. 7). These curriculum decisions undermined the longstanding allocation of time in the formal school day, such as that allocated to the NSW DOE's two-week intensive School Swimming Scheme for students in Years 2 to 6, which had been flourishing since the end of the 1980s. Notably, the introduction of the high-stakes testing had led to a situation where the NSW Primary Principals Association concluded that 'there is not enough time in a crowded curriculum to teach swimming' (Hicks, 2010, p. 5). The tendency for schools to disengage from the School Swimming Scheme was due to the fact that 'everyone wants us [the schools] to do well in areas like literacy and numeracy ... [so] there's just no space' for swimming (Hicks, 2010, p. 5). The squeeze on the intensive School Swimming Scheme following the introduction of high-stakes testing

again exemplified that trends in SS had subsequent social implications, as the number of reported deaths caused by drowning in NSW was at a seven-year high in 2010 (Hicks, 2010, p. 5).

The omission of benchmarks in PDHPE to legitimate the KLA in a climate of high-stakes testing had wider implications beyond the educational outcomes of the child, extending to the shaping of the health status of the nation. As noted earlier in this chapter, PDHPE along with the HPS framework was responsible for bolstering students' levels of involvement in PA and sport to address Australia's 'huge problem of obesity among young people—eating the wrong sort of food and not exercising enough' (McDougall, 2004, p. 11). Most notably, the proportion of Australian children who were overweight had doubled in the past twenty-five years and the proportion of obese children had increased fourfold, which carried significant social and economic implications that tended to track into adulthood—for example, increased risk of type 2 diabetes and cardiovascular disease (Booth et al., 2006). In the absence of reportable outcomes in PDHPE as part of Basic Skill Testing, educationists suggested that PDHPE could earn its place at least in primary schools 'by providing a range of measurable outcomes, such as at what age a child should be able to perform a jumping or throwing exercise' (Raethel, 1996, p. 6).

Instead, there were signs that PDHPE had attempted to dissociate itself from solely meeting practical outcomes—which was perceived as the reason for its questionable legitimacy at all levels of schooling—by reiterating that its aims and objectives were underpinned by theoretical concepts. Initially, the *7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1991) was positioned as a way to 'catch-up' on the poor FMS and activity levels of primary school students to increase the proportion of vigorously active high school students, particularly girls (Booth et al., 1997), again suggesting that games and sport were socially constructed to produce and legitimise male hegemony (Dewar, 1987), a trend that needed to be addressed. However, the focus on developing FMS was replaced by teaching target, striking, fielding, invasion, and net/court-categorised games to highlight that PE was in fact tied to theoretical concepts such as critical thinking and communication in game situations (NSW BOS, 2003). Meanwhile, revisions to the HSC PDHPE curriculum conducted by academic researchers and health sociologist John Germov (2002, p. 14) responded to criticisms that the inaugural PDHPE syllabi

demonstrated an ‘over-reliance on individualistic solutions [to health issues] in practice’ [i.e. PE] and to broader educational recommendations to emerge from *Shaping their future* (ACER, 1995), as previously noted. Accordingly, the ‘new’ *Stage 6 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1999b) stressed that its curricula provided students with ‘a quality grounding in knowledge and skills’ and ‘an appropriate platform ... to pursue vocational or on-the-job training’ (ACER, 1997, p. 7). It was the omission of previous mandatory ‘practical’ PE lessons in favour of a heavy theorised PDHPE at the high-stakes level in particular that allowed this KLA to validate its curriculum with respect to the overall purpose of the HSC, namely fostering the intellectual, social, and moral development of all students, their capacity to work together with others, and their respect for the cultural diversity of Australian society (ACER, 1995).

The greater emphasis on theoretical components in the *1999 Stage 6 PDHPE Syllabus* such as ‘social and scientific understandings about movement’ (NSW BOS, 1999b, p. 6) raised the ‘academic’ status of this KLA but at the same time was representative of the first time in over 110 years that practical PE lessons were not prescribed at all levels of NSW public schooling. Instead, it was clear that the PDHPE curricula had taken account of social and educational change by providing students with an understanding of the complex interrelated factors of ‘expanding technologies, new social structures, shifting community values and emerging environmental issues’ affecting how individuals live their lives (NSW BOS, 1999b, p. 6). This preoccupation implied that the KLA at the HSC level was more closely tied to theoretical and social outcomes that accounted for the fact that ‘young people are growing up in a world of rapid change’, to help validate the legitimacy of PDHPE in the curriculum.

Despite revisions emphasising the theoretical components of the HSC PDHPE Course, media reports were found to contribute to negative stereotyping concerning the standing of PDHPE at the high-stakes level of the curriculum by portraying the subject as ‘practical’ and less academic. Typical reports on the HSC PDHPE exam, for instance, referred to the KLA as a ‘fitness test’ (Maher, 2007, p. 24). Meanwhile, others highlighted that independent private schools in some cases did not offer the HSC PDHPE Course, as it was considered a less academic ‘second-rate subject’ (Ham, 2009, p. 11). Advocates of this KLA were forced to defend PDHPE by reinforcing its ties to theoretical components and dissociating the content from purely reflecting practical

pursuits. For instance, the Head Teacher of PDHPE at Westfield Sports High School, Allan Booth, argued that the HSC PDHPE Course is ‘fairly challenging academically’ (Gotting, 2001, p. 4). He acknowledged that ‘people sometimes believe it’s an easier option because of its name’ but proceeded to refute this, noting that the HSC PDHPE Course covers ‘high level sports science concepts and details about Australian health’ (Gotting, 2001, p. 4), including sports psychology, training, nutrition, the public health system, and health priorities such as heart disease, mental health, and cancer. To further reinforce that the HSC PDHPE Course was not ‘an easier option’, it was stressed that the KLA was ‘taught almost solely in the classroom’ and ‘if practical exercises were taught, they were linked to theories’ (Gotting, 2001, p. 4).

Amongst acknowledgements that PDHPE catered for a diversity of students’ interests and skills and prepared them for employment and active citizenship in line with the agenda of the HSC reform, it was recognised that PDHPE still needed to validate its place at the high-stakes level as a ‘theoretical’ subject (Gotting, 2001, p. 4). The fight for legitimacy was contrary to the history of exponential growth of students electing to study the HSC PDHPE Course. Even in its first year in 1995, it was reported that 7,500 students sat the PDHPE HSC examination in NSW schools (Garcia, 1996, p. 14) and this number had increased to 9,075 students by 1998 (Raethel & Jamal, 1998). More recently, records kept by the NSW Education Standards Authority ([NESA], 2017b) indicated that student numbers remained consistently high, as 9,312 students sat the HSC PDHPE examination in 1999, and these numbers had increased to 13,307 students by 2012. An explanation for the growth in students electing to study PDHPE amidst the increasing stakes of the TER and pressures of employability was that the popularity of some of the traditional and more ‘academic’ subjects was continuing to ‘slide’, as students opted for newer courses such as PDHPE (Raethel, 1997b).

7.5 Conclusion: Historical developments in PDHPE (1990–2012)

The period between 1990 and 2012 was characterised by the establishment of PDHPE and represented the growing prominence of HE in line with the political and social agenda of public health. This section, therefore, confirmed that it ‘has been a hard slog for SS and PE since the “golden years” of the late 1970s and early 80s’ when PE was ‘the hot new subject’, every State Education Department had a PE advisory board (Raethel, 1996, p. 6), and SS was a longstanding staple of the NSW public school

education system. In line with the work of Wright (2011), PE and SS were not highly regarded compared to more academically rigorous subjects such as writing in the English curriculum and arithmetic in Mathematics, particularly from 1990 in an increasingly ‘overcrowded’ curriculum. Despite widespread realisation of the importance of PDHPE to broader political and social outcomes—such as the new public health agenda and high-stakes Basic Skills Testing—the status of this KLA was challenged from the outset, given that educationists continued to prioritise those subjects that placed ‘strain on the brain’ (Garcia, 1996, p. 14), such as HE, over PE and SS. Hence, the practical nature of sport and PE falling under the umbrella of PDHPE offered an explanation for the diminished standing of this KLA in the curriculum.

Chapter Eight: The untold ‘cooperating to compete’ history (1880–1989)

Even though researchers including Kirk (1998), Collins et al. (1990, 1991), and St Leger (1992) have documented the histories of PE, SS, and HE respectively, these studies presented the story of these subjects individually, and in doing so overlooked their interdependent nature. As this study has illuminated, there were noted interconnections between the subjects prior to the establishment of the KLA of PDHPE. Therefore, similar to Chapter Seven, this chapter represents a new interpretation of the history of the disciplines and the NSW education system by recording the overlapping, yet discrete, nature of the subjects from 1880 to 1989 for the first time in scholarship. In addition, the extent to which the undefined relationships during this time span created a shift in the status of the subjects compared to one another and other subjects in the school curriculum, as occurred following the establishment of the PDHPE curricula, will also be explored. The defining eras that signalled major transitions in the individual histories of the subjects were very similar, thus the following periods were used to structure this combined history: the (i) military years: 1880–1919, (ii) eugenic years: 1920–1949, and (iii) pinnacle years: 1950–1989. Due to the length constraints placed on this thesis, only a sample of the abundant evidence exemplary of the longstanding interconnections between the subjects will be provided under each period, as many references to these connections have already been elucidated. The depth of analysis will increase from 1880 to 1989 to parallel the more overt connections between the subjects over time.

8.1 Military years: 1880–1919

There were minor references to the connections between the subjects from the outset of compulsory schooling; however, it was clear that PE was prominent over SS and HE during this first period, based on the fact that this subject served the political imperative of strengthening the nation's military defence. This function of PE meant that curricula specific to the context of NSW, namely the *Manual of Drill for the Use of the Public Schools in NSW* (Strong, 1878), had been published and guided provisions in this subject from the outset of compulsory schooling in NSW, unlike SS and HE, thus reinforcing PE's stronger status in the curriculum from 1880. Amidst the dominance of PE, there were references to its links to HE and to a lesser extent SS. For example, the *NSW DET Annual Report* (1890) concluded that 'the effect of confined playgrounds' was 'injurious' as 'the ordinary pastimes and outdoor exercise so requisite for the health and wellbeing of the young cannot be indulged in', thus leading to conditions 'most hurtful to their characters and conducive in a high degree to habits of larrikinism' (*NSW DET Annual Report*, 1890, p. 6). This example inferred that the poor conditions of playgrounds threatened the balance of PE and in turn the achievement of wider civic and citizenry goals of education, which confirmed the high regard for the value of this subject to wider political agendas while inferring an agenda beyond military prerogatives.

The interconnections between PE and HE in particular were increasingly acknowledged following a growing national consciousness of the negative effects of modern civilisation, again reinforcing the prominent status of PE. Specifically, the diversification of PE beyond traditional Military Drill into the branches of Physical Culture, the Swedish System of Gymnastics, and the JCT scheme, for example, suggested that curriculum authorities had increasingly acknowledged that PE activities could support the harmonious development of the body and mind rather than solely fulfilling the objective of producing a disciplined army to help defend the nation during times of war. In fact, Roth endorsed the implementation of the Swedish System of Gymnastics in 1904 into NSW public schools based on pre-existing evidence that confirmed its prescribed set of physical exercises were beneficial to one's all-round physical health and development (Lishman, 1901).

Since issues tied to social suffering (i.e. poor living conditions leading to the spread of infectious and venereal disease) were causing health problems and perceived to be affecting the prosperity of the nation post-Federation, the status of PE and its capacity to support HE outcomes was increasingly valued from the 1910s. Specifically, the projected health-benefits of more varied forms of PE were appealing to Australian politicians and educationists, as they provided a strategy to mask the effects of the economic depression that created conditions conducive to the spread of infectious disease, such as crowded localities, confined spaces, and sedentary occupations, conditions that were common to Britain during the same era (BOE, 1911b). Consequently, the overlapping nature of PE and HE could be increasingly noticed in the formal curriculum. The *Handbook of Physical Training* (BOE, 1911a), for example, was produced in consultation with the Medical Branch and further exemplified that it had become known that teachings in PE were also responsible for students' health outcomes. Although this handbook informed the PE curriculum taught in schools, it emphasised the need to conduct SMIs and Personal and School Hygiene lessons alongside PE as an effective means to overcome the discourse of ill-prepared and 'unfit' youths (BOE, 1911a, 1911b), particularly boys, given that the major function of PE between 1880 and 1919 was to prepare young men for war through Military Drills.

The fact that practical experiences in PE had 'incalculable physical and mental health effects' (Lishman, 1901, p. iii) complementing broader national and education goals consolidated the high status of this subject in the formative years of compulsory schooling in NSW. For instance, one of the main reasons for the introduction of Swedish Gymnastics into schools was that its exercises were referred to as 'distinctively corrective' and could help avert the dangers associated with modernity, such as a sedentary school life, defective development, and injurious deformities (Broman, 1902, p. 11). Similarly, Physical Culture's system of Medical Gymnastics and Health Drills highlighted that a major explanation for the endorsement of this form of PE in NSW public schools was to address the physical and mental defects caused by modern civilization. In turn, it was inferred that the interdependent nature of the subjects could combat the social trends that saw an increased number of students diagnosed with physical and mental defects.

Although Military Drill was the dominant form of PE during this first era, this thesis went one step further to conclude that the outcomes of PE, HE, and SS had been briefly noted as co-dependent early in history. For instance, the *Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Schools* (BOE, 1911b) projected that the aim of ‘physical exercises or sport, in combination with suitable food and fresh air’ was to develop ‘a child’s body during their growth period [HE]’ and ‘create opportunities to attain the highest possible degree of all-round physical fitness [PE and SS outcomes]’ (BOE, 1911b, p. 10). Meanwhile, the inclusion of a variety of games and sports as part of the Military Drill imperatives of the JCT scheme indicated that sport, in general, was positioned as supporting the goals of HE and the national agenda of social prosperity. The advancement of sport in line with this national agenda was captured in media reports, as it was found that ‘in promoting our [Australian] many games’ the education system had ‘incidentally and permanently performed valuable work in helping to work together the Empire’ (“Sport and the empire”, 1911, p. 9). Given that playing games and sport games demanded qualities of stamina, teamwork, and cooperation, and in doing so developed students’ morals and character (Stupart, 1914), such curriculum provisions for sport in PE confirmed that the outcomes of PE, SS, and HE were overlapping, as they all fostered qualities in students considered important to combatting youth delinquency and developing the nation’s identity and pride post-Australian Federation. For example, the qualities of sport inferred a ‘healthy influence’ on clean living, hard training, self-discipline, and physical endurance, which meant that SS needed ‘no elaboration’ as it helped ‘to raise the physical standard of the race’ (“The cost of sport”, 1913, p. 20). For instance, provisions for ‘swimming, as in many other branches of sport ... found men fit and willing to grapple with gigantic tasks which war imposed upon the nations’ (“A national sport”, 1919, p. 6).

Summary

The combined history of the subjects from 1880 to 1919 highlighted that PE was predominant over SS and HE, as schools were to privilege the development of students’ physical capacities to ensure the nation was prepared for war. It was clear that PE had reached out to HE and SS to support its own objectives—and the health and character of boys in particular—as part of producing citizens to defend the nation and promote Australia’s sense of nationalism following Federation. Therefore, this finding confirms

that the social construction of PE and its relation to gender issues is peripheral (Dewar, 1987) to the history of the subjects. Overall, the subjects had begun to form alliances but it was only through the political imperatives preoccupied by military preparedness, which were served by various sub-branches of PE, that the benefits of HE and SS to the national goal of producing disciplined and fit citizens were increasingly realised. PE was thus perceived as increasingly valuable in the school curriculum following the emergence of more varied forms—such as the systems of Physical Culture, Swedish Gymnastics, and the JCT scheme—because it helped produce healthy and moral citizens in attempting to promote national pride and identity. Given the body and mind had become viewed as ‘mutually dependent’ (Stupart, 1914, p. 14), HE and SS were in turn increasingly considered valid components of the school curriculum, as they supported the development of students’ physical and mental health outcomes to counteract the effects of the economic depression whilst also serving broader goals of education focused on national prosperity.

8.2 Eugenic years: 1920–1949

The influence of eugenic ideals during the 1920 to 1949 period had an effect on the historical evolution of all three subjects and in turn had implications for the working relationships and status of the subjects. Firstly, the relationships between the subjects had become more overt due to the strong eugenic political and social undertones of the National Fitness movement preoccupied with racial survival and betterment through the production of ‘fit’ and healthy citizens. Secondly, PE was reinforced as the dominant subject to achieving these goals; however, SS and HE were increasingly positioned as servants of eugenic PE objectives, which helped raise their profiles in the school curriculum.

It was the projection that eugenic ideals would be attained when the body and mind were equally formed—a premise backed by ‘a sound scientific basis to face the future with complete optimism’ (Gallagher, 1931, p. 28)—that confirmed the subjects could work together to achieve such a political and social imperative. Specifically, the links between PE and HE noted during the military years were strengthened by the fact that the National Fitness movement promoted a new vision of health based on a medical-scientific approach to understanding bodily fitness (Stewart, 1940), rather than simply focusing on hygiene and the prevention of disease. Therefore, PE curricula had evolved

to include provisions for physical exercises that ensured students did ‘not remain undersized and incapable of wholly fulfilling proper functions’ (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943, p. 13). Instead, PE played a remedial function through formally prescribed exercises providing the coming generation with increased ability to work with the body and the brain (Gallagher, 1931), to ensure they were healthy as well as fit to reproduce the next generation to achieve the eugenic goal of racial betterment and survival. Consequently, it was the realised capacity for PE to fulfill the function of producing fit and healthy citizens as part of the general role of the education of a child that highlighted the interdependent nature of the subjects, as noted in PE curriculum documents stating that ‘no teacher [of PE] can be regarded as successful unless his pupils assume good bodily positions naturally [HE]’ and develop ‘a useful, skillful and beautiful body [SS outcome]’ (Whitecombe & Tombs, 1943, p. 13).

Since another major goal of the eugenic National Fitness movement was to ensure students’ wise use of leisure time (Stewart, 1940), sport continued to evolve as an instrument of modern approaches to PE and a means to addressing the complex health issues leading to the degeneration of the state (Stanton, 1936–40). Therefore, it was during the eugenic National Fitness movement that the outcomes of PE, SS, and HE were acknowledged as overlapping in striving to achieve racial betterment and survival. To support students to be successful in sport, for example, they were encouraged to adhere to ‘the little trouble that self-discipline entails’ in regard to health decisions such as alcohol and tobacco consumption, because doing so was ‘worth the effort; for with it comes the satisfaction of steady improvement and ultimate achievement’ on the sporting field (Stanton, 1936–40, p. 13) in service of the eugenic goal of racial betterment and national strength. For instance, the links between health choices and sporting performances were identified as having broader implications on those students [citizens] ‘who desire the “finer fitness” [gained through PE] for the higher social duties of life’ (Stanton, 1936–40, p. 13). Consequently, this thesis concluded that there was growing acknowledgement of the capacity for the subjects to work together to support broader national imperatives, such as promoting model citizens and ensuring the survival of the White population.

Amidst the ‘co-relationship’ between the subjects, it was still evident that PE remained prominent over SS and HE, signified by the fact that this subject was supported by

formal curricula that projected its aim was to educate students on the relationship between being physically active and creating 'fit' and healthy citizens (Stanton, 1936–1940). The significant curriculum shifts that saw PE leave its Military Drill origins in favour of the eugenic ideals tied to the impetus for National Fitness meant a wider range of sporting activities were included in the formal PE curriculum, in line with this politically-driven social movement. The status of PE was also elevated during the National Fitness movement, as traditional sports such as swimming and games, previously organised as separate, were covered by the PE curriculum. Although the 'co-relationships' between the subjects focused on ensuring young people were functioning at the highest level of citizenship in line with eugenic imperatives (Gallagher, 1931), there was widespread evidence that the status of PE was challenged compared to the other subjects in the school curriculum. For example, there were commentaries referring to PE as 'only a branch of the education of the people—a branch that has been pushed somewhat into the background in our anxiety to push the academic or scholastic on to a necessarily higher plane' (Turner, 1937, p. 50). A major explanation for the poor status afforded to PE was that it had become apparent that examinable and academic subjects were more important than those practical subjects focused on the 'human being' (Turner, 1937, p. 50), an attitude which evolved as a sustained theme throughout the histories of these subjects up until 2012. Moreover, the attitude in the secondary school, too often met with, was to regard PE as just another subject for which there is not time (Sutton, 1940, p. 28). Amongst these pressures on the education system in a changing world, it was documented that Australia 'lagged behind other countries in PE and 'non-state [private] schools in NSW have led the way in PE' (Tildesley, 1938, p. 52), which flagged potential issues in expressions of PE in public schools.

Although SS also fell under the umbrella of 'practical' subjects, a sub-theme to emerge from the eugenic period was the rise of the status of SS. The reason for this was that sport was tied with matters of national interest like the promotion of international sporting success, which was perceived as a means to project Australia's comparative political and social stability to the world during the volatile time of war. Therefore, SS was considered important to broader political and social goals, as Australia had 'loitered' while the rest of the world had gone on to succeed in terms of international sporting performances ("We must be fit", 1939, p. 3). This premise was exemplified by Drummond's push for the inclusion of Australia's national games as part of the impetus

for PE curriculum during the National Fitness movement and in response to the nation's poor results at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games (p. 3). On a final note, the status of SS was also elevated in the curriculum, given that the NSW public school sports system provided representative avenues to promote national and international sporting success as part of the political and social agenda of the eugenic National Fitness movement.

Summary

Evidence suggests that during the eugenic era the three subjects developed somewhat of a 'co-relationship' (Sutton, 1941, p. 27) in satisfying eugenic imperatives as opposed to PE dominating the other two subjects, as seen during the military years. The connections between SS and PE were found to have raised the profile of SS as the nature of games and sport were complementary to the wider political and social imperatives focused on racial survival and betterment; this could also be demonstrated by the commitment to international sporting success endorsed by the NSW public school sport system's representative pathway. Although the status of PE was still higher than SS and HE in the curriculum, it was noted that subjects tied to practical outcomes were increasingly challenged in terms of their status in the NSW public education system, amidst the push for more academic subjects as the focus of education during the eugenic period.

8.3 Pinnacle years: 1950–1989

The period 1950 to 1989 was characterised by the 'pinnacle' years of PE and the 'golden years' of SS, accompanied by the gradual realisation of the importance of HE in the curriculum. These upwards trends in the subjects were attributed to their value to rebuilding the nation through productive and active citizenship as a marker of social progress following WWII. It was thus projected that the subjects could work together to achieve overlapping goals focused on encouraging healthy and active lifestyles, particularly amongst the state's youth. This period highlighted the growing momentum of the interdependent nature of the subjects in terms of their focus and outcomes in the lead-up to the establishment of the KLA of PDHPE in 1990.

The 1950s through to the 1960s remained the high point for PE and SS in the newly framed NSW education system centred on teaching pluralist values and producing moral citizens committed to active leisure time activities to help counteract the effects

of modernity, such as advancements in technology, as expressed by the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952). Typical acknowledgements of PE and SS working together to achieve such national goals were also captured by the media, which confirmed that PE lessons were now ‘designed to operate side by side with the sporting program of the school’ (“Emphasis on PT”, 1957, p. 24). Meanwhile, PE authorities pointed to the ‘increased interest in participation in sport in schools, as well as to the higher standards [in SS competitions] as proof of the value of the general PE classes’ (“Emphasis on PT”, 1957, p 24). These accolades in the combined history of these subjects consolidated the reciprocal and longstanding relationship between PE and SS, which was strengthened through provisions under the *1952 Primary Curriculum* and *Wyndham Report* (1957), as will be discussed.

The inclusion of the ‘Sports Afternoon’ as part of provisions for PE in the *1952 Primary Curriculum*, for instance, exemplified that both subjects complemented the goal of promoting the pride ‘fundamental to our national games’ (NSW DOE, 1952, p. 40). In this manner, the prescriptions for sports to be played during PE met wider political and social goals focused on strengthening the nation’s identity and international sporting success in the lead-up to the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, which in turn raised the profile of SS, as students were increasingly exposed to sport in PE. The relationships between PE and SS were also supported by the *Wyndham Report’s* (1957) push for students to be taught the mechanics, rules, and organisation of all the major sports to aid development of their skills in the game. Due to the stronger prominence of PE and SS, the provisions in HE was proposed as a function of these subjects, just as they were during the eugenic years. For example, giving way to the temptation to drink alcohol (i.e. a health behaviour) was positioned as jeopardising an individual’s ability to demonstrate self-control, moral power, and remain ‘on the throne’ (Stanton, 1957, p. 89), which translated to winning on the sporting field.

It was also the *Wyndham Report’s* (1957) requirement that all NSW public secondary schools were to be built with gymnasiums, outdoor PE areas, playing fields, tennis courts, and often swimming pools. The provision of these facilities helped strengthen the connections between PE and SS and raised the profile of both subjects in the school curriculum. The general high profile allocated to these subjects was a flow-on effect from the national 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games campaign, as the subjects were

conceived to encourage active lifestyles and international sporting success. Given that the motivations of the *Wyndham Report* (1957) were also tied to wider political and social developments, such as Australia's increasingly diverse school population following the influx of migrants, it was projected that PE and SS could together promote the Australian sporting culture and pride fundamental to our national identity, especially since school facilities were more conducive to provisions for these subjects. Again, HE was a function of PE and SS, as supplementary evidence corroborated that 'healthy sport is a splendid aid to self-control' in terms of health decisions such as refraining from over-consuming food (Stanton, 1957, pp. 34–35), which again inferred the interconnected outcomes of PE and SS were conducive to improved public health.

Therefore, there were signals that suggested PE and SS were also interrelated and interdependent to HE. For instance, the *1952 Primary School Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) reflected the first time in history that the subjects of PE and HE were named together—but allocated separate syllabi—in a formal curriculum document. The naming of the subjects together reinforced the overlapping capacity for the subject outcomes to achieve broader political and social agendas, such as building national character and strength and transmitting moral and civic heritage (NSW DOE, 1952). The political preoccupation with rebuilding the nation post-WWII and ensuring national progress by asserting that good 'health is wealth' (Stanton, 1957, p. 25) was endorsed by curriculum in HE for the first time at the secondary school level in the late 1950s. Such curriculum developments stimulated the gradual emphasis on the health outcomes of PE and sport in Australia towards the end of the 1960s, bringing national approaches to PE in line with those implemented in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Britain (Steinhardt, 1992). Although the inclusion of HE in the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) was a feat for the subject, it lost some of the significance gained during Periods One and Two. The plateaued state of HE was a result of NSW becoming a more conservative state based on concerns, especially amongst religious groups, that it would be more appropriate to address certain health topics in the home setting—such as the delivery of Sex Education by mothers—as previously noted.

A significant theme to emerge from the 1970s through to 1989 was the fact that the subjects could work together to achieve national public health goals, which marked the

gradual realisation of the importance of HE in the curriculum. The growing concerns over drug use, sex education, risk-taking behaviours, and threats of an AIDS epidemic, for example, bolstered the profile of HE in the curriculum, as these youth health issues were noted as jeopardising the future of the nation. In particular, it was provisions under the *1972 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1972) that suggested schools in NSW had taken responsibility for Australia's health status; this raised the importance of HE in the curriculum, as it signified that 'something [was] being done' to address public health and social issues (Stolz, 1972, p. 72).

The move towards focusing on the health benefits of PE was prompted by research indicating Australia was 'facing unprecedented [health] problems as a result of physical inactivity' and that 'the number of very obese people, often quite young, whom one sees in Australia, is an indication in itself of the poor state of the nation's health' (Bloomfield, 1975, p.4). Consequently, the influence of the public health agenda meant that HE was responsible for bringing about desirable changes in behaviour, as individuals were instructed to assume responsibility for their actions and choices according to the public health discourses. Moreover, the public health movement implied that the outcomes of the individual subjects were complementary; for example, it was reported that the number of obese and overweight children and children with diabetes could be reduced through systems of Sport and Recreation to help with weight control, which was identified as the major cause of these lifestyle-related health issues (Bloomfield, 1975).

It was the infiltration of neo-progressive ideals into the NSW education system, as noted by Barcan (2009), that positioned PE and SS as servants of HE outcomes focused on redressing the impact of significant cultural and economic change. Firstly, the contributing role played by PE and SS to HE outcomes was confirmed by the allocation of a specific 'Sports Period' separate to provisions for PE in the *1972 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1972) for the first time in history. Although the Sports Period was to be conducted in addition to the three major types of PE lessons—Gymnastics, Games, and Dance—in this curriculum (NSW DOE, 1972), the outcomes of these were synergetic with promoting PA amongst youths, in turn promoting the nation's public health agenda. Secondly, neo-progressive approaches to education saw the increased involvement of special interest groups to further promote the active lifestyles and

wellbeing of Australians. For example, ACHPER initiated a national campaign through the compulsory DPE, which was in addition to the PE component of the *1972 Primary Curriculum*. Since the compulsory DPE program was a health-based PE initiative, its very nature typified the capacity for the three subjects to work together to combat emerging lifestyle-related health issues by promoting lifelong PA patterns (ACHPER, 1986), thus the subjects had established a co-operative relationship.

Amidst acknowledgements that HE relied on the mediums of PE and SS to achieve its outcomes, the elevated status of HE was also a result of the declining status of PE and SS from the 1970s. For instance, it was noted that Primary School Principals had the power to reduce PE lessons by 20 minutes to make room for the more ‘academic’ subjects in the overcrowded curriculum, while perceptions existed amongst high schools that PE was a casual and expensive ‘recreational diversion from academic study’ (Turnbull, 1971, p. 7).

Summary

Although the subjects were still considered separate between 1950 and 1989, there were signs that the approaches to teaching the individual subjects had identified the contributions of the other two subjects as valuable to its success as part of the formal school curriculum. The reason for this was that PE and SS were widely accepted as platforms for students’ enjoyment and commitment to a range of lifelong physical activities supporting the public health movement and encouraging individuals to take personal responsibility for their improved health (Crawford, 1983). In turn, health-based PE approaches started to emerge and reinforce that the subjects could work together to address the growing economic burden of poor health in general, subsequently writing HE into formal curriculum and continuing the steep growth of this subject through to the end of the 1980s. However, PE remained prominent and the status of SS remained high during its ‘golden years’, as it was a component of the PE curriculum and these two subjects offered a means to counteract the health effects of modernity, such as inactive lifestyles due to technological advancements.

8.4 Conclusion: Three-legs are stronger than one

While the subjects sat independently in the curriculum from the outset of compulsory schooling, this chapter demonstrated that over time PE, SS, and HE were increasingly

recognised as inextricably interwoven to one another, more so than originally thought. At the same time, analysis of the evolving nature of their relationships indicated there was a hierarchy between the subjects and other subjects in the school curriculum. From 1880 to 1919 (military years), PE served the political imperative of producing an army of disciplined young men to defend the nation during times of war; consequently, this subject was dominant over SS and HE. Between 1920 and 1949 (eugenic years), PE was still prominent as its expressions were closely aligned with and served the eugenically-driven political and social movement to be 'fit'. Meanwhile, PE and SS developed a partnership, given the growing emphasis on international sporting success on the Olympic Games arena as a means of promoting a nation's strength and stability during this eugenic reconstruction period post-WWI. At the same time, SS and HE gained momentum as they were positioned as servants to PE and the reigning objectives of the National Fitness movement. Finally, the years between the 1950s and 1989 saw PE and SS reach their peak, as they were confirmed to serve the public health and social impetus to produce physically active and healthy citizens. These conditions meant that HE was on the verge of taking prominence over the other two subjects in the lead-up to the establishment of PDHPE, but not at this stage.

The most significant contribution to emerge from this new interpretation of the history of the NSW public education system was that towards the late 1980s the interconnectedness between all three subjects was more overt than in the past, based on the political and social agendas served by their overlapping outcomes. This conclusion coincided with Ramsay's (1969, p. 9) tripod analogy to suggest that the relationships between PE, SS, and HE were so significant that the three areas should not be 'divorced' from one another in a history of curriculum or NSW public education, as each aspect [subject] was essential to the 'tripod'. It was also clear that the tripod was 'lopsided' due to the prominence of one of the subjects over the other two, which was PE throughout the 1880 to 1989 period; however, the next chapter will highlight the impact of a perceived 'weak' leg, notably SS and to a lesser extent PE, on the overall balance of status (i.e. the tripod) during the 1990 to 2012 period.

Chapter Nine: Discussion

The theoretical frameworks of a history of education methodology and curriculum history were applied to provide an explanation for the findings presented in Chapters Four to Eight in relation to the Research Questions, which will be treated in turn. Overwhelmingly, the individual and combined histories of the subjects served to illustrate the influence of politico-social factors on the shaping of curricula in these subjects, the overlapping nature of the subjects, and the interplay of status between the subjects in the context of the NSW education system from 1880 to 2012. The combined history highlighted that the notion of the ‘survival of the fittest’ was at play, as the subjects were found to dissociate or connect with one another to maintain or pursue an identity consonant with externally-driven imperatives and/or to uphold the subjects’ or KLA’s status quo in the broader curriculum.

9.1 RQ1: What factors influenced the historical development of PE, SS, and HE in NSW public schools from 1880 to 2012?

This history of education study revealed that it was political and social contexts as well as broader changes in the requirements of the NSW education system that influenced developments in these subjects. It was found that the ‘what’ factors in the histories of the individual subjects from 1880 to 1989 were shaped by the ‘why’, and the inverse relationship was also found to be true; consequently, the ‘what’ and the ‘why’ could not be separated and so were treated together. This study concluded that the major factors influencing the subject histories could be grouped into three interrelated categories: (i) political factors (i.e. state, national, and international events, politics, and practices), (ii) educational factors (i.e. paradigm shifts and changes to the requirements of the NSW and Australian education systems), and (iii) social factors (i.e. cultural trends including scientific and technological advancements, morals, values, attitudes, and societal beliefs). The finding that these major factors were weighted differently over time in the broader context of the general history of NSW and Australia aligned with Goodson’s theories (1983, 1988), which maintained that education systems and curriculum were a reflection of different locales and time periods. Therefore, the nature and interaction of the factors and their influence on the historical development of the subjects will be discussed to answer RQ1.

The first set of curriculum changes in the subjects were perceived to be politically-driven; however, it gradually became recognised that the political imperatives influencing curriculum developments were responding and tied to social factors, and together these factors shaped the education histories of the subjects. This thesis was able to arrive at this conclusion as the individual and collective histories presented coincided with Goodson's (1983, 1988) and Musgrave's (1972, 1978, 1979) theories of curriculum and education history, whereby curriculum developments and changes could not be isolated from the interplay of significant events and factors. As this thesis has shown, curriculum developments in the subjects were a direct response to political and social matters associated with WWI and II, the National Fitness Movement, the world stage of the Olympic Games, evolving national health priorities, and changing requirements of educational policies. For example, the history of PE activities moved from various expressions of Military Drill complementing the political imperative to prepare the nation for war through to the provision of games and sports to produce 'fit' citizens and ensure the survival of the White population during the eugenic years of a post-War society. Concerns over the consequences of having a nation of 'unfit' citizens led to changes in PE from the 1950s through to 2012 to emphasise the health benefits of engaging in PA to prevent modern health issues.

The explanations for the shifts in the history of a subject, as in the case of PE noted above, were offered in accordance with Musgrave's (1978) view that curriculum developments reflect the dominant ideologies of broader social structures in society, as well as Kliebard and Franklin's (1983, p. 139) claim that these ideologies dictate 'what gets taught in schools'. Just like PE, the histories of SS and HE curricula were adaptive to changing political and social ideologies. For instance, throughout the history of SS the subject acted as a vehicle for a number of political and moral lessons, such as projecting the nation's sporting culture. This premise was demonstrated by the shift from inter-school sport competitions reflective of the need to ensure the citizen army was ready to 'win' on the battlefield in the formative years to facilitating a 'sports for all' approach from the 1970s that catered for students with a range of sporting abilities, rather than focusing solely on elite sportsmen and women. The curriculum shifts in SS were to encourage students to engage in SS as a means to be physically active, in turn minimising risks associated with emerging social health issues such as diabetes, in the same way PE was geared from the 1950s.

Although there was an absence of a history of HE from 1880 to 2012, this study found evidence suggesting branches of HE were conducted right from the time schooling was compulsory in NSW. The history of HE was traced in the mass media initially, until an umbrella subject was established in the *1952 Primary Curriculum*. Even from this point, it was the mass media in general that ‘forced the public at large to become aware of some of the social health problems raised in the [HE] syllabus’ (Colvin, 1971, p. 35). The media spotlighted a wide range of topics that overwhelmed the subject right from 1880, and these topics were included in the school curriculum under the umbrella of HE as a response to political and social concerns, such as threats to the population’s health following the spread of infectious and venereal disease in the formative years, resulting in the Hygiene Education movement in HE. In the eugenic period, these fears were heightened over the possibility of sex-related issues affecting racial survival; subsequently, the threat of an AIDS epidemic during the 1980s triggered the emergence of Sex Education and a specific stain of AIDS Education in the curriculum.

Hence, the interplay of politico-social factors, which sat within broader confines of the NSW and Australian education system, continued to account for curriculum developments in HE throughout its history. The nature of HE continued to evolve in response to the social panic concerning a growing youth culture, advancements in technology as an explanation for inactive citizens, and the spread of HIV/AIDS as noted above. The surge in lifestyle-related diseases re-shaped the focus of HE and positioned the subject as valuable to promoting healthy choices and lifestyles to reduce the nation’s health expenditure. The history of HE corroborated Kliebard and Franklin’s (1983) view that the most concrete expression of education in any period is embodied in the curriculum; in this case, the HE curriculum had evolved to parallel the changing nature of diseases affecting the population and was positioned as a means to addressing public fears over the major causes of poor health.

Another key finding to emerge was that the ideological shifts in teacher-education programs across all three subjects filtered down to create changes to the school curriculum. This discovery aligned with research by Musgrave (1973, p. 8) that found the social relations of curriculum production, and those who practice it such as lecturers and teachers, meant that the traditional direction of tertiary organisations helped dictate the definitions of a school subject. This thesis took the work of Musgrave (1973) further to suggest the inverse relationship was also true. For instance, the diversification of PE

to include games and sports in support of National Fitness ideals in the 1940s provided the impetus for the establishment of PETE institutions. Additionally, SS was considered 'extra-curricular' and optional until the *1952 Primary Curriculum* formalised a 'Sports Afternoon', which prompted the need for Sportsmasters and teachers to take responsibility for developing students' sports skills since sport was a substantial and thus valued component of the school curriculum. Meanwhile, the specialised nature of the topics falling under HE, such as Sex Education and PD, required teacher-training institutions to move beyond simply offering courses in Hygiene to align with these new inclusions. Thus, the politico-social factors shaping curriculum developments created a need for qualified specialists and teachers to ensure that the political and social factors driving educational changes in all three subjects, as expressed in curriculum shifts, were realised. For example, teachers of these subjects had become responsible for producing a society educated on the consequences of inactive lifestyles [PE], the transferability of the qualities of the games ideologies to citizenry values [SS], and AIDS and drug use [HE].

To conclude addressing RQ1, the histories of the subjects were found to be operating at two levels: the broad curriculum and the individual subject level. At a broad curriculum level, the predominant politico-social factors provided an understanding of the internal and changing nature of schooling in Australia and the NSW public education system during different time periods, in line with theories on curriculum and education history offered by Goodson and Musgrave. The broader changes at the NSW education system level filtered down to the subject level and were found to be responsible for creating shifts in the predominant paradigms that were presented as important and normal in a given context, thus supported the subject to achieve high social standing (Musgrave, 1973, 1978, 1979). For example, it was found that those with power in a discipline (i.e. curriculum writers, medical professionals) determined the focus of a subject (i.e. the 'what' content knowledge) and presented this as an agreed 'normal science' (Musgrave, 1978, p. 29). Accordingly, the histories of these subjects served the latent function of illuminating 'what' knowledge was highly valued in that discipline (Musgrave, 1978, p. 29) at specific times in history.

Overall, the theoretical framework of curriculum history enabled this study to provide a historical account of the subjects with consideration of the accompanying politico-social factors (i.e. the 'why'). By locating the individual subject histories in the broader

context of the NSW and Australian education systems, this study revealed a long history of inferred relationships between the subjects. In doing so, this study revealed frictions on the place and purpose of PE, SS, and HE in NSW public schools from 1880 through to 2012, which leads into RQ2.

9.2 RQ2: How did the factors driving curriculum development and change affect the relationships between the subjects of PE, SS, and HE and their status from 1880 until 2012?

This thesis was pioneering as it documented for the first time that the separate subjects were in fact interdependent from the outset of compulsory schooling in NSW. Despite the subjects possessing separate identities with their own respective histories, this thesis revealed that it was politico-social factors that prompted changes to the requirements of the NSW and Australian education systems and subsequent provisions for PE, SS, and HE curricula, which signified the usefulness of the subjects working together. In responding to these factors, the nature and strength of the relationships between the subjects were found to often be subtle and at times volatile, which in turn had implications for the status of the subjects in comparison to one another and other learning areas. In providing an analysis of the factors affecting the nature of the relationships and status between the subjects, RQ2 is answered according to four key themes: (i) the working relationships and changing of the guard, (ii) the subjects were ‘cooperating to compete’, (iii) the blurred boundaries between the subjects, and (iv) the reputations of ‘practical’ and ‘less academic’ subjects in a climate of national and international benchmarks. The first two themes are directly linked to the politico-social factors that have influenced the changing nature and evolution of these subjects in NSW and in Australia to reach the final product of a unified PDHPE curriculum. However, the third and fourth themes suggest that a lack of clarity on the nature of the subjects, how they co-existed in the curriculum, and issues of accountability tied to the public reporting on student performance also influenced the relationships and status of the subjects.

9.2.1 Theme One: The working relationships and changing of the guard

The combined history from 1880 to 2012 begins with PE as predominant and ends with HE as the leading subject. This section will highlight that it was the operations of the

prominent politico-social factors and their influence in shaping curriculum developments and changes that elevated the status of one subject over the other two at specific points in history.

At the outset of compulsory schooling up until the 1970s, PE in its various expressions was pre-eminent over HE and SS. In the beginning, PE was positioned as dominant over SS and HE as it served the political imperative of producing an army of disciplined young men to defend the nation during times of war. Ultimately, all three subjects were found to function as institutional sites for the regulative work of physically disciplining youths; however, the literature only noted this premise to be a major discourse of PE history, as conceived by Kirk (1998). From 1920, the political and social goals were focused on supporting National Fitness and the eugenic ideals of racial betterment through the production of healthy and active citizens, a focus that persisted until the 1950s. Since this agenda was more closely tied to the nature of PE, this subject prevailed as dominant amidst signs that SS and HE could also meet eugenic ideals, primarily by encouraging students to participate in sport and PA and realise the health benefits of doing so in support of the survival of the White population.

Despite the fact that school-based HE became a legitimate part of the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) for the first time in history, PE remained the predominant subject until the late 1970s, as it was viewed to be ‘just as much a teaching subject as any other subject in the school curriculum’ (NSW DOE PEB, 1960, p. 177). From the 1950s, SS had evolved to be synergistic with PE, as it was perceived that the subjects could work together to produce the nation’s athletes. This was exemplified by the provisions for a ‘Sports Afternoon’ in the *1952 Primary Curriculum* (NSW DOE, 1952) to coincide with the lead-up to Melbourne hosting Australia’s first Olympic Games in 1956. The 1950s through to the 1970s thus saw PE align with SS and this co-relationship in turn raised the profile of the latter to enjoy its ‘golden years’, as exemplified by the inclusion of a mandatory ‘Sports Period’ in the *1972 Primary Curriculum*.

From 1990 onwards, the combined history clearly demonstrated the growing prominence of HE over PE and SS. The establishment of the KLA of PDHPE confirmed the subjects should work together, along with the support of PD, to encourage active and healthy lifestyles to combat the nation’s economic burden of poor health, thus

highlighting HE as dominant. Since modern health issues were embedded in social factors, the first versions of the PDHPE curriculum adopted a preventative role as part of the wider public health movement and subsequent HPS initiative. From 1999, the revised PDHPE syllabi at all levels of schooling adopted a socio-cultural perspective to HE to parallel the national and global shift from the public health to the ‘new’ public health movement, in turn reinforcing the prominence of HE. Notably, PE and SS also became increasingly subordinate to HE from 1990 because the latter subject was conceived as the most appropriate forum to address sensitive, controversial, and/or emerging contemporary social health concerns such as obesity. In fact, PE and SS were positioned as facilitators of PA, which was a known determinant to combating lifestyle-related health issues and the social burden of poor health. Ultimately, the nature of PE was re-defined to more overtly encompass health supporting endeavours, as confirmed by Kirk (1998), who stated that PE had to re-define itself in order to remain educationally relevant. In doing so, PE maintained a place in the school curriculum given its capacity to minimise harm and promote healthy and active lifestyles and personal wellbeing, as justified by Stolz (2014). Despite the omission of SS and/or sport from the naming of the KLA, the subject was still by implication a means to experiencing movement and encouraging a commitment to life-long participation in PA through PE. Additionally, extra-curricular SS was sustained as a mandatory component of NSW public education; in turn, provisions for sport in the PE component of PDHPE and competitive SS were noted as supporting health outcomes, thus reinforcing the dominant status of HE.

Overall, the nature of curriculum in these subjects and the relationships between them, as expressed in the social institution of the NSW public school education system, provided an avenue for standardising a certain stock of knowledge as needing to be passed onto succeeding generations (Musgrave, 1978). The prominence of PE over SS and HE was strongly supported until 1989, as expressions of PE were articulated as exemplary of education inextricably intertwined *with* the physical in a state of mind-body balance to support educational outcomes to the ‘highest possible degree’ (BOE, 1911a, p. 10). In line with the work of Shilling (2004) and Stolz (2014) respectively, this thesis asserts that PE was predominant until 1989 as ‘all education involve[d] the physical education of the body’ (Shilling, 2004, p. xx), thus PE possessed a valid place in the curriculum.

The prominent politico-social factors and crises tied to public health issues offered another explanation for the rapid growth of HE from the time the KLA of PDHPE was established in 1990. The post-1990s period also signified that the subjects had gradually overcome their longstanding separation in the NSW education system, based on their synergetic aims and overlapping outcomes in support of the nation's public health, as hinted by Stolz's (2014, p. 17) conceptualisation of 'PE as health prevention and promotion'. At the same time, the subjects demonstrated a growing reliance on one another; for example, the value of 'PE as sport education' as conceived by Stolz (2014, p. 23) helped to address public health outcomes and better meet the wider goals of education in NSW and Australia, such as those expressed in the *National Goals of Schooling* (AEC, 1989). Overall, PE and sport in education still had a place in the school curriculum given the interconnected nature of the subjects, despite their subordination to HE.

9.2.2 Theme Two: The subjects were 'cooperating to compete'

Along with references to the interplay of the relationships between the subjects, Musgrave (1988) theorised that curriculum histories should also consider the educational significance and status of a subject over time. Therefore, Theme Two builds on Theme One to fill the gap in a history of education of the changing status amongst PE, SS, and HE and their comparative status to other subjects from 1880 to 2012, and does this by delving deeper to reveal that the subjects were 'cooperating to compete' for status in the school curriculum. These shifting power relations were exemplary of history of education and curriculum history theoretical frameworks, as the influential politico-social factors not only shaped the processes for deciding 'what gets taught in schools', but reiterated that the ways in which curricula undergo change are always and inevitably tied to the matter of whose needs and interests will be served (Kliebard & Franklin, 1983, p. 139). This theory was played out in the individual and combined histories, as the subjects appeared to come together or delineate as a reaction to politico-social factors from 1880 right through until 2012.

The first significant example of the subjects cooperating occurred early in their history, whereby Military Drill [PE] was positioned to physically prepare young men for war while Hygiene Education [HE] was responsible for ensuring these youths were healthy enough to participate. Thus, the respective outcomes of PE and HE were increasingly

found to overlap, as the subjects together were responsible for diagnosing and treating physical and mental defects, particularly following the introduction of diversified systems of PE according to Physical Culture and Swedish Gymnastics from the early 1900s. The cooperative relationship between PE and HE was sustained through to the eugenic National Fitness movement, when PE also reached out to SS to consolidate the nation's identity and counteract the economic and political uncertainties causing racial degeneration post-WWII and the Depression. At the same time, Australia's success at the Olympic Games from 1952 to 1972 encouraged the status and growth of the benefits of the cooperative relationship between PE and SS in schools to ensure continued sporting accolades on the international stage.

From the time the KLA of PDHPE was established, however, there were growing signs that the subjects were 'cooperating to compete' with one another to retain and/or regain status compared to other KLAs such as English and Mathematics. This finding was more noticeable during the 1990 to 2012 period based on the increased public reporting of student performance in state, national, and international benchmarking, as will be discussed in more detail in Theme Four. For example, it was the establishment of the theorised *HSC PDHPE Course* (NSW BOS, 1994) that enabled this state to meet the *Senate Inquiry's* (COA, 1992, pp. 28–29) recommendation that PE should be provided as a discipline at the upper secondary level with 'rigour equal to that of any other discipline', which was a historical feat for not only the status of PE but also the KLA of PDHPE. To ensure the 'practical' subject of PE retained value at the high-stakes level, it consolidated ties with HE by embedding its focus in a human science approach (i.e. physiology, physics, and medicine) in the revised *1999 Stage 6 PDHPE Syllabus* to appear more 'academic'. The case of PE and PDHPE at the high-stakes level illustrated the work of Goodson (1998, p. 9), who conceived that a subject needed to be viewed as 'high status knowledge' in order to be viewed as a legitimate area of the curriculum.

The subjects and KLA were not just 'cooperating to compete' at the high-stakes level; rather, it was found that the tensions amongst and between the subjects were felt at all levels. For example, the shift from adopting a harm minimisation approach in the inaugural version of the *7–10 PDHPE Syllabus* to a socio-cultural perspective in the revised PDHPE syllabi were to support the legitimacy of the KLA. This finding was in

line with the work of Kirk (1997), who suggested that a shift in focus to concentrate on the social and cultural aspects of a subject was necessary to prove the value and appropriateness of subjects to the school curriculum. The diminished place of SS in the curriculum had wider implications for the nation and community sport profile; for example, the federal (and NSW state) government's failure to make SS compulsory was one of a number of explanations offered following the nation's disappointing results at the 2012 London Olympic Games (Stevenson & Robertson, 2012) and students became more interested in recreational sport participation over playing traditional team sport competitions.

Still under the theme that the subjects were 'cooperating to compete', there were minor references within these disciplines that suggested the subjects had in fact manipulated the implied relationships amongst one another to validate their status in the curriculum. For example, syllabus writers differentiated HE outcomes from PE ones and made PE theoretical rather than practical in the revised *Stage 6 PDHPE Syllabus* (NSW BOS, 1999), which was the first time in the history of the subject and NSW education system that practical PE lessons had not been included as part of the formal curriculum. This observation in the post-1990 history was consistent with Goodson's (1983) theory that in climates of curriculum change, such as the HSC Reform, traditional subjects often viewed the proposal of 'new' subjects 'as a threat to the integrity and status of their own subject' (p. 195). Therefore, this thesis conceived the delineation of PDHPE from practical PE experiences as an internal curriculum change made to retain the status of this KLA via emphasis on theoretical HE components at the high-stakes level.

Such an observation complemented the work of Shilling (2004), who found that the mind/body dualism situated the body as inferior to the mind, and led this thesis to conclude that 'conceptual/theoretical' subjects such as Mathematics were considered to be superior over 'practical' subjects such as PE and SS. The same premise also offered an explanation as to why PE and SS struggled for status compared to the more theoretical subject of HE during the post-1990 period of overcrowded curriculum, especially at the senior secondary level. Although PE and SS were both 'practical' subjects, there was an internal battle between these subjects that reinforced the theme of this section, reflecting the fact that the subjects were 'cooperating to compete'. For example, sport in modern times had attempted to move away from being an

encompassed part of PE to having an independence deserving of separate status and recognition (Zeigler, 1998), as was the case in NSW, where SS was conducted as separate to PDHPE in the form of extra-curricular sport. At the same time, PE had attempted to distance itself from becoming channeled ‘narrowly towards the pursuit of movement objectives and the development of elite performance’ to ensure it was viewed as a ‘conceptual/theoretical subject that served an educative purpose’ (Pill, 2007, p. 7). This finding complemented the work of Goodson (1983), who noted that when the school curriculum appears to be in a ‘constant flux’, subjects gained or retained a position by taking up and promoting certain stocks of knowledge to ‘accord with the status position of the subject’ (p. 5).

Despite the challenges questioning the legitimacy of practical subjects, PE and SS retained a place in the NSW public education system from 1880 to 2012 as they more overtly contributed to the nation’s health supporting endeavours; however, their value was increasingly downplayed at the high-stakes level of the curriculum. Amongst the challenges undermining the legitimacy of ‘practical’ subjects at this level of schooling, the HSC PDHPE Course has not needed to ‘compete’ for student numbers as it has grown in popularity in NSW from 1994, as students have increasingly chosen to study subjects out of interest (Smith, 2017).

9.2.3 Theme Three: The blurred boundaries between the subjects

The fact that the subjects could work together to address the same politico-social factors affecting the state and nation offered an explanation for why the relationships between the subjects have been longstanding. However, leading scholars in PE, SS, and HE have tended to portray that the subjects achieved these same goals, but as independent entities. For example, Kirk (1998, p. 16) credited PE for the ‘intricate and detailed attention to working on the bodies of children, to their correct deportment, and to their productive development’. However, this thesis presented many examples that extended such research to conclude that both SS and HE contributed to these same outcomes. In turn, a sub-theme to emerge from this conclusion was that the co-existence of the subjects had been overlooked based on enduring uncertainties over how all three subjects co-existed, which were extended to a lack of clarity on how they were related in the enactment of the curriculum until now.

Although confusion over what counted as legitimate subject knowledge in the subjects was not new, this thesis found that the blurred boundaries between the subjects and the lack of consensus on how the subjects co-existed also offered an explanation for their struggle for status in the curriculum. This finding coincided with the work of Garrett and Plitz (1999, p. 204), who concluded that PDHPE was characterised by the ‘least compatible “bundles” of curriculum content compared to other learning areas’. Meanwhile, Penney (2010) corroborated that secondary school courses in the learning area on a national level have to date been invariably subject-oriented, focusing on Health *or* PE *or* Outdoor Education rather than being taught as interconnected, based on the lack of clarity concerning how the subjects co-existed. Similarly, the COA (1992) stated that PE should not be considered ‘under the umbrella of Health’; rather, PE was to be viewed as ‘the main curriculum area of which Sport Education and SS are important subsets’ (p. 4). When the subjects were dealt with separately there was a lack of clarity on their exact nature, even amongst educationists; for instance, Colvin (1971, p. 35) found that the introduction of a broad syllabus of HE in the *1965 Syllabus in Physical and Health Education* was often misrepresented as a ‘Sex Syllabus’. Similarly, Pill (2009) found interchangeable uses of the terms *Physical Activity* and *PE* in this subject area across different Australian states and territories. Therefore, the combined history of PE, SS, and HE contributed scholarship that was of value, as it offered clarity on the longstanding co-existence of all three subjects in the NSW public education system from 1880 to 2012.

It was found that the lack of clarity on the nature of these overlapping subjects extended to ‘what it meant to be a teacher of Health and Physical Education’ (Pill, 2007, p. 2) and was compounded by the longstanding expectation that attending a NSW public school involved having access to teachers who were ‘providers of elite material for sport’ (Tappin, 1982, p. 75). Due to the specialised nature of all three subjects and the fact that the Generalist Primary School Teacher was required to teach all learning areas, there was a tendency for schools to defer these ‘skills and frills’ subjects (Stodolsky, 1988, p. 4). Moreover, sport was most likely to be outsourced to external providers; a reason for this trend, according to findings presented in this thesis, was that teacher-training institutions were found to support specialised teaching in PE and HE, but not SS. As a result, lack of consensus on the responsibilities of teachers in these subjects and potential conflicts with more ‘educational’ roles in the ‘crowded curriculum’ and

high-stakes testing post-1990s period help explain the slide in status of the practical subjects of PE and SS.

The fact that a combined history was not logical, and was confounded by factors such as unanswered questions concerning how the subjects co-existed and who should teach the subjects, provided an explanation for the absence of a historical study that considered the subjects together until now. In filling the gap, the combined history highlighted that the subjects were toing and froing between being conceived as connected to and/or separate from one another from 1880 to 2012 based on broader politico-social factors; this finding was in line with Musgrave's (1988) theories that curriculum histories offer an explanation of a particular set or sequence of events as pragmatic matter through descriptions specific to a context.

9.2.4 Theme Four: The reputations of 'practical' and 'less academic' subjects in a climate of national and international benchmarks

The last major theme found to influence the status of the subjects was the growing impact of national and international reporting of students' standards of performance. From 1989, the establishment of the Basic Skills Testing Program and subsequent international and national benchmarks meant that teachers, schools, and governments were increasingly accountable for student outcomes. Since the three subjects served politico-social roles beyond those specific to their discipline, the subjects had a presence in the curriculum from 1880 to 2012. However, the climate of the 'crowded curriculum' from the 1970s and national and international benchmarks from the 1980s had major implications for the status of the subjects in the school curriculum, as will be demonstrated.

The finding that these 'practical' and 'less academic' subjects struggled for status in the climate of high-stakes benchmarking was in fact not a new trend, but rather a continuation of a long history of marginalisation. Although this trend was common to all three subjects from the outset of schooling, it was the long history of PE—plagued by tensions and debates concerning the 'nature of essential or "worthwhile" knowledge' and its value as an examinable 'academic' subject (Fitzclarence & Tinning, 1990, p. 169)—that received the most attention in scholarship, given its dominance in the

curriculum. Despite the eugenic imperative for PE during the 1940s, for example, research noted ‘the place of PE [was] not yet properly realised ... [and] the separation of education into physical and mental [strands was] convincing evidence that our [NSW] conception of education is still incomplete’ (Sutton, 1941, p. 83). Meanwhile, Kirk (1998, p. 3) concluded that the history of PE was ‘invariably the product of contestation and struggle’; however, his study did not provide detailed explanations as to ‘why’ this was the case, which was a gap filled by this thesis.

From the 1970s, it was the impact of the ‘crowded curriculum’ (Thompson, 1972) that placed a squeeze on ‘practical’ subjects, which was compounded by state, national, and international high-stakes benchmark testing. The state and national education systems were increasingly scrutinised as the results of such testing received significant media attention; for example, reports on the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) from 1992 and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) from 2000, in addition to the NAPLAN from 2008, highlighted Australia’s sliding position on an international scale. The issue was widespread, with the declining literacy and numeracy levels of students identified across all school jurisdictions, and these levels had continued to fall since 2000 (Munro & Bagshaw, 2016). The assessment of numeracy and literacy skills as part of these standardised tests invariably identified that those aspects of education deemed important are in fact those that are measured as part of benchmark testing. Consequently, the inclusion of practical subjects in the formal curriculum was positioned as part of the reason for the decreased literacy and numeracy levels, as they took away teaching time for English and Mathematics in an already crowded curriculum.

Despite PE becoming an examinable subject at the highest levels in many countries including Australia and the UK (Green, 2000), PE—along with HE and SS—is not included in NAPLAN, PISA, or TIMSS testing. The reason for this is that the nature of PE is embedded in physical performance, attitudes, and behavioural aspects that do not lend themselves to this type of standardised testing. Instead, PE in particular—due to its practical and ‘extra-curricular’ nature—is perceived as ‘non-cognitive’ (Sparkes & Templin, 1992, p. 124). As a result, the high-stakes international and national standardised testing reinforced ‘what one suspects [which] is that PE [and SS] is universally lower ... in the pecking order of school subjects’ (p. 124). Hence, the

controversy on whether PE and SS contributed legitimate knowledge to obtain a worthy place in the school curriculum (Gore, Ladwig, Amosa, & Griffiths, 2008) explains why there has been a squeeze on these subjects since the 1990s.

In a climate where scholars such as Connell (2010, 2013), Harvey (2005), and Marginson (2006) have argued that the decline in educational achievements is attributable to neoliberal policies or lack of school funding, this thesis extended that these same principles provide an explanation for the state of the subjects under investigation here. Since funding for education was allocated to those subjects that correlate to improved academic results and students' standards of performance on a state, national, or international scale, this trend translated into the diminished state of all three subjects and the KLA in primary and secondary NSW public schools from the 1990s. The reason for this was that the state of 'panic' about Australian education standards was accompanied by concerns highlighting the lack of tangible educational benefits arising from undertaking these subjects and KLA, as the NSW education system, policy makers, educationists, and potentially parents and students were under increased pressure to focus on 'more academic' and reportable subjects as part of schooling. For example, schools that achieved low results in the NAPLAN benchmarks received funding and support for numeracy- and literacy-targeted initiatives (Gotsis, 2015). Yet reports concerning the poor quality of PE and SS in NSW schools went unaddressed, with the effects filtering into society, as the ABS (2012) found that only two-thirds (63%) of children aged 5–14 years had participated in organised sport or dancing at least once outside school.

Summary

Overall, the individual and combined histories demonstrated that the subjects developed interdependent relationships to defend the status quo and/or promote curriculum change in terms of what was 'natural' or 'normal' in a given time and politico-social context, which reinforced Goodson's (1983, 1988) and Kirk's (1998) theories on the socialising nature of curriculum. In particular, this finding supported the notion that the history of PE, together with SS and HE, consolidated the educational and social links between the ancient ideal of developing 'healthy minds in healthy bodies' and the contemporary vision of supporting the health of communities living in a 'salubrious world' (Mavor, 1997, p. 38). The fact that the three subjects served

politico-social agendas warranted their value at all levels of NSW schooling, despite their longstanding struggle for status as an individual and collective entity.

Over time, the three subjects developed strategic and cooperative—yet competitive—alliances with one another and other KLAs amidst contextual politico-social motivations. From 1880 to 2012, there was a noticeable shift in the equilibrium amongst the subjects: PE was predominant for as long as the physical robustness of its male population was deemed vital for the defence of the nation, until the establishment of PDHPE in 1990 saw PE and SS become subordinate to HE, with the ‘theoretical’ HE component of PDHPE heralded for retaining this KLA at the high-stakes HSC curriculum level. Given that certain subjects are seen as less important by policy makers, academics, teachers, and often parents (Kirk & Tinning, 1990), this study determined that it will not be until state, national, and international standardised testing and reporting of literacy, numeracy, and science standards are extended to include practical and aesthetic subjects such as PE and the Arts that resources and curriculum time will be allocated to these types of subjects to help prepare students for the high-stakes tests.

9.3 Conclusion: The survival of the fittest

The politico-social factors prominent in NSW, Australia, and international movements filtered through to curriculum development and changes in school subjects. These deductions are exemplary of Kliebard and Franklin’s (1983) theory that ‘what gets taught in schools’ is a direct reflection of the context surrounding the curriculum. In filling a gap in education and curriculum history, this thesis also recognised that the relationships between PE, SS, and HE evolved over time, but the subjects shared and endured the longstanding struggle for status. The combined history also found that the subjects seemed to stray or connect with one another to maintain or pursue an identity consonant with externally-driven imperatives and/or to uphold the subjects’ or KLA’s status quo in the broader curriculum. Overall, the histories presented in this thesis aligned with Musgrave’s and Goodson’s theories that suggested evolutions in a subject’s curriculum history are simply a resort to the complex and practical situations of the more recent present, which enabled this study to arrive at its core thesis statements presented in the closing chapter.

Chapter Ten: Thesis statements

This study formed a unique contribution to scholarship in the history of education and curriculum in the NSW and Australian systems and disciplines of PE, SS, and HE from 1880 and 2012. It was not until this study traced the events leading up to the establishment of the KLA of PDHPE in NSW that the subjects were in fact noted as interrelated from the outset of compulsory schooling in this state. Since it is the curriculum that prescribes ‘what’ to teach and what students need to learn (i.e. the ‘why’) to live in the current world (Goodson, 1983; Musgrave, 1978), the history of these subjects in isolation and together overwhelmingly illustrated the influence of politico-social factors in the shaping and re-defining of curricula. In turn, this study recognised that the process of producing a curriculum history was associated with tracing particular events that influenced ‘why’ specific topics were taught at certain periods in education history, and ‘how’ these events interacted to set new agendas throughout a curriculum’s history (Goodson, 1983). That is, the ‘who’ and the ‘why’ became as important as the ‘what’ in constructing a history of PE, SS, and HE in NSW public schools. Since the history of the ‘three-legged’ race found that the curriculum developments in the subjects, individually and collectively, responded to and served common politico-social agendas, it begs the question as to why the subjects were not formally acknowledged as overlapping from 1880.

A history of education methodology and theoretical framework of curriculum history in line with the work of Goodson and Musgrave was appropriate for this study, as it reflected a kaleidoscope of the factors shaping the history of PE, SS, and HE in the NSW public education system and Australia as a whole. Using a history of education methodology enabled this thesis to provide an evidence-based trajectory of the curriculum developments in the subjects individually and collectively with a socially constructed lens, based on the extracted lessons from the past (Goodson, 1983). Therefore, the major findings of this study aligned with Musgrave’s (1988) inferences that theories of curriculum history contribute more than an understanding of the past by participating in the complex and practical situations of the present to predict future curriculum developments. The revelations associated with the curriculum histories presented in this study also elicited an understanding of the fundamental issues influencing a subject over time to generate insights not only about past but also current

work in education (Goodson, 1983). Accordingly, the histories of PE, SS, and HE were exemplary of Goodson's (1983, p. 3) theory of curriculum history, which found that 'subjects are not monolithic identities but shifting amalgamations of subgroups and traditions'. This finding, as applied to the research questions, arrived at the following three thesis statements:

1. The PE, SS, and HE curricula were socially constructed and acted as instruments for serving broader NSW, Australian, and international political, educational, and societal factors from 1880 to 2012.
2. The combined history represented the gradual recognition by society at large—including politicians and educationists—that the subjects originated as discrete entities, but as time progressed developed partnerships to better serve politico-social factors.
3. The journey undertaken by the subjects revealed that they were valuable, not just as separate identities but as an interrelated entity 'cooperating to compete' in a crowded curriculum, with PE the dominant subject from 1880 to the 1970s, then HE from this point until 2012.

In 2012, the draft *Australian Curriculum: Health and Physical Education (HPE)* (ACARA, 2012a) was released to signify that the general standing of PE, SS, and HE had now entered a new and in many ways uncertain era in NSW public school education. It was clear that SS would no longer be mandated; however, this inaugural national curriculum area of HPE continued the theme which had placed HE at the forefront of the learning area from the 1970s. In terms of the 'three-legged' race history presented in thesis, the most likely implication of the continued decline of SS is a breakdown in the relationships between the three subjects for the first time in history. The finding suggesting the subordination of SS towards 2012 is contrary to the enduring value of SS to 'the events, the camaraderie, and the ideals of public schools' that had always been 'an integral part of education in NSW' (Collins et al., 1990, pp. 5–7). Upon reflection on the emerging themes, this study also concludes that there is scope for future studies to investigate the individual and combined histories of these three curricula Australia-wide and/or specific to other types of education systems, such as

the private or Catholic school system, to determine whether the evolutions, relationships, and academic standing of these subjects were equally influenced by politico-social factors within these other learning contexts.

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