

**THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF PEDAGOGIC  
DISCOURSE IN POLICY FOR PHYSICAL  
EDUCATION AND SCHOOL SPORT**

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**THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF PEDAGOGIC  
DISCOURSE IN POLICY FOR PHYSICAL  
EDUCATION AND SCHOOL SPORT**

**By**

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A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire in partial  
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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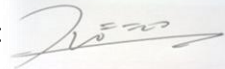
## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Bedfordshire.

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2014

# **THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF PEDAGOGIC DISCOURSE IN POLICY FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SCHOOL SPORT**

**H. JUNG**

## **ABSTRACT**

Over the past decade in the UK, the rise in salience to government of physical education and school sport-related policy interventions has been remarkable for the wide-ranging array of objectives that these interventions have been expected to realise. This thesis analyses and evaluates government's sports policy for PESS centred on the Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links (PESSCL) strategy and Physical Education and Sport Strategy for Young People (PESSYP). These strategies together arguably represent the most significant initiatives relating to physical education and school sport (PESS), shaping the possible forms of PESS could take in the 2000s.

Drawing on Basil Bernstein's (1990, 1996) theory of the social production of pedagogic discourse as the main framework used to investigate the policy for PESS, this thesis discusses the complexities and inequalities of policy-making in terms of examining dominant physical cultural discourses embedded within PESSCL and PESSYP, and the main agents/agencies contributing to the policy for PESS and evaluation processes. In addition, this thesis adopted a grounded theory approach to look at patterns of evidence in a range of resources from policy documents, newspapers, official evaluation studies and interviews, analyses that were underpinned by the research aims and theoretical framework of the study.

This thesis identifies a number of physical cultural discourses constructing and constituting policies and strategies for PESS, including discourses of sport, health, citizenship, lifelong participation, and Olympic/Paralympic legacy. Moreover, this

thesis presents evidence, consistent with Goodson's (1990) thesis about the social construction of school subjects, of struggles and contestation among vying groups, in this case between the Youth Sport Trust and Sport England (i.e. within the Official Recontextualising Field) as well as between the Youth Sport Trust and Association for Physical Education (i.e. between agencies within the Official Recontextualising Field and Pedagogic Recontextualising Field respectively). Furthermore, the powerful recontextualising agents/agencies including the media contribute to the recontextualisation of the discourse in which PESS policies are embedded. Finally, this thesis questions whether the main official evaluation studies undertake 'evidence-based' policy making and practice because the evaluation studies not only provide implausible evidence but they are also focused solely on 'numbers', whilst pragmatic and critical voices are excluded from the process of evaluation.

Building on these key findings, this thesis concludes with a discussion of the implications for PESS. In particular, I discuss the possibilities for PESS to realise authentic forms of physical culture in schools in the context of a dominant sport discourse and an ongoing reduction in the autonomy of the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field. Finally, this thesis suggests that there is an urgent need for promoting communication between policy makers from within the Official Recontextualising Field and researchers and educators from within the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field and practitioners in the Secondary Field in order to achieve sustainable policy development school physical education and youth sport that benefits all young people in the future.

## **MATERIAL PRESENTED FROM THE PHD**

**Jung, H.**, Harvey, S., & Kirk, D. (2011) Identifying the physical cultural discourse informing PESSCL during a decade of change. Paper presented at 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Sport Policy Conference, University of Birmingham, 18<sup>th</sup> Mar, 2011.

**Jung, H.**, Pope, S., & Kirk, D. (2012) The Social Construction of Pedagogic Discourse Embedded in Physical Education and School Sport Policy: PESSCL & PESSYP. Paper presented at the British Education Research Association Conference, University of Manchester, 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> Sep, 2012.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ACF</b>	Advocacy Coalition Framework
<b>AfPE</b>	Association for Physical Education
<b>BALLPPE</b>	British Association of Advisers and Lectures in Physical Education
<b>CCPR</b>	Central Council for Physical Recreation
<b>CCT</b>	Compulsory Competitive Tendering
<b>DCMS</b>	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
<b>DCSF</b>	Department for Children, Schools and Families
<b>DfE</b>	Department for Education
<b>DfES</b>	Department for Education and Skills
<b>DH</b>	Department of Health
<b>EBP</b>	Evidence-Based Policy making and practice
<b>ERA</b>	Education Reform Act
<b>GT</b>	Grounded Theory
<b>ID</b>	Instructional Discourse
<b>IYS</b>	Institute of Youth Sport
<b>LEA</b>	Local Education Authority
<b>LMS</b>	Local Management of Schools
<b>LP</b>	Loughborough Partnership
<b>MS</b>	Multiple Streams
<b>NCPE</b>	National Curriculum for Physical Education
<b>NGB</b>	National Governing Body
<b>NHS</b>	National Health Service
<b>Ofsted</b>	Office for Standards in Education
<b>ORF</b>	Official Recontextualising Field

<b>PDM</b>	Partnership Development Manager
<b>PE</b>	Physical Education
<b>PEAUK</b>	Physical Education Association of the United Kingdom
<b>PESS</b>	Physical Education and School Sport
<b>PESSCL</b>	Physical Education and School Sport and Club Links strategy
<b>PESSYP</b>	Physical Education and Sport Strategy for Young People
<b>PETE</b>	Physical Education and Teacher Education
<b>PLT</b>	Primary Link Teacher
<b>PRF</b>	Pedagogic Recontextualising Field
<b>PSA</b>	Public Service Agreement
<b>QCA</b>	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
<b>RD</b>	Regulative Discourse
<b>RF</b>	Recontextualising Field
<b>SSC</b>	Specialist Sports College
<b>SSCo</b>	School Sports Coordinator
<b>SSP</b>	School Sport Partnership
<b>YST</b>	Youth Sport Trust



## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Over the past decade in the UK, the rise in salience to government of PE and school sport-related policy interventions has been remarkable for the wide-ranging array of objectives that these interventions have been expected to realise (Grix & Phillpots, 2011; Houlihan, 2000). The landscape of physical education and school sport (PESS) in the UK had changed dramatically in the 2000s in terms of central government investment and political interests (Green, 2008). The government had put in place the Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links (PESSCL) strategy and the Physical Education and Sport Strategy for Young People (PESSYP) to achieve diverse social goals including addressing social justice, tackling obesity and anti-social behaviour, delivering a legacy from the London Olympic success, and improving academic standards (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; BBC, 2001a, *The Guardian*, 2002). This period was the first time for government to invest a considerably large amount of funding in physical education and school sport. In addition, the school physical education policy area has become a complex policy space where a range of interests, groups and discourses can be identified (Houlihan, 2000). In this environment, it is important to study the main policies for PESS and the processes of their construction. In this regard, this thesis explores and evaluates PESSCL/PESSYP which together arguably represent the most significant strategies and initiatives relating to PESS, with a particular focus on implication for the production of school knowledge.

In pursuit of these purposes this thesis will provide critical insights into the complexities of physical cultural discourses embedded within policy, and inequities of policy-making, implementation and evaluation. Furthermore, this

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

thesis offers particular perspectives on the dominant and marginalised voices within the physical education policy field with consideration of the influence of dominant agents and agencies in constructing what is defined as worthwhile knowledge in PESS.

There is very little published work that investigates policies relating to PESS in the context of educational implications for the field of school physical education. Importantly, as Rabb (1994, cited in Penney and Evans, 1999, p.18) argued, while “political scientists in policy studies have failed to produce a body of research in regard to education, educationalists have been rarely concerned with policy matters.” Accordingly, this thesis attempts to provide some new ways of understanding policy relating to PESS underpinned by a social constructionist perspective, particularly linked to Basil Bernstein’s (1990, 1996) theory of social construction of pedagogic discourse, in order to understand some educational implications for young people in regard to pedagogic practice, including the social construction of school knowledge and the role of educators as agents (see 3.2). In a sense, it can be argued that this thesis is more of a study ‘for’ policy for PESS in relation to the construction of school knowledge in the field of physical education rather than a study ‘of’ policy, focused on the politics of policy, centred on agenda-setting, policy-making, and policy delivery (King, 2009). In sum, drawing on Basil Bernstein’s (1990, 1996) theory of the social production of pedagogic discourse, the primary purposes of the thesis are to identify physical cultural discourses constructing and constituting policies and strategies for PESS, to investigate the activities of the main recontextualising agents/agencies, including the media, in the embedding of these discourses, and to evaluate the main official evaluation studies in terms of their sanctioning of legitimate forms of PESS.

As Penney and Evans (1999) point out, policy is not solely the territory of policy-makers, nor does it reside entirely in official documents. Policy is instead a practice that is carried out at a number of levels by a range of actors. Consistent with this ‘distributed’ notion of policy as a process, in this thesis I use the term ‘policy’ as a government statement of intent that is located but not completely contained in documents such as *A Sporting Future For All* (DCMS, 2000), *Game*

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

*Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002) and *Playing to Win* (DCMS, 2008a) that relate to and have implications for PESS. At a level more specific to PESS I use the concept of ‘strategy’ to refer to plan and initiatives intended to realise the intentions of policy-makers. Accordingly, PESSCL and PESSYP are regarded as strategies to provide and deliver government’s sports development policy objectives in the 2000s. In addition, PESS refers pedagogical practices including curriculum, teaching and learning in schools. While PESS itself is not the focus of this thesis, my investigation is concerned with the ways in which policy intentions create and delimit the universe of possibilities for PESS, in terms of the specific pedagogical forms PESS might take. In this regard, drawing on Basil Bernstein’s theory, this thesis examine how government’s sports policies, and strategies centred on PESSCL/PESSYP created the possible forms PESS might take in 2000s in England. In this context, this study focuses on particular strands of PESSCL/PESSYP such as the School Sport Partnership strand and the Talent Identification strand, and on particular official evaluation studies such as TNS-BMRB, the Loughborough Partnership and Ofsted, where various recontextualised physical cultural discourses feature most prominently.

This opening chapter offers a brief introduction to Basil Bernstein’s theory of the social construction of pedagogic discourse I adopted in this thesis, my research questions, and an overview of the structure of this thesis.

### **1.2 Introducing Basil Bernstein’s theory of the social construction of pedagogic discourse**

This thesis adopts a perspective based on Basil Bernstein’s theory of the social construction of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 1990, 1996). This perspective foregrounds the belief that policy relating to PESS is constructed by dominant discourses through particular struggles and contestation among vying groups, and as such is consistent with Goodson’s (1990) theory about the social construction of school subjects. In particular, a focus on the interface between what Bernstein calls the primary and recontextualising fields provides the description and

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explanation of physical culture discourses generated in the primary field, and reworked and transmitted by agents and agencies in the recontextualising field to create physical education and sport policy that ultimately frame the universe of possibilities for the forms PESS might take. Central to Bernstein's theory is his concept of pedagogic discourse, which is a device for de-locating and re-locating discourses from the primary field of knowledge production to the secondary field of knowledge reproduction. The policy/strategy-making processes take place in the recontextualising field which is fundamentally concerned with the pedagogisation of non-pedagogic forms of knowledge, such as sport, health and citizenship, which we will call here physical cultural discourses. The process of recontextualisation is, within Bernstein's theory, at root a process of pedagogisation. One of the central interests of this thesis is to discover how this process of recontextualisation unfolded in relation to policies and strategies for PESS, in particular the actions of agents and agencies in the workings of the pedagogic device. Drawing on Singh (2011), a definition of the pedagogic device will be provided detail in chapter 3.4.1. This thesis also investigates the evaluation process surrounding PESSCL/PESSYP in view of Bernstein's evaluation rules in the secondary field of the reproduction of knowledge, as a means of exploring the criteria by which the implementation of PESSCL/PESSYP were claimed by key agents and agencies to be successful and to identify which forms of (PESS) knowledge are sanctioned as worthwhile. Bernstein's theory also allows this thesis to examine and understand the implications of the construction of pedagogic discourse for teaching and learning practice embedded within the selected physical cultural discourses, and the social relations of power in terms of 'who controls what' (Apple, 2002, p.607). I seek through this study to make a contribution to potential future development of policy relating to PESS particularly in relation to understanding how the future universe of possibilities for PESS are socially constructed and constituted, in terms of what is imaginable as and for PESS.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.3 Research Questions

Building on Bernstein's theory of the social construction of pedagogic discourse, my research questions are:

1. A) What are the major physical cultural discourses within the Primary Field of knowledge production that informed policy for PESS between 2000 and 2010? B) And how are the physical cultural discourses reconfigured to construct and constitute policies relating to PESS?
2. Who are the main agents/ agencies within the Recontextualising Field (RF) and what are their roles and interrelationships, including their positionalities in relation to government, i.e. their positioning in the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF) and Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF)?
3. How do the main official evaluation studies of these programmes prioritise and legitimise particular aspects of policy and possible forms of physical education and school sport knowledge?

The following section provides an overview of the structure of this thesis for responding to these research questions.

### 1.4 Structure of thesis

Following this introductory chapter, over the course of eight chapters this thesis provides reviews of literature, the theoretical framework and methodology, research design and methods, main findings, and some conclusions.

*Chapter 2*, the **Development of Sports Policy in the UK**, provides a review of sport policy development in the UK in terms of social and political contexts, overall sport policy development, main sports organisations and physical education development between 1960 and 1997, which seeks to provide further depth to our understanding of the social construction of policy. In addition, this

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chapter outlines PESSCL/PESSYP in relation to the major organisations involved in policy-making in the 2000s such as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), Sport England (SE) and the Youth Sport Trust (YST) and illustrates the concept of ‘evidence-based policy’ used by the main official evaluation organisations.

*Chapter 3, Theoretical and Conceptual Considerations*, draws upon a social constructionist perspective centred on the work of Basil Bernstein as a distinct theoretical perspective for research on policy relating to PESS. Furthermore, physical cultural discourse, a core concept of this thesis, will be discussed. Finally, I illustrate the notion of ‘articulation’ (Hall, 1985) and ‘webs of signification’ (Geertz, 1973) to provide support for exploring the recontextualising process of policy.

*Chapter 4, Research design and methods*, addresses the qualitative research design (Maxwell, 2005) and research methods centred on a GT approach adopted in this thesis including data generation (i.e. documentary data and interviews), data analysis associated with theoretical sampling and coding, and research validity and ethical issues.

*Chapter 5, Five physical culture discourses constructing and constituting policies and strategies for PESS*, identifies major physical cultural discourses embedded within policy for PESS: sport; health; citizenship; lifelong participation; and Olympic/Paralympic legacy. This chapter argues that these discourses are complex, and that sport discourse centred on competitive sport and talent development occupies the most dominant position in the strategies. This chapter also considers the recontextualising process of policy-making in terms of the reconfiguration and diverse articulations (i.e. construction of webs of signification) of elements of physical cultural discourses.

*Chapter 6, The main agents and agencies in the recontextualising field: Baroness Sue Campbell and Youth Sport Trust*, claims that there is a particular form of struggle and tension between vying groups, in particular between the YST and Sport England (within the ORF) and between the YST and the Association for

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Physical Education (AfPE) (between the ORF and PRF). I argue along with Bernstein (1990) that the autonomy of PRF has been weakening over time relative to the ORF. This chapter also details dominant recontextualising voices (e.g. powerful politicians, the YST and the media) which determine the particular articulations that can be recognised in PESSCL/PESSYP, alongside silenced and excluded voices in PESS in relation to the dominant sport discourse and subordinate voices on education from the PRF.

*Chapter 7, Evaluating the main official evaluation studies: inclusion and exclusion of evidence*, evaluates the main official evaluation studies conducted by TNS-BMRB, the Loughborough Partnership (LP) and Ofsted. This chapter firstly provides the positive impact of PESSCL/PESSYP represented in the main official evaluation studies. However I argue that the main official evaluation studies failed to undertake systematic evaluation and monitoring centred on the notion of ‘evidence-based policy’ due to the use of implausible evidence and methodological weaknesses, the absence of a ‘feedback loop’, the process of chasing ‘numbers’ for political targets and the exclusion of pragmatic and critical reflections from agents and agencies within the PRF. In this regard, I conclude that PESSCL/PESSYP was policy-making based on little or no evidence.

Finally, *Chapter 8, Conclusion*, summarises the findings in relation to the aims of the study. Furthermore, this chapter raises two questions: what does PESSCL/PESSYP tell us for improving PESS including enhancing health, lifelong participation, and educational benefits for *all* students?; and what are the implications of the asymmetric relationship between the ORF and PRF for the improvement of PESS? The final chapter also provides me with the opportunity to reflect on my journey and discuss valuable insights for future research.

**CHAPTER 2:**

**DEVELOPMENT OF SPORTS POLICY IN THE UK**

**2.1 Introduction**

The historical development of sport policy provides valuable perspectives on the social construction of sport policy in terms of both the continuity and discontinuity of major discourses embedded in sport policy development along with particular struggles between sport development agencies (Goodson, 1990; Kirk, 2010). In this regard, this chapter offers a chronological overview of sport policy development in the UK which can be used as the basis for apprehending and analysing policies relating to PESS in the 2000s.

I begin by reviewing sport policy development in the UK between 1960 and 1997. With a twofold focus (i.e. elite sport development and sport participation with 'sport for all') of the sport policy development, I examine the history of sport policy in the UK including physical education by means of looking into three phases: 1960 ~ 1980, 1980 ~ 1990, and 1990 ~ 1997 in terms of offering social and political contexts, overall sport policy development, main sports organisations and physical education developments provided by milestone published sport documents and a range of academic literatures (e.g. Coalter, 2007; Coghlan & Webb, 1990; Hargreaves, 1986; Kirk, 1992b; Phillpots, 2011). In the next section I move on to consider the New Labour government sport priorities for PESS centred on PESSCL/PESSYP which lies at the core of my thesis. In addition, I will discuss the major organisations contributing to policy relating to PESS in the 2000s including DCMS, DfE (previously, DfES, DCSF), Youth Sport Trust, Sport England and AfPE, which will be important to understand the power relation between agencies in the 2000s. The final section covers policy evaluation



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processes by examining the concept of the ‘evidence-based policy’ along with major official evaluation organisations of PESSCL/PESSYP and academic studies related to these strategies.

### **2.2 History of sport policy in the UK**

Mapping the territory of sport development in the UK is complex because policy development and its delivery involves a range of agents/agencies and in the area of sports, many initiatives since the 1960s have become interconnected with other policy areas or wider social agendas such as social exclusion, health, and education (Coalter, 2007; Coghlan & Webb, 1990; Green, 2006). Before the 1960s, broadly speaking, public schools had greatly contributed to providing team games to achieve the growth of sport in Britain during the nineteenth century (Kirk, 1992b). At that time, Britain codified more than 25% of modern sports, and between the 1880s and the 1930s formalized 67 national governing bodies (NGBs) which set the rules, ethos and discipline and supervised the organisation of competition (Coghlan & Webb, 1990). In addition, the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR) as the confederation of sports was formed in 1935 (Collins, 2008). Nevertheless, until the 1960s central government played little or no systematic part in sport (Coalter, 2007; Coghlan & Webb, 1990, Houlihan & White, 2002). The state interventions in sport and physical recreation have been increasing through the central government apparatus and through a variety of quasi-governmental and non-governmental organisations since the 1960s (Hargreaves, 1986).

Public investment in sport in the UK from the 1960s onwards might have been characterised by a dual purpose: elite sport development; social welfare and ‘Sport for All’ (i.e. increased sport participation) (Green, 2006). In line with this point, according to Coalter (2007), historically, sport development has two story lines which are to extend the social right of citizenship and to use sport to address a wide range of social issues such as health concerns and social inclusion. In this context, this section begins with a chronological account of sport development in

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the UK from the 1960s to 1997, the latter being the year in which the Blair government was elected and which marks the beginning of the period that is the central concern of this study, reported in chapters 5 to 7.

### **2.2.1 Emergence of government interventions based on facility building and ‘Sport for All’: 1960 – 1980**

#### *i) Social and political context: The Wolfenden report*

By the mid-1960s, sport in Britain was entering a new era as for the first time the government became involved in supporting sport at both an international and local levels (Coalter, 2007; Phillpots, 2012). This government intervention enabled sport and leisure policy to become a legitimate area of public policy in terms of developing and sustaining the welfare state ideology and the recognition of a growing social significance of sport as a social good. The development of sport in Britain since the earliest days has reflected the changing face of British society. In the 1960s, the British population began to have more free time, money, and mobility by using private cars and developments from the transportation system, which had a great impact on improving sport development including more facilities and programmes for mass sport and recreation (Hargreaves, 1986).

The Wolfenden Committee report provides distinct evidence about government involvement to open new structures for sport policy in the UK. The Wolfenden report was published in 1960 as the CCPR commissioned Sir John Wolfenden to serve as Chair of a Committee to examine the status of sport in the UK. The Wolfenden Committee was concerned with diverse issues related to sport development such as sports organisations and administration, finance, young people, international experience, sport facilities, amateurism and the media. This committee proposed the reorganisation of the administration and funding of British sport over the next two decades in order to achieve the promotion of a national sporting culture (Wolfenden, 1960). One of the priority concerns of this Report was the role of organised physical activity in the Youth Service through a

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greater linking between youth groups, statutory bodies, sports clubs and schools (Kirk, 1992b). Moreover, the Wolfenden report stated that:

We have had particularly in mind, throughout our inquiries, the needs of young people. For them play is naturally appropriate; it is an essential part of the business of growing up. It is widely held that a considerable proportion of delinquency among young people springs from the lack of opportunity or lack of desire for suitable physical activity (p.4).

This report considered a large proportion of delinquency among young people in relation to the discourse of citizenship. That is, they saw sport as having a wider social role to prevent crime by giving young people, in particular working class teenagers, opportunities for playing games. The rhetoric of the role of sport in reducing crime was to re-emerge in PESSCL, where volunteering and personal and social development became a central focus in the 2000s.

The concern of a so-called 'Wolfenden Gap', which indicates the weakness of links between school sport and local clubs, became a key policy that has remained a central feature of sport policy over the last 30 years (Bloyce, et al., 2008; Jackson, 2008). However generally 'the gap' on the report paid less attention to young people's development through sport and crucially the report made more of an issue of international competition (Kirk, 1992b). Nevertheless, it is clear that Wolfenden raised political attention and resulted in interventions led by a sports policy lobby such as the formation of the Sports Council and an increased role for local authorities in the provision of sporting opportunities in terms of more and better organisation, facilities and coaching.

### *ii) Overall sport policy development in the 1960s and 1970s: sport infrastructure, 'Sport for All' and elite sport development*

Sport development in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s were years of remarkable achievement; achievement in facility provision, in the growth of playing sport

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indoors, and in challenging for world supremacy in several sports. In particular, from the 1960s to 1970s, one of the main issues in sport policy was to increase the numbers of availability of sport facilities. Government had a concern for wider and more efficient provision of facilities for sport and physical recreation alongside an improved administration and organisation.

In the early 1970s, government policy priorities for sport development were clearly focused on the promotion of '*Sport for All*' programmes allied to the ideology of comprehensive schooling and the notion of equality of opportunity (Green, 2006; Kirk, 1992b). One of Sports Council's first policy initiatives was the *Sport for All* campaign (1972) (Coghlan & Webb, 1990). Specifically, it sought to use the power of sport to transform individuals and to encourage all members of the community to participate in sport in line with the underpinning social welfare objectives targeting, for example, disadvantaged inner city youth (Hargreaves, 1986; Phillpots, 2011). However according to the '*Sport for All*' evaluation report led by Peter McIntosh (1985), while overall participation in sport had increased, certain groups including low paid and unskilled workers and ethnic minorities were largely non-participants between 1972 and 1984. In this sense, while *Sport for All* was a widely accepted philosophy throughout the 1970s and 1980s in the UK, it failed to reach the diverse disadvantaged and underserved groups, with the goal of social inclusion arguably a disguise for the underlying tension between a community welfare view of sport development and elite development (Houlihan & White, 2002). Rather, it could be suggested that elite sport was at the heart of sport policy development in terms of political interests and investments.

### ***iii) Main sports organisations: Sport Council and CCPR***

The networks of organisations related to sport policy development has been growing in complexity in the UK. The setting up of the Sports Council in 1965 was an outcome of the Wolfenden Report and pressure from sports lobbyists. The Sport Council had two main issues including developing the need for more

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facilities and a strong injection of public funding with the aim of fostering cooperation among statutory authorities and voluntary bodies (Coghlan & Webb, 1990; Kirk, 1992b). Following that, in 1972 an executive Sport Council was established under a Royal Charter as 'at arms length' from government (Collins, 2008; Hargreaves, 1986; Phillpots, 2011). The Sports Council not only controlled the budget for sport development, but they also formulated national sport policy centred on a coordination of the private and public sectors of provision including long-term planning, research and development. In this period, along with the Sports Council, the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR) was the most respected organisation in sport and recreation in terms of being a vehicle for both collecting views of governing bodies and putting money in the form of government grants into sport (Hargreaves, 1986). However the relation between the Sports Council and the CCPR was becoming more complex and the relationship was characterised by power struggle and tension in close relation with government funding and overlapping of functions (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Hargreaves, 1986; Jackson, 2008).

### ***iv) Physical Education: marginalisation***

The period of the 1960s was one of redefinition of physical education and it also marked the transition of school physical activity from a form of drill and physical training to a recognized subject within the school curriculum (Houlihan & White, 2002; Kirk, 2010). Kirk (1992) also indicated that the 1960s and 1970s was a time when there was growing concern from within the PE profession about the subject's educational value. In particular, competitive (team) sport became part of the core content of physical education (Kirk, 1992b). However physical education was regarded by many as unimportant or only of peripheral value in relation to sport development and sport policy. Indeed, many physical education teachers became concerned about the nature and purpose of their subject and their own increasingly marginal status (Houlihan & Green, 2006).

To sum up, in this period of the 1960s and 1970s, the sport and recreation sector

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expanded significantly in terms of provision of public facilities and growth in the number of personnel, whilst the delivery of elite sport objectives had been emphasised in sport development along with the systematic government involvement in sport through the formation of the Sports Council and later the National Coaching Foundation (1983).

### **2.2.2 A strategy of targeting and a wider social role for sport: 1980 – 1990**

#### ***i) Social and political contexts: Thatcher government***

Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government's policies centred on an ethic of cost-cutting, improving capitalistic efficiency and tackling mass unemployment and the inner cities' new social problems (Hargreaves, 1986; Coghlan & Webb, 1990). The major policy manifestation of the Conservative administration that affected sport policy was the introduction of 'Compulsory Competitive Tendering' (CCT) which aimed to increase efficiency in public sector leisure and recreation provision. The *Local Government Act* 1988 was established in order to encourage commercial sector involvement in the running of public sector sports and leisure facilities through directly providing sporting opportunities to local communities (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Houlihan & White, 2002; Jackson, 2008). This legislation triggered the rapid increase in commercial interests in the sport area for the mass market and the increasing commercialisation of elite sport (Houlihan & White, 2002). Furthermore, the CCT was likely to have had a direct effect on school use of off-site facilities for physical education and sport (Penney & Evans, 1991). In this context, the Sports Council's document (1982), *Sport in the Community: into the 90's, a strategy for sport 1988-1993* showed the aim of the CCT:

This market offers considerable opportunities for the providers of sport and recreation, especially those in the commercial sector, to offer an increased range of activities, of a better quality, and generating an economic return (Sports Council, 1988, p. 1).

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The Thatcher government demanded that sport provision should be opened up to market forces by means of the accountability and efficiency of public choice. By doing so, people could satisfy their sporting needs through a choice between commercial, public and voluntary sector providers. The introduction of market forces also meant that sport agencies and the governing bodies for sport were required to secure commercial investment from the business sector (Bloyce & Smith, 2010).

### *ii) Overall sport policy development in the 1980s: 'Sport in the Community'*

The role of sport in this decade was viewed as a way to ensure social and community cohesion. The Sports Council set targets for participation for teenagers, school leavers, low income households and ethnic minorities, which reflected the focus of sport's function on wider social roles such as solving urban riots and unrest in inner cities. The government policy document, *Sport in the Community: The next Ten Years* (Sports Council, 1982) suggested the positive role of sport:

Sport must be understood and planned for against wider changes in society. The thrust of the evidence here is that there are many trends which strongly suggest a vital and growing role for sport for the individual and for the community as a whole in the society (p.16).

In addition, the Report proposed the demand for sport:

Sport grows more quickly than current public or private resources can provide for it, so resources will need to be selectively concentrated on promotional programmes for certain target groups and selected sports or geographical areas and facilities (p.31).

These comments could be read as a clear sign of a shift away from facility-based provision to a strategy of concentrating resources on particular sports or sections of the community as a targeted approach, including school leavers and retired people (Collins & Kay, 2003; Houlihan & White, 2002). One of the significant sport initiatives of targeting provision in this period was the *Action Sport*

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*programme*. This programme was aimed at promoting participation in sport amongst inner city young people. It was funded by the Sport Council at £1m each year from 1982 to 1985, which reflected the Council's perception of the role of sport in social policy in relation to the increased targeting of particular social groups and deprived areas in the response of the inner-city riots of 1981 (Collins, 2010; Jackson, 2008). The *Action Sport* initiative suggested a more substantial role in supporting local authority strategies by providing a bridge to the development of a more strategic approach to sport development in the 1980s (Collins, 2011).

However the priority of government sport policy was still based on elite sport development. Crucial sport policy documents, for example, *Sport in the Community* (1982, 1988), mainly covered elite sport development and associated facility provision. Moreover, elite sport (beyond the already professionalised sport of men's football) continued to be largely financially supported by the Sports Council. At the end of 1980s attention was refocused on considering sporting success by the National Coaching Foundation (now Sportscoach UK) through enhancing coach education (Jackson, 2008). The Sport Aid Foundation (1984) has also provided opportunities for many talented young people for international competitions. In this context, the development of young elite sport players to serve the national interest had been a constant Sports Council theme and they became concerned with identifying and encouraging talent through physical education (Hargreaves, 1986). In this sense, although the government began to be concerned with widening the social role of sport, we can say that sports development in Britain was intended primarily to support elite athletes (Collins, 2011; Green, 2004). Furthermore, it must be noted that a degree of continuity of development for elite sport has permeated sport policy development between the 1960s through to the 1980s and 1990s.



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### *iii) Main sports organisations: Sports Council and CCPR*

The tension among vying groups, in this case the Sports Council and the CCPR still existed in the 1980s. The CCPR was emerging as an important advocacy group, but most major National Governing Bodies (NGBs) dealt directly with the Sports Council in terms of funding. There was little or no discussion among structural interest groups of sports development or of sport for school-age children until the late 1980s (Houlihan & White, 2002). Interestingly, the School Sport Forum (1987) was established by the Sports Council at the joint request of the Minister in the Departments of Education and Science (DES) and the Environment (DoE), which recommended that governing bodies of sport, agencies, clubs and schools should give special attention to the proper conduct and participation of young people in sport. However youth sport policy was still marginalised and very much in its infancy.

### *iv) Physical Education: physical education in crisis and The Education Reform Act*

The mid-1980s appeared to be a difficult period for physical education due to the poor performances of national sports teams in relation to elite sport success (Evans, 1990). Since the dissatisfaction with team games as the main form of activity in physical education began to grow in the early 1980s, the debate over the relationship between school physical education and elite sport entered a much more public arena (Kirk, 1992b). The best example might be the BBC's *Panorama* programme *Is Your Child Fit For Life?*, which suggested that the decline of games playing in schools was a matter of grave public concern in terms of the emphasis on the traditional values and standards of excellence in sport (Evans, 1990; Kirk, 1992b). In addition, the programme drew attention to the concern for health-related activity in physical education. Critics claimed that physical education teachers had bought into a leftist ideology of *Sport for All* at the expense of competition and this was in part responsible for distracting physical education teachers from their responsibilities towards team games (Kirk,

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1992b). According to Evans (1990), and ironically in the face of these critics' claims, physical education teachers continued to emphasise high sporting standards and achievement, social order and discipline through the provision and practice of traditional team games and competitive sports, an emphasis that was to become embedded in the national curriculum from the early 1990s (Penney & Evans, 1995).

At the same time, since the 'education crisis' was one of the most consistent targets of reform for the Thatcher government, physical education was influenced by changes to the funding and curriculum of schools (Ball, 2008; Phillpots, 2011). Particularly, the Education Reform Act (ERA), passed by the British parliament in 1988, served as an announcement that from this time on there would be increasingly more direct central government intervention in the provision of education in state schools in the UK (Penney & Evans, 1999). The ERA reflected the government intention and ideal which was to raise standards in education by injecting competition and greater accountability of free market principles into all arenas of the educational systems including physical education (Lawton, 1989; Penney & Evans, 1999). The act incorporated two major initiatives which are likely to have had an important bearing on the provision of physical education and sport in school: Local Management of Schools (LMS) and the National Curriculum. The introduction of LMS meant schools had control of their own money and a greater degree of autonomy from local education authorities (Phillpots, 2012). In addition, the opportunities for competitive sport were increasing because the facilities available and records of achievement in school sport could all take a high profile in the marketing process (Penney & Evans, 1991; Evans, Penney & Davies, 1996). Furthermore, pressures to increase pupil numbers may therefore have had a direct influence on the provision of PE and sport in schools. More importantly, the creation of a National Curriculum for Physical Education (NCPE) developed by ERA in 1989 raised the profile of sport in schools and contributed to renewed government and public interest in youth sport (Houlihan & Green, 2006; Phillpots, 2011). That is to say the NCPE could serve to intensify articulated concerns regarding sport and physical education held by politicians, NGBs, and educationists, which raised the political issues for

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young people for the next era. Nevertheless, physical education was still a marginal concern within education at this time compared to developments post-1997 (Houlihan & Lindsey, 2012).

### **2.2.3 Restructuring of sport development for physical education and sport provision for young people: 1990 – 1997**

#### *i) Social and political context: the John Major government*

The period from the beginning of the 1990s and during John Major's term as Prime Minister was crucial for sports development. He sought to support the sport policy community in regard to raising the profile of sport in schools through supporting high performance sport (Bloyce et al., 2008). In particular, traditional team sports such as cricket, hockey, swimming, athletics, football, rugby, tennis and the like, which resonated strongly for politicians such as Major, began to benefit substantially (Hylton & Bramham; Phillpots et al., 2010). For instance, the establishment of the Department of National Heritage (DNH, 1992) enabled government to have responsibility for the creation of a more coherent and dynamic approach to sport policy delivery (Phillpots et al., 2010). In addition, from the early 1990s, schools were expected to play a significant role in achieving youth sport development and partnerships with community sport.

One of big changes was the introduction of a National Lottery in November 1994. The National Lottery was viewed as a funding vehicle that enabled John Major to maintain his monetarist economic credentials while at the same significantly increasing the amount of uncommitted money available for allocation to sport, which could support NGBs and individual elite athletes as never before in terms of providing facilities, coaching and sports science (Collins, 2011; Houlihan & White, 2002).

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### ***ii) Overall sport policy development in the 1990s: 'Raising the Game'***

The mid 1990's can be viewed as a turning point in youth sport policy in the UK. The most significant sport policy in this period could be argued to be *Sport: Raising the Game* (1995). It focused on the development of opportunities for young people to engage in sport and to fulfil their sporting potential through strengthened sporting opportunities within the physical education curriculum and in extra-curricular activities (Houlihan, 2000; Hylton & Bramham, 2008; Phillpots, 2011). In this sense, this policy was a watershed for youth sport in the UK and exposed an important shift in sport development strategies from mass participation to a more targeted approach that prioritised talent development and youth sport, largely because high performance sport is highly visible to demonstrate its effect (Green, 2006; Kirk & Gorely, 2000). In addition, this policy along with the Lottery schemes proved to be a catalyst for the development of sport partnership initiatives with schools for high level of provision of physical education and sport, such as Sport England's Active Schools programme and the Youth Sport Trust's TOPS Programme (Phillpots, 2012). In this regard, the establishment of a National Lottery and *Raising the Game* provided an organisational, financial and administrative framework that would shape the future direction of sport policy. However it is worth noting that still the main focus of sport policy related to youth sport development was not for delivering physical education objectives, but rather for supporting the objectives of elite sport (Houlihan & White, 2002).

### ***iii) Main sports organisations: Other emerging sports organisations and added complexity***

The 1990s was a period of sustained and increased public investment in sport in which NGBs, and school sport and physical education interests became much more aware of the significance of their access to public resources (Bloyce & Smith, 2010, Houlihan & White, 2002). On the other side, sport policy became more centralised within the Department of National Heritage (later DCMS) and

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the Sports Council, and also within the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) as a result of its control over the national curriculum physical education.

Schools were chosen as the crucial agent to deliver government sport strategies, and this led to a blurring of the boundaries between the delivery of physical education in schools and community sport development for young people, particularly since many physical education teachers also coached school sports teams in extra-curricular time (Flintoff, 2003; Phillpots, 2011). Accordingly, the field of physical education and youth sport became a 'crowded policy space' as a number of new initiatives with slightly different agendas were introduced (Houlihan, 2000). In this overcrowded policy relating to PESS arena, the Youth Sport Trust emerged as one of the powerful organisations related to youth sport with a particular focus on the promotion of sport in schools in the mid to late 1990s.

### ***iv) Physical Education: The introduction of the NCPE and readiness to move to the centre of sport development***

The most important moment for physical education was that the ERA legislated for the development of a NCPE in 1992. It was the first time the experiences young people should receive in their physical education had been centrally defined (Houlihan & Lindsey, 2012). Physical education and school sport had gradually emerged as one of the central sport policy themes as the introduction of NCPE had been a significant part of the Conservative government project (Penney & Evans, 1997). For instance, the John Major government was far more supportive of sport than before, and gave added impetus for the 'restoration' of competitive team games to the school curriculum for improving standards of sport performance and developing youth sporting talent potential (Phillpots, 2012). Likewise, the launch of the Specialist Sports Colleges (1997) allowed state secondary schools to deliver innovative and effective teaching and learning in physical education and became the hub of new sport partnership networks. More

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importantly, and as with so much else that maintained a high level of continuity between the neoliberal governments of Thatcher and Major and the Blair government that succeeded them, the emphasis on school sport and physical education and elite development was adopted by New Labour from 1997 (Coalter, 2007).

Thus the competitive games oriented physical education curriculum retained its dominance. In this sense, there seems to be little change in physical education since the introduction of NCPE largely because curriculum provision in physical education still focused disproportionate attention on a narrow range of competitive team games, sex-differentiated programmes, and teaching characterised by a limited range of teaching methods and strategies (Kirk, 1992b; Penney & Evans, 1999). Since government supported the discourse of elite sport development and the place of school physical education as a form of talent identification within it, other initiatives including health-related exercise (HRE) were inevitably marginalised.

Furthermore, in the late 1990s, despite the national curriculum physical education being renewed, physical education faced a loss of time on the school curriculum in primary school due to the emphasis upon the core subjects such as the literacy and numeracy initiatives (Flintoff, 2008b; Phillpots, 2012). Paradoxically physical education had a low status as a school subject due to the hegemony of the academic curriculum but was at the same time regarded as having significant marketing benefits for some schools in terms of recruiting more pupils by advertising their school through sporting success and highly quality sport facilities (Flintoff, 2003; Penney & Evans, 1999).

In a nutshell, the landscape of physical education and school sport in the UK changed significantly during the 1990s. The period of New Labour government in the 2000s witnessed unprecedented central government commitment to investment in PESS which is explored in the next section. This covers the significant change of sport policy in relation to youth sport centred on PESSCL/PESSYP as a centre-piece of sport development in the 2000s.

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### 2.3 The New Labour government priorities for physical education and school sport: PESSCL/PESSYP

In 1997, the New Labour government was elected, and education became one of the core agendas (Phillpots, 2012). In this context, Tony Blair regarded physical education and sport as a valuable tool for education enhancement, which not only maintained its political salience, but also emerged as a significant cross-departmental vehicle for the administration's broader social policy objectives (Flintoff, 2003; Houlihan & Green, 2006). Accordingly, New Labour broadened the list of perceived social benefits from sport-related initiatives, such as adding to social cohesion, improving health, encouraging lifelong participation, and helping economic, physical and social regeneration, through partnership working between public sector organisations including education, health, and the voluntary sector<sup>1</sup> (Collins, 2011). In a similar vein, the introduction of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) reflected the government's intention to encourage what became known as 'joined-up' strategic thinking to raise an issue on the decline in time spent on curricular physical education, improvement of the standards of school sport facilities and increasing the time allocated for physical education in initial primary school teacher training (Green, 2008; Phillpots, 2012).

The New Labour government published its own strategy for sport development, *A Sporting Future for All* (DCMS, 2000) which was intended to change the way in which physical education and school sport was resourced. This report firmly established sport in education as one of core elements of government policy and outlined a commitment to the development of PESSCL which was significant in youth sports development policies in England in the 2000s. Furthermore, *A Sporting Future for All* set out the government's vision for widening participation in sport and the contexts for achieving national sporting success along with other themes such as 'Sport in the Community' and 'World Class Sport'. It suggested the five-point plan to increase participation by young people: rebuilding school

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<sup>1</sup> A Policy Action Team (PAT) can be seen as the first action taken by New Labour regarding physical education and school sport. PAT emphasised physical activity because participation in sport could lead to 'neighborhood renewal by improving communities', 'performance' on the four 'key' indicators of more jobs, less crime, better health and improved educational attainment (PAT, 2000; 37).

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sports facilities; initial training and professional development for teachers; encouraging schools to provide a range of after school activities; establishing 600 school sports co-ordinators posts; and access for talented 14 to 18 year olds to coaching and other support.

In line with *A Sporting Future for All, Game plan: A Strategy for delivering Government's Sport and Physical Activity Objectives* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002), one of the most significant sport-related documents in the 2000s, was the culmination of government thinking aimed to increase participation and international performance as well as school and youth sport. This policy addressed recommendations in four areas: grassroots participation; high performance sport; mega sporting events; and organisational reform.

Hence, in the wake of the growing attention to physical education and school sport during the 1990s in terms of government investment and political involvement, the PESSCL strategy (latterly, PESSYP) emerged as a significant youth sports development policy initiative to be introduced in England in the 2000s. Government investment in physical education and school sport, centred on PESSCL/PESSYP, amounted to £2.2 billion between 2003 and 2011 (DCMS, 2008a). Along with this considerable amount of public funding, as the progress of policy relating to PESS centred on SSPs as shown in Table 1, it appears that physical education and school sport remained an integral part of the Labour government's conceptualisation of sports development.

With a burgeoning and increasing salience of youth sport policy in the 2000s, PESSCL and PESSYP were core strategy initiatives. The main agendas and discourses constructing and constituting these strategies will be examined later in chapter 5.



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**Table 1 Physical Education Sport Policy in the 2000s**

Time		Government sport policy and policy progress	Context and detail
2000	April	<i>Policy Document: A Sporting Future for All</i> (DCMS)	First published sport development documents by Labour government
	Sep	Phase 1 school sport partnerships	Expended in 2003 by receiving funding
2001	Mar	<i>Policy Document: The Government's Plan for Sport</i> (DCMS)	Delivering A Sporting Future for All
	April	Phase 2 school sport partnerships	Increase in size in September 2004
Both 1 and 2 phase in total, 46partnerships, involving 254 secondary schools, 1,120 primary school, covering 37 local authority areas			
	Sep	Phase 3 school sport partnerships	Increase in size in September 2004, Involves 181 secondary schools and 916 primary schools
2002	Jan	Development PESSCL by DfES and DCMS	
	Mar	Phase 4 school sport partnerships (222 SSPs, 74 local authority)	20 partnerships involving 133 secondary schools and 627 primary schools
	Sep	Phase 5 school sport partnerships	
	Oct	PSA Target: High quality 2hours PE 75% by 2008	Government's Funding( £ 459m) to deliver the DfES/DCMS
	Dec	<i>Policy Document: Game Plan</i> (DCMS & Strategy Unit)	
2003	Mar	<i>Policy Document: Learning through PE and Sport</i> (DfES & DCMS)	<b>Sets out the PESSCL</b>
	April	PESSCL rolled out	
	Sep	Phase school sport 7 partnerships (313 SSPs )	Involving 148 secondary schools and 791 primary school
there have been 222 Partnerships with 1,243 School Sport Coordinators and 6,664 Link Teachers			
2004	Mar	<i>Policy Document: High Quality PE and Sport for Young People</i> (DfES & DCMS)	Demonstrate high-quality PE

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	Dec	Increased participation aim of the PESSCL	At least 4 hours of PE and sport by the end of the decade, 85% by 2008(2hours)
2005	Jan	<i>Policy Document: Do you have high quality PE and Sport in your school?</i> (DfES & DCMS)	Demonstrate high-quality PE
Partnership programme rolled out during 2000 to 2006. By the end 2007 all maintained schools (21,727) in England were in School Sport Partnerships, arranged into 450 different partnerships			
2007	Jun	DCSF was formed.	DfES -> DCSF
	-	<i>Policy Document: Physical Education and school sport</i> (YST)	Documents explicitly mentioned YST is responsibility for PESS including SSPs
2008	Jan	Public Service Agreement target (PSA 22) was set up.	5 hours participation of PESS. <b>PESSYP was launched</b>
	Jan	<i>Policy Document: Playing to Win</i> (DCMS)	
2009	Oct	<i>Policy Document: The PE and Sport Strategy for Young People</i> (YST & Sport England)	
2011	Mar	<i>Ring-fenced funding for SSPs was to end</i>	

### 2.3.1 Sport policies for young people: PESSCL and PESSYP

The PESSCL strategy was launched on 2 October 2002. The programme was designed to deliver a joint Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) programme under a Public Service Agreement (PSA) target<sup>2</sup>. This meant that the strategy adopted a new

<sup>2</sup> Public Service Agreements (PSA) were national targets for public services set by the government to ensure policy priorities were being met. PSA targets detailed a government department's high-level aims, priority objectives and key outcome-based performance targets (Grix & Phillpots, 2011). DCMS plays a key role in the delivery of a range of government Public Service Agreement targets. DCMS PSA target was set in 2004, to enhance the take-up of sporting opportunities by five-to sixteen-year-olds so that the percentage of school children in England who spend a minimum of two hours each week on high-quality PE and school sport within and beyond the curriculum increases from 25 percent in 2002 to 75 percent by 2006 and to 85 percent by 2008, and to at least 75 percent in each School Sport Partnership by 2008 (Quick et al., 2008). In 2008, the PSA 22 target was to deliver a successful Olympic Games and Paralympic Games with a sustainable legacy and get more children and young people taking in part in high quality PE and

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delivery arrangement for youth sport in which key agencies worked in partnership to meet policy outcomes that were tightly managed and controlled by government (Phillpots, 2011). The PESSCL strategy initially included eight separate strands of work: Specialist Sports Colleges (SSC), School Sport Coordinators (later subsumed within the School Sport Partnerships), Gifted & Talented, QCA PE & School Sport Investigation, Step into Sport, Professional Development, School/Club Links, and Swimming. PESSCL was delivered by a project board made up of representatives from schools, the Youth Sport Trust (YST), Sport England, government departments including DCMS and DfES, NGBs, the physical education professional associations, Ofsted and the QCA (DfES & DCMS, 2003).

The overall objective of PESSCL (DfES & DCMS, 2004) was to create a Public Service Agreement Target (PSA) to:

Enhance the take-up of sporting opportunities by five- to 16-year-olds by increasing the percentage of school children who spend a minimum of two hours each week on high quality physical education and school sport<sup>3</sup> within and beyond the curriculum from 25% in 2002 to 75% by 2006 (p.1).

This target was increased to 85% by 2008, with a further aim for children to have access to at least four hours of physical education and sport each week by 2010 (Ofsted, 2005b). In line with these targets, central government was later working to deliver PSA 22 through PESSYP which sets out an even more ambitious success measure of the ‘five hour offer’ (YST & Sport England, 2009). Ultimately, PESSCL was designed to raise the achievement of young people through participation in physical education and sport in order to contribute to the delivery

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Sport. To do this, it was ensure that all 5-16 year olds should have access to two hours of high quality curriculum PE and three hours beyond the curriculum per week. Also, 16-19 years olds should have access to three hours of sport outside of the curriculum (Sport England & YST, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> High quality PE and school sport produces young people with the skills, understanding, desire and commitment to continue to improve and achieve in a range of PE, sport and health-enhancing physical activities in line with their ability (DfES & DCMS, 2003, p. 3). The basic principle of high quality is that which enables all young people, whatever their circumstances or ability, to take part in and enjoy PE and sport; promote young people’s health, safety and well being; enable all young people to improve and achieve in line with their age and potential (DfES & DCMS, 2004, p.1).

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of the five Every Child Matters outcomes (YST, 2007). Considerable resources were allocated to support these policy developments, financed substantially by the Exchequer, with additional funding from the National Lottery's New Opportunities Fund (NOF).

At the heart of the PESSCL/PESSYP are SSCs and SSPs.

### *i) Specialist Sports Colleges (SSC)*

SSCs were introduced in 1997 as part of the *Specialist Schools Programme*, with the sports college designations led by the Youth Sport Trust. Specialist School initiatives aimed to achieve educational innovation and whole-school improvements in terms of working with partner schools and local community groups including private sector sponsors and other local schools (Houlihan, 2000; Penny & Houlihan, 2003; Phillpots, 2012). In a similar vein, government investment in SSCs reflected the changing context of resourcing and training within education (Phillpots, 2012). SSCs had targets for achievements in terms of four year school and community development plans (DfES, 2003):

- To develop the skills and understanding of teachers to raise the quality of teaching and learning in PE.
- To extend provision and facilities to benefit all students of all sporting abilities.
- To support the government's aspiration for all young people to have two hours high quality per week PE within and outside the curriculum.
- To work with other schools and the wider community in developing and sharing good practice, facilities, human and other resources.
- To be involved in national initiatives and competitions that enrich provision in physical education and sport for their own pupils and those in their partner schools.

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SSCs had a key role to play in raising standards of teaching and learning in physical education and school sport and to achieve sporting excellence in terms of widening the base of participation of sport activity and providing good coaches, working with the NGBs (DCMS, 2000; Houlihan, 2000). The Youth Sport Trust was responsible for supporting and developing the programme and DfES supported schools and local authorities to encourage the expansion of the network of SSCs (DfES & DCMS, 2003; Flintoff, 2008a). A total of 450 schools were designated as the SSCs by 2006. The goal of the SSCs also was:

At the forefront of developments in school physical education and sport. All of them work with other schools to share their expertise, resources and good practice, so that locally there is a ‘family of schools’ working together to provide training and support for teachers (DCMS, 2000, p.30)

Above all, at the heart of the success of the SSCs was the ability to work in partnership with other schools and local clubs. Furthermore, the specialist schools were intended to help school sport partnership leaders to recognize the difference being made to young people and decide the most effective way to direct support, advice and resources in terms of providing vital information to support the national strategy for PESSCL (DfES, 2005).

### *ii) School Sport Partnerships*

Under PESSCL and PESSYP, the School Sport Partnerships programme (previously the School Sport Coordinator Programme) was the key driver to offer young people high quality sport opportunities within and beyond the curriculum. SSPs ‘rolled out’ from 2000 to provide an infrastructure of support to schools to help them ‘deliver’ on the PSA target. Six strategic objectives were set (DfES & DCMS, 2003, p.7):

- Strategic planning - develop and implement a PE/sport strategy
- Primary liaison - develop links, particularly between Key Stages 2 and 3

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- Out of school hours - provide enhanced opportunities for all pupils
- School to community - increase participation in community sport
- Coaching and leadership - provide opportunities in leadership, coaching and officiating for senior pupils, teachers and other adults
- Raising standards - raise standards of pupils' achievement

As can be seen in Figure 1, the typical model of SSPs is a family of schools, a cluster of secondary and primary schools centred on the SSCs. The preferred model consisted of: a full time Partnership Development Manager (PDM) located at the local Specialist Sports College or Local Education Authority (LEA), who was responsible for the strategic development of Partnership; the release of one teacher from each secondary school two days a week to allow them to take on the role of School Sport Coordinator (SSCo); the release of one teacher from each primary or special school 12 days a year to allow them to be the Primary Link Teacher (PLT); and Specialist Link Teachers who fill the gaps created by teacher release (DfES & DCMS, 2003). The average number of schools within a Partnership was 37 in 2003/04, but this number had increased to 47 in 2007/08 due to the increase in the mean number of primary schools within Partnerships (LP, 2008a).

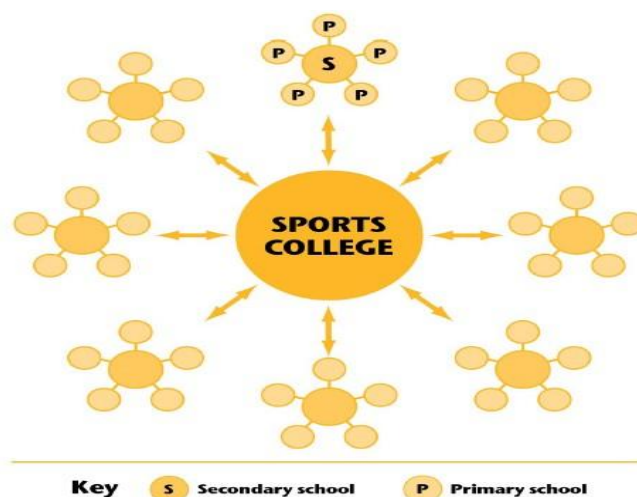


Figure 1 The preferred model of the School Sport Partnership (DfES & DCMS, 2003)

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By the end of 2007 all state-maintained schools (21,727) in England were in School Sport Partnerships, arranged into 450 different partnerships (Quick et al., 2008). SSPs amounted to ‘families of schools’ that received £270,000 funding per year and were required to work together to develop sustainable physical education and sporting opportunities for young people and to boost sports opportunities in the locality.

Within the SSPs programmes, the Gifted and Talented strands aimed to identify and develop young people’s talent potential through the strengthened school-club links and multi-agency initiatives such as Multi-Skills Academies. In a similar vein, in December 2004, Competition Managers were appointed to manage and co-ordinate the delivery of the new framework through a programme of inter or intra-school competitions (Phillpots, 2011). Competition managers were an integral part of the SSPs, working closely with NGBs to ensure the alignment of the network in order for young people have high-quality competitive opportunities<sup>4</sup> (YST & Sport England, 2008).

*Step into Sport*’s aim was to increase the quantity, quality and diversity of young people involved in volunteering and leadership, which enabled schools to grow young people as leaders and deploy them as active volunteers both within the school and community settings (Kay & Bradbury, 2009; YST & Sport England, 2008). Accordingly, government expected *Step into Sport* to be a pathway of leadership and volunteering experiences from KS3 to KS5 (aged 11-19) through several initiatives including Sport Education, Level One Sports Leadership, Top Link, Level Two Community Sports Leadership and Community Volunteering (Kay & Bradbury, 2009; YST & Sport England, 2008). In this regard, DfES & DCMS (2003, p.11) clearly demonstrate that the programme had clear potential to enhance youth citizenship.

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<sup>4</sup> With respect to competition opportunities for young people, the National Competition Framework was introduced in September 2005. The goal of the framework is to provide competitive opportunities for young people. Competitive Managers were to head up the initiative throughout their County (Edwards, 2011).

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### **2.3.2 Physical Education and Sport Strategy for Young People (PESSYP)**

PESSYP began to be delivered in schools and colleges in England from September 2008 in order to create an innovative world class system for youth sport that was informed by the views of children and young people. Although the term 'PESSYP' is the transition from 'PESSCL', the objectives remained the same (YST & Sport England, 2008). PESSYP built on the work of PESSCL with support from an investment of £783 million to improve the quality and quantity of physical education and sport undertaken by young people aged 5-19 (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; YST & Sport England, 2008). It included 10 work strands: Club links, Schools, Coaching, Competition, Continuing Professional Development, Disability, Extending activities, Gifted and Talented, Infrastructure, Leadership and volunteering (Step into Sport), and Swimming.

PESSYP was the joint overall responsibility of the Department of Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) and the DCMS, working in particular with the Department for Universities, Innovation and Skills (DIUS) in relation to 16-19 year olds and with strong links to the Department of Health (Sport England & YST, 2008). In addition, the Further Education Sports Co-ordinator (FESCO) programme was implemented to increase sport activities for 16-19-year-olds, which promoted opportunities for students in FE college to participate, perform, and volunteer in sport (Phillpots, 2011). Importantly, PESSYP retained the 'Five Hour Offer' which had the aim to deliver a successful Olympic/Paralympics Games legacy of more children and young people taking part in physical education and sport in terms of providing every young person aged 5 to 16 in England access to five hours of physical education and sport every week (Sport England & YST, 2009). In particular, the County Sports Partnership played an enhanced role in the delivery of the 5 hour offer with regard to extending activities opportunities in addition to their role within the Step into Sport work strand. In addition, NGBs supported the delivery of many PESSYP work strands including Club Links, Step into Sport, and Competition Managers (YST & Sport England, 2008).



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### 2.4 The major organisations for PESSCL/PESSYP

The structures for administering and delivering sport in the UK are extremely complex because sports organisations have evolved, *ad hoc*, over a long period of time (DCMS, 2002). Furthermore, with respect to managing and delivering PESSCL/PESSYP, the complexity was added to by a proliferation of organisations with responsibilities for youth sport as the Labour government emphasised the importance of building ‘partnership’ and ‘networking’ between and across sport-related organisations and government departments. For instance, some organisations were government departments (such as DCMS and DCFS) or their specific agents such as Sport England and the Qualifications Curriculum Authority. Many other organisations could be described as ‘para-statal’ (Grix & Phillpots, 2011) such as the Youth Sport Trust, Sports Coach UK and the various National Governing Bodies of Sport. Accordingly, policy-making took place in a ‘crowded policy space’ where a range of organisations, interests and agendas co-existed (Houlihan, 2000), exemplifying Goodson’s (1990) theory of curriculum change through struggle and contestation between vying groups and individuals (see also Kirk, 1992b).

With a burgeoning and increasingly complex infrastructure for youth sport in England, the government sport policy, *Playing to Win: A new era for sport* (DCMS, 2008a), was an attempt to restructure and rationalise sport provision to clarify the delivery systems for sport. Three organisations, the Youth Sport Trust, UK Sport and Sport England were designated as the key agencies responsible for the delivery of school sport, high performance sport and community sport respectively. In this respect, the YST had become the main agency for school physical education and sport policy. I will explore the manner in which YST came to be in charge of PESSCL/PESSYP along with the marginalisation of other organisations in chapter 6.

Moreover, the YST had been delivering government policies in partnership with a range of other bodies, including DCMS, DfES, NGBs, Sport England and AfPE to implement specific aspects of PESSCL/PESSYP. The relationships between these organisations in terms of generating particular struggles and contestation in

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relation to their respective positions within Bernstein's recontextualising field will also be explored later in chapter 6.4.

The crucial organisations of the PESSCL/PESSYP in the 2000s will be illustrated in the next sections: DCMS and DfES, YST, Sport England and AfPE.

### **2.4.1 DCMS and DfES**

The key role of the DCMS was to develop and set the overarching strategies for sport and physical activity in the UK (DCMS, 2008a). According to Green (2008), the DCMS was a relatively new player on the policy scene in the 2000s, which lies in the implicit recognition by government of the supposed desirability of the state being centrally involved in the provision and management of sport.

The Department for Education and Skills (DfES, later, DCSF and DfE) was the other major government department concerned with PESS. The role of the DfES in relation to the setting up of the new PESS initiatives such as SSPs has enabled the sports lobby to adopt a more prominent and powerful role in the policy network for policy relating to PESS.

Around the same time, a major player in the PE policy network in the UK came into being – the Youth Sport Trust (YST). The YST played a central role in supporting the government's PESSCL/PESSYP, including support for sports colleges and school sport partnerships (YST, 2007).

### **2.4.2 Youth Sport Trust**

The YST was established in 1994 as an independent charity, funded by Sir John Beckwith, the National Lottery and British Telecom (Phillpots, 2011). Since its establishment the YST has grown in size, status and influence, with a particular focus on the promotion of sport in schools. Specifically, it has focused on encouraging children to do more physical education and sport by developing

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different ways of getting them interested and involved. In order to achieve their goals, they developed 6 key areas of activity: improving the PE experience for every young person; using physical education and sport to inspire learning and achievement; enabling every young person to enjoy competition and providing support to the most talented; developing a new generation of coaches working in schools, connecting school and club sport; and supporting the development of young leaders and volunteers (YST, 2012).

Initially, the YST developed TOP Programmes in primary schools. A key feature of the TOPS Programme was its free in-service training for primary school teachers and the provision of its resource cards and children-friendly equipment (Green, 2008). The success<sup>5</sup> of the TOPS initiatives in primary schools marked the beginning of the YST's commitment to, and influence upon, physical education and school sport (Phillpots, 2012). The YST then became a main player in the development of PESSCL/PESSYP. In particular, they had been deeply involved with support for sports colleges and school sport partnerships in terms of organising sport initiatives including Gifted and Talented programme for developing youth potential and Step into Sport for improving sports leadership and volunteering, and The National Competition Framework which aims to build a world-class system of competitive sport for young people (Green, 2008). The YST's development process will be examined in detail in chapter 6.

### **2.4.3 Sport England**

Sport England (formerly known as the English Sports Council) was established in 1996. Sport England was a Non Departmental Public Body<sup>6</sup> (NDPB), operating at

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<sup>5</sup> However, success was arguably only ever measured in terms of the numbers of teachers attending the training and the number of resource card packs and equipment bags given to schools rather than in terms of what children learned (see Macphail & Kirk, 2001). This was clearly a way of measuring 'success' that was to continue in relation to PESSCL and PESSYP as I will show in chapter 7.

<sup>6</sup> NDPB (Non Departmental Public Bodies) are bodies which have a role in the processes of national Government, but are not government departments or part of one, and which accordingly operate at arm's length from Minister (DCMS, 2002).

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‘arms-length’ from government. They were responsible for promoting and investing in sport, helping the government meet its sporting objectives and distributing both Lottery and Exchequer funds to sport (DCMS, 2002). They worked at this time (in the 2000s) through nine regional offices together with the regional sport boards (YST, 2007). Accountable to Parliament through the DCMS, Sport England had a main role in protecting sport provision as a statutory consuler on planning applications that affected playing fields. They worked in partnership with the Youth Sport Trust in relation to physical education and school sport and community-based sport.

### **2.4.4 The Association for Physical Education (AfPE)**

According to AfPE web site (AfPE, 2012), AfPE was ‘the only physical education association in the UK’. AfPE was launched at the House of Parliament on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2006. Prior to AfPE’s launch there were two leading organisations for physical education: The British Association of Advisers and Lectures in Physical Education (BAALPE) and the Physical Education Association of the United Kingdom (PEAUK). These two organisations decided to integrate into one single subject organisation for physical education in 2006.

The main role of AfPE was to support the National Curriculum for Physical Education (NCPE) as a means of ensuring entitlement of learning experience for young people (DCSF, 2008). In addition, they provide quality assured services and resources, and valuable professional support for their members. They held the view that there are two distinguishing features of physical education (DCSF, 2008): the processes of learning and teaching, and inclusion (i.e. meeting the needs of all children regardless of their backgrounds, abilities and needs). When it comes to the role of AfPE in PESSCL/PESSYP, they had responsibility for teacher training in terms of shaping continuous professional development (CPD) for teachers, in particular creating the learning resources for primary teachers.

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### **2.5 Evaluation and monitoring of PESSCL/PESSYP**

The Blair government emphasised that the concept of ‘evidence-based policy’ was key to assessing the progress being made in delivering public policy (DCMS, 2000; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). Specifically, government’s evidence-based approach emphasised an aspiration to base policy and practice on robust evidence to ensure the achievement of policy goals (Coalter, 2007; Kirk, 2009). In this context, PESSCL/PESSYP included a monitoring and evaluation activity.

The following section will provide an overview of evidence-based policy-making and three main official evaluation organisations, and then some academic research related to PESSCL/PESSYP will be reviewed.

#### **2.5.1 ‘Evidence-based policy’ making and practice**

The concept of ‘evidence-based policy’ (EBP) has gained popularity in government circles in the early years of the last decade. Evidence-based policy-making was one of the key policy issues in the context of the Labour government’s commitment to modernise government, which reflected the importance of performance management strategies for the regulation of public services (Sanderson, 2003). The raw ingredient of evidence was information which could be systematically collected with the aim of increasing the sum of knowledge including expert knowledge, existing domestic and international research, existing statistics, and evaluation of previous policies (Cabinet Office, 1999b; Davies et al., 2000). Evidence could inform policy in terms of sifting, sectioning and sometimes simplification (Pawson, 2006). According to Davies (1999), EBP had been defined as allowing people to make well informed decisions about policies by putting the best available evidence from research at the core of policy development and implementation.

In this context, the importance of demonstrating evidence of ‘social policies’ in the UK was based on the philosophy of ‘what matters is what works’ (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Cabinet Office, 1999a; Davies et al., 2000). In order to support

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evidence-based policy, research budgets were expanded and new researchers were recruited alongside good practice guidance filling websites, publications and workshop programmes (Solesbury, 2001). In this sense, EBP lay at the heart of New Labour's modernising agendas in reference to focusing more on responsive and effective ways of achieving results, as manifest in measurable targets within the Public Service Agreements (Sanderson, 2003).

In the sport policy area, so-called 'independent' consultants were used to conduct monitoring and evaluation (Coalter, 2007; Smith & Leech, 2010). In a similar vein, *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002) emphasised the importance of establishing evidence-based policy for sport:

To develop mass participation policies and determine what works, we recommend, commissioning a series of robustly evaluated pilot programmes to build an evidence-base. Pilots should be directly commissioned, and an innovation fund should be established to support local ideas; and collecting robust information to enable monitoring and evaluation (p.16).

Government criticised the lack of sophisticated evaluation models underlying systematic data collection or monitoring and robust quantitative evidence (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). This is the context in which PESSCL/PESSYP was evaluated and monitored by several organisations, reflecting government's evidence-based policy making as grounded in monitoring and evaluation, which was seen as essential to assess the progress being made in delivering sport policy.

### **2.5.2 Three organisations for evaluating PESSCL and PESSYP**

There were three agencies tasked to evaluate PESSCL: TNS-BMRB, the Loughborough Partnership (LP), and the Office of Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted). Each organisation took a different approach to evaluation. Ofsted assessed the impact of the PESSCL/PESSYP by means of a case study approach based on qualitative methods, while TNS-BMRB

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used quantifiable indicators through a national PESSCL survey such as participation rates for young people to engage in physical activity and out of school. In the case of LP, the role of key people of the SSP, including PDM, SSCo, and PLT, was primarily investigated.

### *i) TNS-BMRB annual monitoring surveys*

TNS-BMRB was established in 1933 in the context of a surge of interest in social study. They provide knowledge that helps both government and the private sector to build a plan to care for society. Their expertise includes the provision of national statistics, public policy analysis, public service performance measurement and improvement, and communications evaluation (TNS-BMRB, 2012).

Between 2003/04 and 2009/10 TNS-BMRB was responsible for conducting seven annual surveys (i.e. the School Sport Survey), based on self-completion postal questionnaires that all schools were required to return. These questionnaires were sent to schools in the School Sport Partnership Programme, and TNS-BMRB managed the data collection process, analysed the data and produced survey results on behalf of the DfES. The large quantitative national surveys collected information on the levels of participation in PESS in partnership schools and were used to measure progress towards the PSA target, i.e., the proportion of pupils who are allegedly engaged in at least two hours of high quality PESS each week (Quick et al., 2008; Smith & Leech, 2010). Furthermore, their report offered information on curriculum time spent on physical education, participation in intra- and inter-school competitive activities, sport provision, club links, community sports, Gifted and Talented pupils and sport volunteering and leadership. Between 2003/04 and 2007/08 TNS-BMRB conducted five annual surveys of the PESSCL initiative. Following that, in 2008/09 and 2009/10 TNS-BMRB added two further surveys for measuring the take up of PESS by young people in schools and colleges, and was extended to cover Years 12 and 13 (Quick et al., 2010).

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### ***ii) Loughborough Partnership (LP)***

The 'Loughborough Partnership' draws together researchers with a common interest in the welfare, education, performance and development of young people participating in sport. The LP is located within the School of Sport, Exercise and Health Sciences at Loughborough University and is made up of approximately 20 full and part-time research staff (LP, 2009).

The LP evaluation research was funded by the DfES in partnership with DCMS, YST and Sport England. The evaluation began in 2003 and continued until 2009 (LP, 2009). The LP carried out an annual national survey of Partnership Development Managers, School Sport Coordinators and Primary Link Teachers along with a series of small case studies of partnerships. From 2006/07, they examined the impact of the SSPs on pupils' attendance, behaviour and attainment. They found considerable unevenness of progress across partnerships alongside the aggregated data from the TNS-BMRB (Kirk, 2009).

### ***iii) The Ofsted study***

The Office of Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted) is an independent, non-ministerial government department responsible for regulating and inspecting registered childcare and children's social care such as adoption and fostering agencies, residential schools, family centres and homes for children (Ofsted, 2009). It also inspects all state-maintained schools, non-association independent schools, pupil referral units, further education, initial teacher education, and publicly funded adult skills and employment-based training, the Children and Family Court Advisory Support Service, and the overall level of services for children in local authority areas (Ofsted, 2009). The aim of all this work is to enhance value for money in the educational services Ofsted regulate and inspect, in order to provide young people, parents and careers, adult learners and employers with benefits. Ofsted is an inspection and regulatory body that reports directly to Parliament. Ofsted has evaluated PESSCL/PESSYP, with a particular focus on SSPs, since 2003 and has published reports on their strengths,



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weaknesses and impact. The primary concerns of the Ofsted evaluation were with the impact of partnerships on teaching quality and standards, partnership management, club/community links and assessment of attainment. They interviewed teachers including headteachers, PDMs, SSCos, and PLTs as well as students. They also observed lessons and analysed documents such as action and development plans and progress reports (Ofsted, 2004). Ofsted evaluated schools using case studies. For instance, between 2005 and 2008, an Ofsted inspection team investigated the impact of PESSCL on the work of 99 primary and 84 secondary schools. In addition, they provided surveys of good practice in 2006 and 2011.

### **2.5.3 Academic research of evaluating policies relating to PESS**

Although there is growing research in physical education and sport published in academic journals, very few studies have been conducted in relation to the analysis of policies relating to PESS (Kirk, 2009). I will examine this issue in chapter 7. Studies which do exist can be classified in terms of three themes: examining the evaluation process and outcomes; investigating main agents or agencies; and evaluating the strands of PESSCL/PESSYP and overall structure and management of PESS.

#### ***i) Examining the evaluation process and outcomes***

Kirk (2005) proposed that there were structural problems with the delivery of physical education and youth sport in England drawing on PESSCL and associated policies such as *Game Plan*. He argued that policy and strategies must draw on all of the available evidence including academic research studies and must be shaped to target specific communities of young people. In a similar vein, Kirk (2009) investigated the complex youth policy system and evaluation research of policy. In particular, he proposed that because evaluation agencies have had a close relationship with government, there seems to be very little room for

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generating information that could ‘facilitate critical reflection and deep insight into the feasibility and desirability of policies’ (p.16). In addition, he suggested that crucial evidence centred on social class, family background and accessibility to facilities had not informed policy-making.

With respect to evidence-based policy, Smith and Leech (2010) examined the practice of SSPs in North West England by conducting semi-structured interviews with the main partnership agents such as PDM’s. They suggested the evaluation process was problematic because the PESSCL survey was commissioned largely using a self-completion method. Furthermore, the evaluation had a particular focus on achieving at least two hours of participation in PESS whilst the quality of pupil’s experiences in these two hours was not investigated. They concluded that evidence-based policy making and practice appear to be problematic mainly due to the preference for measurements using quantitative data to assess the achievement of government policy goals.

Flintoff et al. (2006) argued that the definition of high quality of physical education and school sport in terms of achieving student’s ten outcomes through SSPs can be problematic. The process of how the outcomes are achieved, i.e. on the processes of teaching and learning, can be distorted because evaluation studies were quantitatively focused. It is worth noting that Flintoff et al. (2011), drawing on the reflections of eight experienced coordinators, pointed out that there has been less evaluation of the nature and the quality of young people’s new experiences from school sport partnership programmes although school sport partnership programmes have been evaluated in terms of annual reports. Moreover, they mentioned the narrowly defined target such as ‘2 hours’ have worked to constrain pedagogical practice and constrain the increase of a range of activities beyond competitive team sport.

Edwards (2011) examined the impact of SSPs from the primary school perspectives in his doctoral thesis. He evaluated the impact of SSPs in three different schools using a comparative research method combined with interviews, document analysis and structured lesson observations. The research found that more young people have participated in sport activity and the number of activities

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provided to them has increased due to the PESSCL/PESSYP initiatives. In addition, SSPs have improved the status of PESS in school. However the research also indicated that SSPs had little impact on partnership or networking between schools. Furthermore, talent development and identification was poorly developed whilst the majority of the activities in school were competitive sporting team games. He suggested there is a need to focus studies on the whole school context in order to figure out the impact of SSPs fully.

### ***ii) Investigating main agents or agencies***

Houlihan and Green (2006) investigated the changing status of school sport and physical education in terms of explaining recent changes of the policy relating to PESS based on an analysis of a range of policy documents and government departments and agencies, in particular the YST. Moreover, they looked into the four possible sources of policy change: changing values, beliefs and ideas; interest group lobbying; changes in the organisational infrastructure and patterns of resource dependency; and the impact of key individuals.

In line with this, Phillpots (2012) analysed the SSPs by drawing on the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) as a theoretical tool to analyse policy stability and change in PESS by offering several factors such as role of belief system, key individuals, and policy entrepreneurs and interest groups. She concluded that PESS is highly politicised policy area and in this situation, the involvement of a number of groups or agents such as DfES, DCMS, YST and Sport England were working together to deliver the SSPs initiative. In particular, she highlighted the role of the YST and Sue Campbell as influential in creating and sustaining the SSPs. However their position could also be vulnerable due to 'their reliance upon government funding and ministerial advocacy', which was demonstrated in the coalition government's decision to end the funding for SSPs when they came to power in 2010 (p.17).

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### *iii) Evaluating the selected strands of PESSCL/PESSYP and overall structure of the policy relating to PESS*

Flintoff (2003, 2008b) explored the impact of the School Sport Partnership programme and the role of the physical education teacher by using a range of research methods including participation observation, interviews and questionnaire data. In addition she interrogated the ways in which gender equity issues have been explicitly addressed within SSP programmes. Specifically she examined perceptions of physical education teachers' new roles as School Sport Coordinators and some of the tensions and challenges occurring because of their task of working within a sport discourse-dominated context. She proposed that the nature of SSPs' developments will depend highly on the particular context of teachers centred on their abilities, skills and positioning to shape the direction of their new work (Flintoff, 2003). In particular, she addressed coordinators' work within an equality or difference discourse such as competitive sport and health and found little evidence of the transformative praxis needed for the programme to be truly inclusive (Flintoff, 2008b). She provided an insight into the work of one school sport partnership, and emphasised the gap between feminist theorising about gender equity and the realities of practice in PESS. In particular, she noted that a range of physical activities were limited by a competitive sport discourse, which also deterred many girls from participating in physical education and sport (Flintoff, 2008b).

Bailey et al (2009) examined talent identification, provision and support in secondary physical education by conducting a national (England) survey of talent development practices in schools (n=535). They concluded that schools had diverse strategies to identify and support their talented pupils in physical education and most physical education departments identified pupils in terms of current performance in school sports and school clubs. However, overall, the effectiveness and equity of talent development in schools may be questioned by 'a lack of policy direction, an uneven distribution of staff expertise (in favour of games activities) and a lack of focused professional development' (Bailey et al., 2009, p.59-60).

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Publications in peer reviewed academic journals were produced based on the data collected as part of the official evaluation studies of the strands of PESSCL/PESSYP, including CPD and *Step into Sport*. These papers reported both positive and negative results. Armour and Kakopoulou (2012) investigated an evaluation of a national continuing professional development (CPD) programme in England. They found that the programme was seen as successful by participants in view of providing chances for interactive learning with a wider range of learning activities. However, teachers were unable to develop their learning experience in practice because the theory of learning conducted in the programme was ‘both incomplete and inconsistent’ (Armour & Kakopoulou, 2012, p.345). Kay and Bradbury (2009) examined the capacity of the *Step into Sport* programme to contribute to the development of social capital. They concluded that the *Step into Sport* programme played a positive role in promoting pupils’ personal and skill development to better engage with others and their communities.

With regard to the structure of policy relating to PESS in the UK, there is important research which has criticised the underlying hierarchical power structures (i.e. asymmetrical network governance) of sports policy and its partnership by means of the continuing high degree of central control over policy design and outcomes (Grix & Phillpots, 2011; Phillpots et al., 2010). In this context, Houlihan (2000) demonstrated that school is a crowded policy space which is already congested and targeted by different policy groups with sometimes competing and conflicting policy objectives in terms of a complex range of different interests such as education, welfare and elite sports, by exploring the degree to which the formulation of the SSCs represented a compromise between competing interests.

### **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided an historical account of sport policy of the UK since 1960 in terms of providing social and political contexts, overall sport policy development and organisations along with the development of the physical

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education policy. Furthermore, PESSCL/PESSYP was introduced alongside the main agencies that have delivered government policy. This chapter also introduced the main official evaluation organisations and some academic research evaluating policies relating to PESS. As pointed out in the beginning of this chapter with reference to the historical context, in tracing sport and physical education policy change over time, I was led to a consideration of the social construction of PESS in relation to both continuity and discontinuity of discourses or practices along with the identification of dominant groups involved in sport policy development. In addition, this historical perspective contextualised current policy processes and priorities by noting the rise in the political salience of PESS since the mid-1990s (King, 2009).

We have witnessed that the discourses of elite sport and 'sport for all' have been dominant in sport policy. Central government in the UK, in particular, has succeeded in positioning a sport discourse within NCPE (Penney & Evans, 1999). As discussed in this chapter, the development of both sport policy and policy for PESS is socially constructed in terms of the influences of social, political and cultural contexts along with struggles between vying groups. In this sense, a particular voice embedded in sport policy, such as competitive forms of sports, can be emphasised whilst others (e.g. health and education) can be marginalised or excluded, which will have a significant impact on the forms PESS might take in any given context. Building on these points, I will examine diverse discourses embedded within policy for PESS later in chapters 5.

During the 1990s and 2000s, the political salience of sport increased, and school PESS in particular became a crowded policy space as interest groups became involved in struggles over both discursive and material resources (Kirk, 2009). In particular, with New Labour (1997), PESSCL/PESSYP emerged as central policy initiatives which attempted to create a link between school sport and community as Wolfenden had advocated 40 years before. Importantly, under the New Labour government, sport policy delivery became increasingly centrally managed, monitored and controlled (Phillpot et al., 2010).

In the light of growing political pressure on policy-makers to develop evidence-

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based policy and practice in all areas of social policy including sport since the 1990s, evaluations of PESSCL/PESSYP were commissioned by government to examine the evidence for the effectiveness of sport policy. However there was very little peer review conducted around these policy initiatives (Kirk, 2009). In addition, academic research appeared to have little influence in the process of evaluation. Accordingly, we need to ask if there is evidence of progress in implementing government sports policy and whether such evidence (particularly from academic research from within the PRF) exists to inform further policy development. I will examine this issue in chapter 7.

In the next chapter I explore the theoretical framework and methodology of this thesis centred on Basil Bernstein's work on the social construction of pedagogic discourse where I begin to consider key methodological and conceptual issues that must be addressed in order to respond my research questions.

**CHAPTER 3:  
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS**

**3.1 Introduction**

As outlined in the introduction chapter, this thesis is centrally concerned with identifying the main discourses (chapter 5) and agencies/agents (chapter 6) in policies and strategies relating to PESS, and evaluating the main official evaluation studies of policies for PESS (chapter 7). Whilst chapter 2 provided a historical overview of sport policy development in the UK, with a focus on PESSCL/PESSYP, this chapter provides theoretical and conceptual considerations for analysing the policies for PESS.

This thesis is based on a social constructionist perspective, which is concerned with the meaning-making activities of individuals and groups within PESS during the 2000s. The social constructionist approach primarily foregrounds the belief that the social construction of knowledge, and in this sense policy initiatives that shape forms of PESS, is underpinned and influenced by particular political interests and dominant discourses. Furthermore, the concept of social constructionism and its proliferation as a theoretical approach have created a bridge between policy and practice and between macro and micro analysis of policy in this field by making the connections between consciousness, human agency and social structure (Kirk, 1992b; Penney & Evans, 1999). For these reasons, I have drawn on the work of Bernstein (1990, 1996) – the social construction of pedagogic discourse – to better understand the complex processes of policy development in the UK to position the various agencies and agents in relation to one another and to track the circulation and reconstruction of discourses around PESS. In addition, Bernstein has developed a body of work of



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the social construction of pedagogic discourse that allows one to describe and analyse the relationships between meaning-making processes in the fields of discourse production, reproduction and recontextualisation.

In particular, the interface between the primary and recontextualising fields is key to illustrating the ways in which a range of discourses are transmitted and adopted and to provide a significant lens to understand the activities of agencies, newspapers, and official evaluation studies in the policy area relating to PESS. In other words, from Bernstein's perspective, the major activity of the recontextualising process is constructing the 'what' and 'how' of pedagogic discourse. The 'what' refers to the transmission of specific discourses by interest groups and the 'how' refer to the manner of such transmission (MacPhail, 2001). Therefore this thesis is concerned with not only the identification of a range of discourses generated in the primary field, considering the institutional and societal context, but also the reconstruction of these discourses by vying groups and their appropriation by dominant agents and agencies in the recontextualising field.

It is important to note that the process of recontextualisation is fundamentally a process of pedagogisation, of putting into a pedagogical form discourses that are, as they exist in the primary field of knowledge production, non-pedagogic. To be non-pedagogic, according to Bernstein, is to say that these discourses in their original form are not as a core purpose concerned with teaching, learning, curriculum and assessment. In the process of recontextualisation and thus pedagogising the physical cultural discourses that are the topic of this thesis, we would expect then to see pedagogical issues of teaching, learning and curriculum and their assessment or evaluation, to be explicit and major concerns of agents and agencies in the recontextualising field, a matter we will be investigating empirically in the course of this study.

Accordingly, I take the concept of discourse through to the analysis and understanding of school sport policy and the power relations underpinning, and promoted through, the recontextualising process. It is also pertinent to note that

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discourses are generated under particular conditions and according to particular rules and the control of those conditions and rules is a crucial factor to establish and sustain policy as well as particular forms of consciousness within and through education (Bernstein, 1990).

In this chapter I provide an overview of this main methodology by drawing upon social constructionism centred on Bernstein's theory of the social construction of pedagogic discourse. Before going on to explain in some detail Bernstein theory (3.4), I firstly discuss two distinct methodological perspectives for research in policy for PESS (3.2), a policy science analytical perspective, and educational policy sociology. Following my discussion on social constructionism (3.3) I will deal with the meaning of social constructionism in relation to the construction of school knowledge and the concept of discourse related to power relations between interested groups. After foregrounding my discussion on the methodological issues shaped by Bernstein's work, I will outline the core concept of my research, 'physical cultural discourses' in relation to Bernstein's theory (3.5). In the final section (3.6), textual analysis will be explored alongside the concepts of 'articulation' (Hall, 1985) and 'webs of signification' (Geertz, 1973).

### **3.2 Two methodological perspectives for research in policy relating to PESS**

Although in the UK an increasing body of sport policy research is centred on sports-related public policy issues such as equity, doping, and violence (Houlihan, 2005), there has been relatively few studies connected to the policy relating to PESS and particularly linked to improvement of the quality of PESS. However policy research relating to PESS has been growing since youth sport development gained attention from government from the 1990s through a range of policy documents and through NCPE and the PESSCL strategy. We can identify at least two distinct and broad approaches for the analysis of policy relating to PESS: policy science perspectives for sport policy analysis, and socio-historical perspectives for educational policy analysis.

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### 3.2.1 Policy science perspectives for sport policy analysis

The first perspective is to draw on the policy science analytical frameworks and theories, namely the 'stage model' (e.g. Lasswell, 1956), 'institutional analysis' (e.g. Thelen & Steinmo, 1992), 'policy network and community' (e.g. Benson, 1982; Hecllo, 1978; Rhodes, 1988), 'governance' (e.g. Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, 2006), 'advocacy coalition' framework' (ACF) (e.g. Sabatier, 1988, 1998; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993), and 'multiple streams' (MS) (e.g. Kingdon, 1984, 1995). The main aim of this perspective is to examine the politics of policy processes including policy-making and delivery, the articulation of interests, dynamic relations between organisations and individuals, and the influence of power on and through policy outputs and outcomes (Houlihan, 2005; Fischer, 2003; King, 2009). In this regard, this approach is mainly concerned with the interplay between structure and agency to explain and analyse both 'policy stability and change' in terms of conducting a historical analysis of policy change and considering the entire range of factors affecting public policy within the dynamic and contextual nature of the sport policy process (Houlihan, 2005, p.168).

The stage approach is a linear and rational manner of understanding policy processes according to several stages such as issue definition, agenda setting, policy implementation and evaluation (Lasswell, 1956, cited in King, 2009). According to Houlihan, (2005), this approach appears to fail to show the complexity of the policy area. In contrast, both policy networks and communities are concerned with the complexity of the policy area in that a policy is established within a context of relationships and resource dependencies (Benson, 1982; Fischer, 2003; Parsons, 1995). Whilst the spectrum of networks within policy communities offers insight into understanding the extent of policy consensus and the context for strategic action, a weakness of these approaches is an over-emphasise on policy stabilities with little considerations of endogenous change (King, 2009). There are certain limitations to provide more plausible explanation for policy change by means of contributing to a robust policy framework. Both the ACF and MS, however, provide more elaborated approaches for policy analysis

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because they are more coherent frameworks along with widely applied empirical research (Houlihan, 2005; King, 2009).

The ACF (Sabatier, 1988, 1998) serves as a powerful framework and a more comprehensive theory for the analysis of the policy process in relation to the role of ideas, interest groups and powerful individuals in order to more fully understand the complexities of policy-making, implementation and change by offering key ideas from a number of approaches. The key ideas include: a long-term analysis (at least 10 years) for understanding policy change; a focus on subsystems and policy network/communities for the analysis of policy process; the importance of belief and ideas in policy-making; the role of exogenous factors including socio-economic factors, technology, governing coalitions, and public opinion in policy change and the role of policy brokers who act to mediate between competing coalitions (Houlihan, 2005; Parsons, 1995; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). The policy systems comprise several 'advocacy coalitions' which may frequently include interest groups distinguished by their resources and beliefs under hierarchical belief systems including deep core, policy core and secondary aspects. According to the ACF, policy change can be seen as the function of competition between advocacy coalitions and an information function as the main force for change, whilst the policy-making process including agenda-setting is significantly dominated by elite opinion (Parsons, 1995). Houlihan (2005) suggested a modified version of ACF is the most promising way forward for the analysis of sport policy because ACF is the most fully developed approach and includes empirical evidence. In addition, although there are some difficulties in identifying belief system and coalition subsystems alongside a range of variables of policy change, the ACF has utility in recognising sport policy as comprising complex, multidimensional and fragmented subsystems (King, 2009).

The MS framework (Kingdon, 1984, 1995) is primarily concerned with agenda setting processes with an emphasis on the inter-relationship between ideas, agencies, and agents within institutional arrangements. Kingdon (1984, 1995) proposed there were three distinct 'streams' in conceptualising complex policy

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processes: problems, policies and politics. The problem stream consists of identified issues which government needs to action such as, for example, 'growing obesity.' A crisis or event, scientific indicators of a problem (e.g. collection of statistics on obesity) and feedback on the performance of ongoing policies could serve to give rise to the emergence of problems (Kingdon, 1995). Kingdon conceptualized the policy stream as 'primeval soups' which means that a range of ideas and knowledge rise and float around in this 'soup' and some ideas are supported by certain policy communities. In particular, policy entrepreneurs advocate particular ideas as solutions to problems and they are 'willing to invest resources in pushing their pet proposals or problems' (Kingdon, 1984, p.151). The political stream consists of a number of powerful effects on policy agendas including national mood (e.g. public opinion), election results, government change, pressure groups and so on (King, 2009). The successful launch of policy change happens at certain critical times when the separate streams are joined, which opens a 'policy window' which is 'an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions' (Kingdon, 1995, p.165).

The MS framework has certain limitations in that the framework over-emphasises the agenda-setting of the policy processes (King, 2009) and under-theorizes the concept of power (Houlihan, 2005). However the MS offers great utility to analyse policy in the field of PESS where institutional weakness and fragmentation exists (Houlihan & Green, 2006; King, 2009). Furthermore, this 'crowded policy space' (Houlihan, 2000) provides more opportunities for policy entrepreneurs to promote or change particular ideas for policy agenda setting. In addition, Kingdon's concept of 'spillover' offers important insight into understanding the relationship between PESS and other policy areas including education and health. Accordingly, in this thesis, the MS framework will offer a plausible explanation of policy processes and change in relation to the main activities of the YST, in particular the three 'streams' impacting on the YST becoming the main organisation for PESS in chapter 6.3.

In the field of sport, policy researchers often select political science approaches,

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including institutional analysis (e.g. Houlihan & White, 2002), governance (e.g. Grix & Phillpots, 2011; Phillpots & Grix, 2012, Phillpots et al., 2010), ACF (e.g. Green & Houlihan, 2004, 2005; Phillpots, 2012), and the MS framework (e.g. Houlihan, 2000; Houlihan & White, 2002; Houlihan & Green, 2006; Reid & Thorburn, 2011), in order to aid understanding of sport policy-making process, change and of the significant role of government or state agencies. Interestingly, a governance approach in sport policy is concerned with government regulation and ability to determine and deliver sport policy in terms of central governmental funding with policy decisions within ‘asymmetrical network governance’ (Grix & Phillpots, 2011) in contrast to the dominant ‘new’ governance arrangements for public policy implementation through networks or partnerships. I will discuss partnerships and government control in the process of PESSCL/PESSYP in chapter 6.5.3.

In considering policy framing PESSCL and SSPs, there were two distinct works: Houlihan and Green (2006) and Phillpots (2012). Houlihan and Green (2006) provided four possible sources of policy relating to PESS change by using ASF and MS framework: changing values, beliefs and ideas (i.e. the repetition of the role of PESS in relation to whole school improvement); interest group lobbying (i.e. NCPE working group and Speednet); changes in organizational infrastructure and resource dependency (i.e. the emergence of the YST) and; the significance of influential individuals (i.e. Sue Campbell). Phillpots (2012) also examined the rise of SSPs through the use of the ACF as a fully articulated and internally coherent framework tool, in order to investigate the SSPs process through a particular focus upon the main variables that include agencies or agent (e.g. YST and Sue Campbell) and political structure (e.g. the change of value systems of government or administrative arrangements and resource dependencies).

To summarise, political science approaches may give us valuable perspectives on apprehending a range of aspects of the policy processes and policy decision-making centred on agenda-setting, policy-making, and policy delivery. However since this approach has been largely neglectful of sociological consideration of

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education, there might be considerable limitations in providing educational implications for young people in regard to pedagogic discursive practice including the social construction of school knowledge, the role of educators as agents, and the teaching-learning process. Moreover, there is very little published work that investigates policy relating to PESS in the context of educational implications for the field of PESS.

### **3.2.2 Education policy sociology**

A second methodological perspective to use is sociological perspectives for education policy analysis: education policy sociology (e.g. Ball, 1990, 1994; Bowe et al., 1992; Taylor et al., 1997) including both critical and post-structural approaches and a social constructionist perspective, particularly linked to Basil Bernstein's (1990, 1996) theory of social construction of pedagogic discourse in order to understand the construction of school knowledge (e.g. Kirk, 1992b, 1998, 1999; Kirk & Colquhoun, 1989; Kirk & Macdonald, 1999, 2001; Kirk et al., 1997; Penney & Chandler, 2000). The importance of these sociological perspectives lies in an understanding of contemporary education policy as well as pursuing the future development of education policy and practice in schools (Penney & Evans, 1999; Whitty, 1985).

The education policy sociology perspective applies a conceptualisation of policy as 'policy as process' or 'policy as discourse' (Ball, 1990, 1994). This approach tends to investigate both macro and micro policy levels to attempt to link between them, seeking a better understanding of 'the relationship between policy statements issued by identified 'makers' of policy and the often contradictory, contrasting and unintended practices in schools' (Penney and Evans, 1999, p.20). That is to say, this approach to policy as a distributed process enables us to analyse education policy-making and implementation, and often stresses inequities that exist in any policy process, particularly the marginal role of professional educators in the policy-making process. For instance, several articles

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used a theoretical standpoint drawing on ‘policy as discourse’ in order to figure out how a dominant discourse, such as competitive sport, shapes policy for PESS and legitimates particular forms of PESS (e.g. Evans, 1990; Green, 2004; Penney & Evans, 1997, 1999; Swabey & Penney, 2011; Yelling, 2002). In a similar vein, Penney and Evans (1999) have explored the complex relationship between policy-making and practice (i.e. implementation) in physical education through analysing the processes involved in the development of the NCPE for England and Wales between 1988 and 1995. They concluded that although the new NCPE was adopted in England and Wales, there appears to be very little change in the day-to-day practices of teachers, largely because teachers’ voices were marginalised in the NCPE making process. In this sense, the education policy sociology approach allows us to gain a better understanding of the relationship between education policy statements and often contrasting and unintended practices in physical education, that is, where slippage occurs between the original and reinterpreted policy and between policy-making and implementation of policy.

Regarding the social constructionist approach, it is primarily concerned with exploring the implications of the construction of educational discourse for educational policy development and change in areas such as the school curriculum and the curriculum of higher education. In particular, by using Bernstein’s work, education researchers attempt to provide a means of making effective strategic intervention in practice, particularly in maximising the benefits of those moments offered by education policy change and reform in the field of school physical education. For example, Kirk and Macdonald (1999) explored the possibilities for teacher ownership of curriculum change by means of Bernstein’s (1990) theory of the social construction of pedagogic discourse that allows us to understand the nature and complexity of educational reform and the role of teachers in Health and Physical Education in Australia. They concluded that the majority of teachers did not operate as agents in the recontextualising field, but played a crucial role in transforming the innovative idea of policy reforms in the secondary field. Likewise, Macdonald, Kirk and Braiuka (1999) investigated the ways in which



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knowledge in the physical activity field is produced and reproduced in the interface between senior school and higher education by tracing student's learning trajectories from school to higher education. Macphail (2001), in her doctoral thesis, investigated the social construction of knowledge (as science-based and sport performance-oriented) and subsequently teacher curriculum decision-making and pupil subject choice related to the higher grade physical education policy in Scotland. She concluded that the interpretation of high grade PE by teacher and student is not construed by explicit reasons for the decision to offer the subject, but more likely embedded in the context in which individual teachers' work and in pupils' enjoyment and future vocational aspirations. In a sense, this approach is distinctively different from previously discussed approaches earlier in this chapter in that it is keen on understanding the construction of school knowledge embedded within policy according to policy change, in relation to the improvement and reform of the current physical education system.

To summarise, Bernstein's approach to educational policy sociology is particularly helpful in policy analysis when addressing the relations between policy and the organisation and content of pedagogic practice in term of investigating relations between categories of knowledge at different levels and in different sites, whether these categories are between discourses, agencies and practices (Penney and Evans, 1999). Accordingly, in this thesis, I adopt Bernstein's social construction of pedagogic discourse as a social constructionist perspective in order to try to connect with current policy change and pedagogic implications for PESS through the social production of knowledge in the education context. It is important to note that the thesis's major focus is to explore the process of knowledge production and its transmission to make sense of PESS as it is constructed by agents and agencies in order to investigate the meaning-making process for dominant versions of school subject. Furthermore, a political science perspective centred on the MS framework will be used to analyse and explain complex policy processes of the main recontextualising agents and agencies in chapter 6.3 in that the MS framework is a powerful framework for

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mapping the activities of dominant groups within what Bernstein calls the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF), to be discussed in chapter 3.4.

Before looking into the work of Bernstein, I will discuss the concept of social constructionism.

### 3.3 Social constructionism

The concept of social constructionism has influenced the sociology of knowledge which is concerned with how knowledge is constructed and what kind of knowledge is constructed by focusing on concepts such as ideology and discourse (Burr, 2003). Originally, Berger and Luckmann (1966) made an important contribution to shedding light on the notion of social constructionism, through their book *The Social Construction of Reality*. They argued that the social world is constructed by human action and interaction. In a similar vein, Goodson (1990) emphasised the importance of social constructionist perspectives since it enabled the expansion of perspectives on education policy by moving to a 'proactive and interactive level' (p.308). Bryman (2004) clarified the notion of constructionism in terms of ontological considerations:

Constructionism is an ontological position that asserts those social phenomena and their meanings continually being accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision. Constructionism essentially invites the researcher to consider the ways in which social reality is an ongoing accomplishment of social actors rather than something external to them and that totally constrains them (p.16).

Bryman proposed that social events and properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals or groups rather than phenomena separate from their construction. A useful illustrative is the 'obesity crisis' (see 5.4). With regard

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to the social constructionist approach, the obesity crisis is socially constructed as something whose meaning is built up, rather than a natural fact, through the values and practices of dominant social groups. A good example is the way in which supporters of the crisis regularly conflate overweight and obesity, which are two different concepts, in order to inflate figures and confirm their claims about the crisis (Kirk, 2006). Accordingly, the meaning of the obesity crisis is not a distinct inert entity, but largely contestable because power relations are inevitably involved and the term is used in particular ways according to vying groups' interests. Another example of social constructionism is provided by Kirk (1992) who discussed the social construction of school knowledge. Specifically, he attempted to investigate how physical education has been socially constructed during the post-second World War years in the UK. He suggested that the meaning of physical education and its aims, content, and the form of pedagogy were contested by a number of vying groups both inside and outside schools and that there was a fundamental shift from physical education as a gymnastics-based activity to physical education based in competitive sports and games.

As discussed in the previous chapter, policy development relating to PESS can be understood as part of social processes which include the social reproduction and transformation of structures of meaning. In particular, this thesis has emphasised the constructive power of language and discourse as a system of signs rather than constructive work of individuals (Burr, 2003)<sup>7</sup>, in order to address the construction of the policy shaping PESS. Hence it is significant to appreciate the way in which policy embodies certain voices and exercises power by means of a production of 'truth' and 'knowledge' as discourse, that is, what privilege certain discourses or visions are legitimated by whom and how (Ball, 1994, p.21). All forms of social constructionism take the force of language in the wake of social process, therefore the analysis of symbolic forms, in this case of discourses surrounding PESSCL/PESSYP, is at the heart of the social constructionist

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<sup>7</sup> According to Burr (2003, p.20), the fundamental difference between constructivism and social constructionism is that whilst constructivism emphasises that the individual is seen as an agent who is in control of construction process, social constructionism is more focused that constructions are the product of social force, either structural or interactional.

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research method.

In this sense, I will explore the concept of discourse which is crucial in this thesis' understanding of PESSCL/PESSYP, in particular in relation to the construction of the policy for PESS.

### 3.3.1 The concept of discourse

The concept of discourse has been used across sociological and educational research to examine the values and interests that policy expresses and promotes and those values and interests that they overlook or marginalise because different discourses have different ways of representing aspects of the world (Fairclough, 2003; Penney & Evans, 1999). Specifically, the notion of discourse is central to researching the social construction of school knowledge because discourses are embedded within physical education and school sport policy documents (Kirk, 1992b). Kirk (1992b) points out that discourse refers to:

the ways in which people communicate their understanding of their own and others' activities, and of events in the world around them. In other words, it refers to the ways in which they speak about, in this case, school physical education, not only through what they say verbally, but through what they write and what they do; and also through the gaps or silences in their discourses. The notion of discourse allows ideologies, which circumscribe the activities of particular individuals and groups, to be explored, revealing on the one hand the extent to which broader social forces have made an impression on their consciousness (p.23).

Accordingly, discourse can be characterised as a 'common sense' way of seeing the world (Scott, 2000, p.27). Likewise, we can think of discourses as ways of representing our social world and understanding the relationships of all meaning-making activity, relating to specific circumstances, periods in time and space, and so on within the world (Kirk, 1998, 1999; Scott, 2000).

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Discourse consists of sets of ideas or concepts through which voice is produced and reproduced in a particular historical context (Halperin & Heath, 2012; Laffey & Weldes, 2004). As such, policy can be seen as an ideological expression or aspiration of a particular government for a particular strategic direction or selection of values, so policy is clearly a matter of the ‘authoritative allocation of values’ (Ball, 1990, p.3). In this sense, the concept of discourse can be significant for study in the field of social constructionism in that discourses not only make it possible for us to see the world in a certain way, but it is also fundamentally associated with relations of power.

### **3.3.2 The concept of power**

The meaning of power is a central issue for social and political analysis and the concept of power can be interpreted in different ways. For instance, Marxism understood power as the control of others’ actions even in the face of their resistance, concentrated in social structures (Giddens, 2009). In contrast, Foucault (1977) proposed power can be found in all social relations in that it is exercised at all levels of social interaction including individuals and institutions in a capillary form. Lukes (1974) outlined three dimensions of power to offer the basis for sociological studies of power (Parson, 1995): behavioural (focusing on behaviour in decision-making relating to information and resources), critical behavioural (focusing on decision-making and non-decision-making), and radical and anti-behavioural (shaping of consciousness of others). In general, in social and political studies, it can be said that the term power can be viewed as ‘a capacity of agents, as well as a relational and structural phenomenon’ (Green, 2004, p.380). To sum up, the concept of power needs to be discussed in order to provide a plausible account of the influence of interests constructing policy relating to PESS.

Houlihan (2008) states that various approaches to using the concept of power can be found in sport policy research, from a view of power as accessibility to resources within state institutions (e.g. Moodie, 1984) to multi-dimensional and capillarised power (e.g. Foucault, 1977; Lukes, 1974). These approaches to power

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focus on the study of the public policy of sport in terms of addressing ‘questions of access to the agenda of politics: how access is achieved and why certain issues capture the attention of key policy actors’ (Houlihan, 2008, p.38). In addition to these political science approaches, this thesis understands the term power from Bernstein’s perspective which is more concerned with centred on power relations in the process of the construction of pedagogic discourse in schools. Bernstein proposed that power is exercised through symbolic control of the economic field within any social division of labour.

Power relations create boundaries, legitimise boundaries, reproduce boundaries, between different categories of groups, gender, class, race, different categories of discourse, and different categories of agents. Thus, power always operates to produce dislocations, to produce punctuations in social space and their distinct voices. The concept of power is related to the means of understanding the process of symbolic control regulated by different modalities of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 1996, p.5).

Bernstein used the term ‘classification’ to examine power relations which constructed boundary rules, for example, between school subjects. He argued that the link between power, knowledge, and consciousness is constructed by the pedagogic device that is ‘a symbolic ruler of the construction and distribution of forms of the specializing of school subjects’ (Bernstein, 1990, p.205). Accordingly, power can impact on legitimating what and whose physical cultural knowledge is valued as worthwhile knowledge in schools. In addition, the main power relationship of interest in this thesis lies in the relationship between agencies in the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF) and Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF). The concept of ‘relative autonomy’, originating in post-Marxist accounts of power in education (Hargreaves, 1982), plays an important role in defining the space available to agents/agencies in education to construct pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 1990, p.209). This concept of relative autonomy refers to the possibilities of schools to pursue social transformation (i.e., remaking school knowledge in terms of the degree of freedom to produce alternative forms

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of school knowledge) and to resist the dominant social relations reproduced through ‘the state and a capitalist mode of production’, within a dynamic interplay between the political, cultural and economic fields in education beyond the superstructure’s positioning of schooling determined purely by the economic base (Apple, 1985, p.29). Accordingly, relative autonomy is a useful concept for understanding educational policy making and its effects upon school practice in analyzing degrees of dependence and independence between diverse levels in the policy-making process (Hargreaves, 1982).

In this sense, this thesis focuses on a relational notion of power and the outcome of power is determined by the capacity to access relevant resources as well as meaning-making processes (i.e. symbol control) in specific conditions of struggle with others (Bernstein, 1990; Hargreaves, 1986). That is to say, Bernstein proposed that power is inseparable from physical and discursive resources, which allowed me to understand not only the unequal access to resources and information that advantage dominant groups in constructing and constituting policy for their purposes, but also the capacity of the dominant groups to articulate PESS with selected appropriate physical cultural discourses. In chapter 6, the main agents/agents’ functions of symbolic control relating to a range of articulations surrounding policy for PESS will be discussed. In particular, this thesis emphasised that the YST have played a significant role in constructing and defining the meaning of school physical education. Furthermore, the unequal structures of power between the YST and other subordinate groups can be examined in chapter 6.4.

### **3.3.3 Discourse and power relations**

There may be numerous discourses surrounding any object and each has a different way of interpreting the world, in other words, different discourses construct our social world in different ways (Burr, 2003). Some particular discourses are more pervasive than others, that is, only certain discourses can be represented as meaningful in terms of operating across a wide range of sites (Ball,

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1994; Penney & Evans, 1999; Wright, 2004). Accordingly, it is crucial to analyse the existence of dominant discourses within social policy in order to figure out the main voice/s of policy. In a similar vein, Fairclough (2001) elaborated on the social ordering of relationships amongst discourses which is that some discourses are dominant or mainstream in the process of meaning-making whilst others are marginal or oppositional. For this reason, it can be significant to identify what discourses embedded in policies and strategies relating to PESS were dominant, and which discourses were marginalised in order to make it possible for us to see policy in a certain light and the way in which it had a powerful influence on shaping the implementation of PESS in schools. I will discuss this in chapters 5 in detail.

In summary, discourse expresses particular interests and values, and also creates particular meanings (Penney & Evans, 1999). It does ideological work, in the service of particular agencies and agents, in the PESS policy arena. We can think of discourses as ‘about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak where, when and with what authority’ in a particular social setting (Ball, 1990, p.17). In other words, we can ask what discourses are privileged and who uses the dominant discourse in policy for PESS? Moreover, in order to understand discourse, we need to take into account the underlying logic of social and political agencies of a certain arena and time and to uncover the structure of power which is not natural, but socially constructed (Crawford, 2004). In chapter 5, I will examine the dominant discourse which informed the policy for PESS as well as media commentaries. Following that, chapter 6 will cover the main agents and agencies who ‘speak’ the privileging and privileged discourses.

Again, this thesis is mainly applying Bernstein’s theory because it provides a useful lens to understanding the nature and complexity of the formation of government sports policy and its part in the social construction of school knowledge. In other words, Bernstein’s social construction of pedagogic discourse has offered a powerful window to better understand ‘both the connections and between processes at different levels and sites’ in terms of addressing dominant



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discourses informed policy and the relationship between particular policy initiatives and the agents or agencies operating in the RF (Penney & Evan, 1999, p.117). Hence the concept of discourse is significant to Bernstein's work. He uses 'discourse' to provide an indication of the enduring focus of his research on communication which takes place within and between sites of the production of meaning (Kirk, 1998). In the section below I illustrate using the work of Bernstein, the social construction of pedagogic discourse.

### **3.4 The social construction of pedagogic discourse**

Bernstein (1990, 1996) produced a theory of social and educational codes and their effect on social reproduction. Specifically, Bernstein proposed a model of the relationships between meaning-making processes at a range of levels within educational systems and other regulatory institutions and practices that take place within and between sites of the production of meaning (Kirk & Macdonald, 2001). In addition, Bernstein paid attention to 'the complexity of agencies, agents and social relations through which power, knowledge, and discourse are brought into play as regulative devices' (Bernstein, 1990, p.134). His term 'discourse' can be understood as 'educational transmissions' with regard to school knowledge (Kirk, 1998, p.104). Substantially, Bernstein provided valuable concepts to employ in policy analysis in that they allow us to enlarge our understanding of the processes of policy-making for PESS at different levels and sites.

#### **3.4.1 Pedagogic device**

The notion of pedagogic device is described as a mechanism for the delocation and relocation of discourse and the production and reproduction of school knowledge. Singh (2001) offered a definition of the pedagogic device. She stated that Bernstein (1990, 1996, 2000) described:

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The ordering and disordering principles of the pedagogising of knowledge as the pedagogic device. Bernstein suggested that this device constituted the relay or ensemble of rules or procedures via which knowledge (intellectual, practical, expressive, official or local knowledge) is converted into pedagogic communication. Such pedagogic communication acts on meaning potential, that is, the potential knowledge that is available to be transmitted and acquired. The pedagogic device provides the generative principles of the privileging texts of school knowledge through three interrelated rules: distributive, recontextualizing, and evaluative. These rules are hierarchically related, in that the recontextualizing rules are derived from the distributive rules, and the evaluative rules are derived from the recontextualizing rules. Thus, there is a necessary interrelationship between these rules, and there are also power relationships between them (Singh, 2002, p.573).

Given the prominence of power relationships in the expression and operation of these rules, the pedagogic device is a crucial arena of struggle and control (Bernstein, 1990; Sadovnik, 1995). Effectively, the pedagogic device is ‘a symbolic ruler, ruling consciousness, in the sense of having power over it, and ruling, in the sense of measuring the legitimacy of the realizations of consciousness’ (Bernstein, 1996, p.114).

### *i) Distributive rule*

Distributive rules distribute different forms of consciousness to different social groups, and thus distribute access to the ‘unthinkable’ which provides for the possibility of new knowledge, and access to the ‘thinkable’ that is to officially sanctioned knowledge (Bernstein, 1996, p.114). Distribute rules attempt to control access to the field for the legitimate production of new knowledge such as intellectual (academic), express (arts), or craft knowledge (Bernstein, 1990, 1996). In this way, PESS-related knowledge such as sport, health and citizenship

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constituting physical culture is produced in the field of production. While I will seek to identify the major discourses produced in the primary field that provide the raw materials for the social construction of forms of PESS, I am not explicitly concerned in this study with the operation of the distributive rules within the realm of physical cultural discourse.

### *ii) Recontextualising rule*

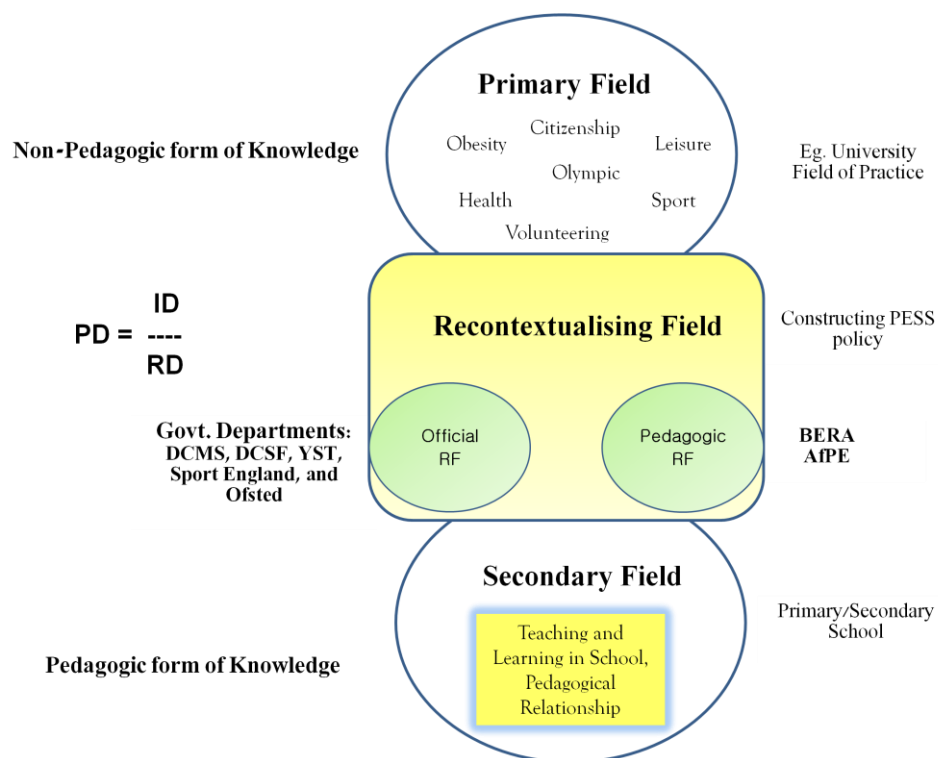
Recontextualising rules regulate ‘the formation of specific pedagogic discourse’ (Singh, 2001, p.573). The process of recontextualising entails principles of de-location which means selective appropriation of a discourse from the field of production, and a principle of re-location of that discourse within the recontextualising field (Bernstein, 1996, p.113). In this process of de- and re-location, the original discourse (i.e. ‘unthinkable’) transforms into official knowledge (i.e. ‘thinkable’) according to the play of specialised interests and struggles among vying groups (Bernstein, 1996; Goodson, 1990). Recontextualising rules regulate the formation of specific pedagogic discourse, that is, regulate the work of agencies or agents who construct the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of pedagogic discourse, and from this process, the original discourse takes on a new form (Bernstein, 1990). The process of recontextualisation is then at root a process of pedagogisation, and it is this process that is the primary focus of this study.

### *iii) Evaluation rule*

Evaluation rules are associated with providing the criteria to be transmitted and acquired in the school setting. These rules specify the transmission of knowledge under suitable time and context (Apple, 2002). The rules regulate and constitute pedagogic practice at the classroom level in terms of ‘acting selectively on content,

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the form of transmission and their distribution to different groups of pupils in different contexts’ (Bernstein, 1996, p. 115). Importantly, the evaluation rule has a significant role in checking and monitoring the adequate realisation of the pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 1990). In this sense, evaluation rules are concerned with recognising what counts as valid knowledge in relation to ‘acquisition of instructional (i.e. curricular content) and regulative (i.e. social conduct and manner) texts’ in relation to specific pedagogic practices (Singh, 2002, p.573). In chapter 7, the main official evaluation studies and their related academic journals will be investigated in order to understand ‘how’ the dominant agent or agency had monitored the realisation of the pedagogic discourse in school and ‘which’ contents of evaluation reports was prioritised for ‘what’ purposes.



**Figure 2 The three fields for the production, reproduction and recontextualising of pedagogic discourse**

It is important to note here that my concern is not how the evaluative rules operated at the level of the school and the classroom in the secondary field of knowledge reproduction. Consistent with my definitions in Chapter One of

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‘policy’, ‘strategy’ and ‘PESS’, I am concerned instead with how the evaluative rules were constructed in the recontextualising field for application in the secondary field as part of the process of pedagogising physical cultural discourses. My focus is then the strategizing of agents and agencies within the recontextualising field and with how they attempted to establish what would count as legitimate realisation of the instructional discourse of PESS.

### 3.4.2 Fields of Knowledge Production

Bernstein examines the relationships between the rules of the pedagogic device and the fields for production, recontextualising and reproduction of pedagogic discourse. He identifies distributive, recontextualising and evaluation rules operating within three fields: distributive rules in a primary field of knowledge production, evaluation rules in a secondary field of the reproduction of knowledge, and recontextualising rules in a recontextualising field as shown in Figure 2. In particular, the concept of pedagogic discourse associated with the recontextualising processes is crucial to the methodology in this thesis, in relation to understanding the construction of PESS through identifying physical cultural discourses embedded within policy.

#### *i) Primary Field: Production of discourse and knowledge*

In a primary field, new knowledge is constructed, developed and positioned in terms of distributive rules. Bernstein regards the primary field as the place in which the ‘unthinkable’ becomes reality and where new knowledge is constructed in disciplines such as law, medicine, human movement studies or sociology of the educational system from university, research institutes or individual research normally funded either privately or by the State (Kirk, 1998; Kirk & Macdonald, 1999). As such, a range of discourses around PESS such as obesity, elite sport, volunteering and other discourses were generated in the primary field. These

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discourses are non-pedagogic forms of knowledge and the knowledge is then reworked or translated by an agency into policy documents, strategies and initiatives.

In this sense, we can say that different forms of knowledge in the primary field are created by distributive rules which regulate power relations between political and social agencies (Karhus, 2010). Therefore different social groups have different and inequitable access to the processes of knowledge production in the primary field (Kirk, 2010). In this regard, the primary field is crucial in understanding the creation of physical culture discourses which becomes the substance of sport policy-making in the recontextualising field.

#### *ii) Secondary field: reproduction of discourse in school setting*

In a secondary field, there are various organisations and agencies who engage in the selective reproduction of educational discourse determined by evaluative rules (Bernstein, 1990). In other words, the secondary field is centrally concerned with the reproduction of knowledge and new ideas now that they are ‘thinkable’ and this work takes place mainly in educational institutions such as primary and secondary schools (Kirk & Macdonald, 1999).

Hence, the secondary field is concerned with the reproduction of knowledge which is in the form of the instructional discourse/s of PESS. In other words, ‘the moved discourse is reconstituted as a pedagogic text’, in this sense, the pedagogic text will ‘never be identical with the discourses’ from the primary field (Apple, 2002, p.613). In the secondary field, teachers use recontextualised knowledge as the basis of their content for particular lessons using a number of pedagogical strategies (Tinning, 2010). For instance, informed by a competitive sport discourse that reproduces particular knowledge and values of sport as it is practiced in the primary field, many physical education teachers, arguably, tend to teach performance-oriented or sport skill-based contents with teacher-centred

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teaching methods in school, while legitimating specific practices associated with hegemonic forms of masculinity such as controlled aggression, object manipulation and the invasion and domination of space (Penney & Evans, 1999).

#### *iii) Recontextualising field: transforming discourse into pedagogic discourse*

The recontextualising field is central to this thesis. Recalling Figure 2, the recontextualising field is located between primary and secondary fields, whose agents are concerned with the movements of discourses from the primary context of knowledge production to the secondary context of reproduction (Bernstein, 1990), involving what is at root a process of pedagogisation of discourse. Bernstein (1990) regarded the major activity of the recontextualising field as:

Constituting the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of pedagogic discourse. The ‘what’ refers to the categories, contents, and relationships to be transmitted, that is their classification and the ‘how’ refers to the manner of their transmission, essentially to their framing. The recontextualising field brings together discourses from fields which are usually strongly classified, but rarely brings together the agents (p.197-198).

In this regard, the recontextualising field is related to the mediation of discursive resources between the primary and secondary contexts, that is, production and reproduction respectively (Kirk & Macdonald, 2001). Substantively, the major activities of the recontextualising field are creating, maintaining, changing, and legitimising discourse, and the transmission and organisational practices which regulate the internal orderings of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 1990).

Bernstein (1990) proposes that the recontextualising field consists of an Official Recontextualising Field (ORF) and a Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF). The ORF includes specialised departments and sub-agencies of the government and local educational authorities together with their research and system of inspectors. In the case of sport policy, agents working in the ORF include DCMS, DfE (previously, DfES and DCSF), YST, Sport England, TNS-BMRB, LP, and

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Ofsted. The ORF normally produce the ‘dominant discourse’ (Bernstein, 1990, p.196) since agencies in this sub-field tend to be regulated directly by government, politically through the legislature and administratively through the civil service. In other words, the ORF is regulated by the distribution of power and control which determines the distribution, possibilities, and uses of physical and discursive resources. I will examine the YST as a main agency in the ORF later in chapter 6.

When it comes to the PRF, this field includes universities together with their research, specialised journals, publishing houses and their readers and advisers, and organisations such as the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and the Association for Physical Education (AfPE). While the ORF is regulated by government so that they are inevitably interested in the government policy intentions, the PRF is concerned with the movement of policy from their production to their reproduction. In other words, the PRF is concerned with the rules of specific pedagogic discourse such as subject and teaching knowledge (Singh, 2002).

Both sub-fields, the ORF and the PRF, may well have ‘a range of ideological pedagogic positions which struggle for the control of the field, and these positions may be opposed to each other’ (Bernstein, 1996, p.115). In this way, there is the potential for conflict between agencies in the ORF and the PRF (Bernstein, 1990). In this regard, agencies in these sub-fields occupied in the recontextualising process represent contesting interests in policy-making and implementation and these conflicts occur for control of the meaning and definition of physical education and school sport. Thus, dependence or independence from government of agencies within the ORF and the PRF and their relationships is a crucial issue in terms of the degree of relative autonomy in an educational system. In this vein, Bernstein warned of a growing asymmetric relationship in terms of autonomy between the ORF and the PRF. He suggested that the influence of the ORF had been increasing, thus augmenting state regulation and control (Bernstein, 1996).

Crucially, agents and agencies in the recontextualising field struggle to control the



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set of rules or procedures for constructing pedagogic texts and practices. Thus, pedagogic discourse is a recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, delocates, relocates, refocuses, and relates other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings through the relations between interest groups (Bernstein, 1990, 1996). In this regard, as Goodson's curriculum history research (1988) suggests, the recontextualising field is the place which generates the most vigorous struggles and contestation between vying groups for ownership and control of the production of pedagogic discourse. For example, Goodson (1988) argued that competing interest groups struggle over the curriculum content and language, imposing in the process particular words and concepts that employ particular values. That is to say, social interactions within education interest groups are shaping and forming school knowledge through the selection of certain school subjects in terms of 'setting standards' including the subject's rationale, its content and its teaching and learning (Goodson, 1988, p.9). Such struggles and conflicts surrounding the construction of the policy for PESS will be addressed in detail in chapter 6.4.3. Echoing the concept of policy as a distributed process, Ball (1994) also clearly explained the need of analysing a different kind of agency within the recontextualising field:

Policies are represented differently by different actors and interests. Policy is textual interventions into practice and policies pose problems to their subjects, problems that must be solved in context. Policy analysis requires an understanding that is based not on constraint or agency but on the changing relationships between constraint and agency and their inter-penetration (p.17-18).

In this sense, an investigation centred on the recontextualising field could assist us to better understand the roles of core agencies such as DCMS, YST, Sport England, and AfPE within the ORF and PRF in line with discovering the movements of discourses and practices from the primary context of discursive production to the recontextualising field of discursive transformation.

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### **3.4.3 Bernstein's pedagogic discourse: the recontextualising process**

Pedagogic discourse is a pivotal concept in Bernstein's theory as well as this thesis and a crucial idea which is concerned with the production, distribution and reproduction of knowledge and how this knowledge is related to structurally determined power relations within the educational setting (Karhus, 2010; Kirk, 1998; Kirk & Macdonald, 2001; Sadovnik, 2001). Bernstein proposed that pedagogic discourse is produced and reproduced across three fields of action within which specific agents and agencies operate (Karhus, 2010). In addition, pedagogic discourse is not related to the autonomous production of meanings, but is a product of the very logic of social relations and interactions of various agencies in social, cultural, political, and economic contexts (David & Colquhoun, 1989; Diaz, 2001). In this regard, pedagogic discourse is useful in understanding how discourses from outside the field of education become recontextualised to serve educational settings in terms of their selective transmission and acquisition (Bernstein, 1990).

According to Singh (2001, p.253), Bernstein suggested that 'two modes of knowledge' (i.e. abstract concepts and skills and moral conduct) are transmitted via pedagogic discourse. Pedagogic discourse is a rule for recontextualisation. Specifically, it is the rule for not only constructing certain knowledge to be learned, of pedagogising discourse by bringing particular selected discourses into alignment, but also for constructing particular and associated social identities in students. Bernstein (1990, 1996) defines pedagogic discourse as the rule or principle for embedding and relating two kinds of discourse: the 'instructional discourse' (ID) of specific school subjects and skills; and 'regulative discourse' (RD) which refers to the discourses which create social order, relations and identity within a subject-field. RD is concerned with the dominant discourse or principle of society, so produces the order in the ID, that is, instructional discourse is a manifestation of certain regulative discourses (Tinning, 2010). In other words, the pedagogic discourse involves the forming of the instructional discourse out of reworking and relocation of numerous other regulative discourses for realisation

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in the secondary field (Macdonald et al., 1999). Consequently, the ID is *embedded* in the RD in terms of teaching and pedagogical practice within the institutional policy of educational programmes (Bernstein, 1990). For instance, an element of the ID of PESS such as Gifted and Talented initiatives and inter- and intra school competition have been informed by (elite) sport discourse in the primary field. In other words, the ID is embedded in the current values and material incentives contained in physical cultural discourses. In this sense, one of the priorities of this thesis is to examine and identify a range of the discourses forming RD in policy for PESS which will be the basis of pedagogic discourse in school through the construction of various versions of the ID of PESS (see chapter 5).

As shown in Figure 2, the work of embedding ID in RD takes place in the recontextualising context. Again this location by Bernstein of the instructional discourse/regulative discourse (ID/RD) interface within the recontextualising field is of fundamental importance to our understanding of how government sports policies and strategies are made, through tracing which elements of discourse produced in the primary field are embedded in government documents, strategies and initiatives. Studying the interface between the primary and recontextualising fields in this thesis can be crucial to any attempt to develop strategic interventions in shaping potential future directions for sport policy generally and policy for PESS in particular, in terms of identifying the regulative discourse (i.e. physical cultural discourses) in constructing and constituting policy, the power relations at work in this process, and the knowledge which is most valued and foregrounded in policies that frame school physical education and youth sport as physical cultural discourses are reconstructed in a pedagogical form.

In consideration of the pedagogic discourse, Bernstein also suggests the concepts of ‘voice’ and ‘message’ are important. The ‘voice’ represents recognition of the pedagogic rules while the ‘message’ represents the use of these rules in particular context. Accordingly, the ‘voice’ is a consequence of the power relations between categories (e.g. physical cultural discourses) and the ‘message’ is the consequence of the interactional practice within a context (Bernstein, 1990, p.23). The ‘voice’

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dominates the limits of what can be a legitimate message while the ‘message’ has the potential to change the ‘voice’ (Bernstein, 1990, p.33). In other words, power relations institute the ‘voice’ in that it demarcates that which can be recognised as a legitimate and valued physical cultural discourse informing the construction of forms of PESS. In this regard, pedagogic discourse is a ‘dialectical relation between ‘voice’ and ‘message’ (Bernstein, 1990, p. 27). Furthermore, the ‘voice’ theory can be understood from the notion of a recontextualising process which selectively appropriates and relocates diverse discourses to constitute its own order and orderings (Moore & Muller, 1999). This thesis is concerned with the ‘voice’ as well as the ‘message’ particularly in relation to the dominant discourse and its ‘voice’ which marginalised and excluded other ‘voices’ within PESSCL/PESSYP and associated evaluation studies (i.e. who can say what configuration of knowledge counts, in addition to what is said). Particularly, I will discuss the distinction of the ‘voices’ between the ORF (e.g. the YST and other crucial recontextualising agents) and PRF (e.g. AfPE, educators and academics) in chapters 6.4.2.

Apart from some arguments that Bernstein’s work is overly abstract and theoretical (Sadovnik, 2001), the main weakness in Bernstein’s theory in this thesis, it might be argued, is that physical cultural discourses generated in the primary field are much more complex than the discourses that constitute other school subjects and that have typically formed the focus of research that has used Bernstein’s work, such as mathematics (Adler & Davis, 2006; Cooper, 1998) and science education (Morais, 2002). In this sense, the concepts of ‘articulation’ (Hall, 1985) and ‘webs of signification’ (Geertz, 1973) were additionally used to explain the complex recontextualising processes involved in the social construction of PESS (see 3.8). Furthermore, regarding the work of the YST, this thesis raises questions about the nature of the relations between agents and agencies operating in the ORF and PRF respectively.

The next section will discuss the concept of physical cultural discourses which will be the basis of understanding my research question 1, a range of discourses

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constructing and constituting in policy for shaping PESS or, in Bernstein's terms, the regulative discourse in which the instructional discourse/s of PESS were embedded.

### **3.5 Physical cultural discourse**

The modern origins of physical culture can be tracked back to the early nineteenth century in Germany and Scandinavian nations' discourses on the body and physical activity centred on bodily beauty and physical prowess, associated with developing German and Swedish systems of gymnastics (Grant, 2012). In Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union in the early 1900s, the meaning of physical culture was connected with social problems centred on industrialization such as personal hygiene and diet (Grant, 2012). In particular, the concept of physical culture in the Soviet Union covered a wide interpretation of culture including all its myriad forms from 'hygiene and health issues to sports, defence interests, labour concerns, leisure, education, and general cultural enlightenment' (Grant, 2012, p.1). Since then, physical culture has reached into people's ways of life, associated with exercise, sport, and leisure in the wake of the burgeoning development of electronic media, in particular television, and fitness industrial development since the 1940s and 1950s (Kirk et al., 1997; Kirk, 1999). In this regard, the use of the term physical culture has become complex in that various discursive practices such as sport, exercise, health, active leisure and dance are understood in multiple ways as prominent social and cultural practices (Silk & Andrews, 2011).

In this context and in this thesis, physical culture refers to 'one source of the production and reproduction of corporeal discourse' that is concerned with aspects of meaning-making centred on the body (Kirk, 1998, p.104). In this regard, Kirk (1999) proposed the notion of physical culture, which not only provides a conceptual tool for relational social analyses of school physical education, but also allows us to understand how physical education has been implicated in the

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social construction of the body, especially institutionalised forms of physical activity. According to Ward (2012, p. 6), Crum (1993) rejects the term physical culture and prefers the term movement culture on the basis of the significance of the meaning created by the word 'physical' which has the potential to invoke mind-body dualisms. Crum argued the physical culture can undermine his conception of human movement as a dialogue between the moving individual and movement-induced meanings in his or her world. Despite this disparity in terminology both Kirk (1999) and Crum (1993) reach similar conclusions concerning the impact of post-industrial commercial commoditization upon our embodied engagement with institutional forms of sport, physical recreation and exercise.

Kirk (1999) demonstrated that the key nature of physical culture is:

the embeddedness of the physical in various social and cultural practices. The choice of institutionalized practice is important: these are major, highly regulated and codified, practices in the public domain (p. 65).

As pointed out previously, discourse reflects particular interests or values and creates particular meanings and ideologies of society. Likewise physical cultural discourses are embedded in beliefs, knowledge and individual and social practices (Kirk, 1992b). It is important to note that forms of physical culture discourse can be changed to make new relationships and identities within Bernstein's primary field of knowledge production (Kirk et al., 1997).

Related to Bernstein's theory of the social construction of pedagogic discourse, physical cultural discourse can be seen as the regulative discourse in that physical culture consists of general knowledge in the public domain that is not in a pedagogical form, that is, they consist of non-pedagogic materials constructed in the primary field (Kirk, 1998, 1999; Kirk & Macdonald, 2001). Accordingly, within the recontextualising field, pedagogic discourse is:

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a mechanism that involves the repositioning of elements of physical culture into a pedagogic form, producing a version of school physical education (Kirk, 1999, p.70).

Therefore in this vein, elements of physical culture construct and constitute the regulative discourse of policy, strategies and initiatives in which the instructional forms of PESS are embedded. In other words, regulative discourse as physical cultural discourse is generated in the primary field and appropriated, modified, and legitimated by agents in the recontextualising field in order to construct school knowledge (Kirk, 1998; Williams, 1985).

In line with this concept of physical culture, I will examine five specific discourses identified within PESSCL/PESSYP and relative initiatives in the 2000s in chapter 5, which consists of some archive analysis to understand the social construction of pedagogic discourse and makes a comparison with Kirk (1999) and Williams' (1985) findings.

For the analysis of discourses, textual analysis is necessary to investigate text-type materials like policy documents and media artifacts such as newspapers. In the following section the textual analysis used as the methodological basis of identifying the physical cultural discourses informing the policy is described.

### **3.6 Textual analysis**

#### **3.6.1 Using policy documents and newspapers as data**

Texts, which are normally written material, have been a major source of information and evidence for educational and sociological research (Halperin & Heath, 2012; Scott, 2000). Hence textual analysis can be regarded as dealing with all kinds of documents including government policy documents, evaluation reports, school reports, newspapers, TV programmes, and personal documents (Bryman, 2008). In recent decades, there has been growing awareness of the

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importance of language and meaning for policy analysis in terms of textual analysis.

Policy texts, including sport policy documents, are characterised as official texts which can play a role in impacting on public perceptions of a policy agenda. In this sense, recent government policy documents can exert a powerful influence on how physical education teachers think and behave (Scott, 2000).

The language of media constructs our knowledge and plays a crucial role in recontextualising public issues including the physical cultural discourses that construct and constitute sport policy (Hargreaves, 1986; Scherer & Jackson, 2004). In turn, policy texts are underpinned by an ideological element, that is, explicitly or implicitly, the text represents the policy discourse in a manner that becomes visible largely through the media (Bowe et al., 1992; Scott, 2000). Furthermore, PESS-related policy tends to be read by the public through these media rather than the original documents themselves (Scott, 2000). In particular, the media are much more likely to function as a recontextualising agency to link policy-maker and audiences drawing on a range of discourses from the primary field as well as the recontextualising field (e.g. using policy documents or evaluation studies, see chapter 6.4.3). In line with the media's dual function in the recontextualising field, as both an active agency in the recontextualising process and as a producer of texts that constitute the recontextualising process, one of the major powers of the media is to reinforce dominant physical cultural discourses and facilitate and legitimate the embedding of these discourses within policy for PESS (Schantz & Gilbert, 2001). Therefore it is important to note that sport policy texts as well as newspapers can be regarded as significant research sources to understand the realisation of a range of physical cultural discourses within PESSCL/PESSYP (see Appendix 7). I will examine a range of discourses informing and informed by the media commentaries in chapter 5.



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### 3.6.2 Discourse and text

Texts are not simply “delivery systems” of “fact” (Apple, 1993, p.46). Texts always consider the idea and purpose of intertextuality, and reveal an underlying social reality, offering windows on understanding the nature of the world (i.e. ontology) and how it can be known (i.e. epistemology) (Bryman, 2004; Scott, 1990). In this vein, Penney and Evans (1999) stress the significance of the discourses surrounding texts which remind us that policy is rooted within discourses:

All texts contain multiple discourses, some of which will be privileged over others. It is inappropriate to talk of a policy document expressing ‘an’ or ‘the’ official discourse of a government or organisation. The complexity of the policy process is such that texts always and inevitably represent and contain various discourses (p.24-25).

An official text is part of a complex web of power relations (e.g. Apple, 1993; Ball, 1994; Bowe et al, 1992; Scott, 2000). Policy for PESS is no exception in this respect. As can be seen in Appendix 4, policy documents embody dominant discourses such as talent development, health and citizenship. Policy documents embody certain kinds of discourse, and only particular agendas or discourses are recognised at any point in time with an authoritative allocation of values, including competing perspectives of PESS.

Fairclough (2003) also gives us a valuable insight into the importance of identifying different discourses within a text. A key point that he emphasises is that discourses represent some particular aspects and perspectives of the world, correspondingly, analysing policy text is concerned with identifying the particular perspective or point of view as the main theme and pattern from which the social world is presented. In particular, Scott (2000) indicated that media forms such as newspapers cannot be characterised as the neutral reporting of events because the news they produce is a complex process which begins with selecting events in terms of a ‘socially constructed set of categories’ (p.78). In this regard, media can

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be a valuable source of presenting, representing, strengthening and sometimes exaggerating a particular discourse which has the potential to have a powerful impact on constructing the purpose of the policy through political and social pressures.

Hence the way that discourse constructs policy for PESS can be investigated by ‘deconstructing’ these texts, in terms of demonstrating how they work to present us with a particular vision of the world (Burr, 2003, p.18). In a similar vein, discourse analysis is one form of textual analysis used to examine what discourses are present in a text and how discourses are naturalized as becoming common-sense in a particular context through the empirical analysis of its realisation in practices such as the production of policy documents (Halperin & Heath, 2004; Laffey & Weldes, 2004).

### 3.7 Discourse analysis

Discourse is a meaning-making process which becomes common sense and taken-for granted to people in certain contexts (Kirk, 1992b). Accordingly understanding discourse is ‘to understand the underlying logic of the social and political organisation of a particular arena and to recognise that this arrangement and the structures of power and meaning underpinning it are not natural, but socially constructed’ (Crawford, 2004, p.22). In this vein Hardy et al. (2004) pointed out that discourse analysis is a methodology for analysing social practices:

Discourse analysis is qualitative, interpretive, and constructionist. It explores how the socially produced ideas and objects that populate the world were created and are held in place. While other qualitative methodologies work to understand or interpret social reality as it exists, discourse analysis tries to uncover the way that reality is produced (p.19).

Discourse analysis can be a social constructionist form of analysis in reference to

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exploring the relationship between discourse and reality in a particular time and place. In addition, it is mainly concerned with an examination of language or text including metaphors and symbols associated with a given context including the historical and social contexts. Discourse analysis is not singular, but generally, the purpose of discourse analysis is not only to identify discourses represented by language, but to reveal how discourse is constructed through the production from discursive practices and a range of forms of texts including government documents, newspapers, and TV programmes (Halperin & Heath, 2012). In this sense, this thesis aims not only to identify physical cultural discourses constructing and constituting policies and strategies for PESS, but also to find out the relationships between and within discourses, and the ways of recontextualising these discourses within the recontextualising field (see chapter 5).

Therefore the discourse analysis approach could be a process of looking for patterns in texts and documents, what discourses are embedded, how recontextualises the discourse and how, and what the interrelationship is between discourses. In particular, this thesis has adopted a broader meaning of ‘discourse analysis’ explained above and utilised ‘Grounded Theory (GT)’ to find and clarify diverse discourses and sub-discourses (see chapter 4.3). I will explain specific methods related to the GT in the next chapter. Before that, the following section will be more focused on the way in which a variety of discourses are represented and relocated by agencies through the recontextualising process in relation to the related concepts of ‘articulation’ and ‘webs of signification.’

### **3.8 The recontextualising process: ‘articulation’ and ‘webs of signification’**

It is important to find the discourses embedded in policy and we also need to explore how the discourse is represented and legitimated to give meaning to social practices. As demonstrated earlier, policy texts can be understood by specific properties of recontextualisation which is concerned with the selection, production, and transformation of the texts through the recontextualising process (Bernstein,

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1990; Fairclough, 2003). Scott (2000) noted the recontextualising mechanism of the policy text:

A policy text is an attempt to reconceptualise the policy agenda. Principally, it does this by using various semantic, grammatical and positional devices to suggest to the reader that this is an authoritative text. These devices include the ascription of its evidential base as incontrovertible, the concealment of its ideological base (p.40).

In this sense, along with the identification of physical cultural discourses in Bernstein's primary field, tracing how these discourses are recontextualised and considering wider social, economic, political and ideological agendas is essential to clearly understand the construction of policy for PESS and the pedagogisation of physical cultural discourse (Penney & Evans, 1999).

Just as crucial, this thesis is primarily concerned with the transformation of discourses through the recontextualising process occurring between the primary and recontextualising fields and within the recontextualising field. In particular, with respect to the movement of discourses within the recontextualising field, popular media is examined. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the main official evaluation studies had been conducted within the ORF in the recontextualising field. Therefore media commentaries and evaluation research analysis is crucial as much as policy documents since together they provide us with what and how discourses have been refocused, repositioned, selected, and modified within the recontextualising field.

Moreover, this thesis applies the notion of articulation in order to better understand the recontextualising process as a meaning-making process (Halperin & Health, 2012; Laffey & Weldes, 2004; Weldes, 1996). The concept of articulation provides insight particularly into how the dominant discourses are recontextualised and reproduced in the policy text and media.

According to Hall (1985, 1986), articulation refers to a connection or link of

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elements and ideas under certain historical and social conditions. Hall (1986) emphasised the meaning of the connection that makes a unity of two different elements as the form of articulation:

The so-called 'unity' of a discourse is really the articulation of different, distinct elements which can be rearticulated the different ways because they have no necessary 'belongingness' (p.55).

Therefore an articulation between different ideas and practices does not mean they become identical, but they function together as 'distinction within a unity' (Hall, 1985, p.114). Through the process of construction of linking different ideas (e.g. what Hall calls 'chain of signification'), the articulation becomes common sense to define the relationship of particular representations of reality for all practical purposes (Hall, 1985). For instance, as you can see in chapter 5, policy for PESS is clearly constructed around articulations of elite sport development, childhood obesity and proactive social behaviour.

Hall also illustrated the nature of articulation:

It is the non-necessary link, between a social force which is making itself, and the ideology or conceptions of the world which makes intelligible the process they are going through, which begins to bring onto the historical stage a new social position and political position, a new set of social and political subjects (Hall, 1985, p.58).

Different terms, language, symbols and meanings come to connote one another to construct chains of association through the contingent connection of signifying elements (Laffey & Weldes, 2004). Correspondingly, discourse constructed by an articulation of separate elements can be changed in terms of establishing chains of combinations among different linguistic elements, and in these process old linkages are dissolved and new connections are forged (Hall, 1985; Weldes, 1996).

Hence these connections made through articulation are socially constructed and historically contingent rather than logically necessary or in physical existence. It

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means that the activity of articulation is related to social relations and social groups that can form chains of signification through articulation (Hall, 1985; Weldes, 1996). At the same time it means that these links and connections can be contested, since words are combined in particular ways and other combinations are excluded (Ball, 1994; Weldes, 1996). For instance, we can witness that sport discourse in policy for PESS has been privileged by means of articulating with other discourses like health while critical voices that point to the arbitrary nature of these articulations have been marginalised. That is to say, the health discourse was primarily constructed by complex articulations surrounding health benefits of PESS, associated with the key concepts such as ‘obesity epidemic’ and ‘lifestyle’, whilst the relationship claimed to exist between sport and health at the very least lacks a basis in evidence and indeed may have opposite effects from those claimed by ORF advocates (see chapter 5). Accordingly, the articulation is a ‘continuous and contested social process of meaning creation’ (Weldes, 1996, p.307). From this point of view, we need to identify the main signifying elements of the physical cultural discourses in policy and how they are articulated to each other, which leads us to focus on how and by whom the discourse are articulated in policy documents and media forms.

Furthermore, diverse physical cultural discourses embedded in policy relating to PESS are very complicated and might more appropriately be considered to form a web rather than chain of significations. For instance, we can find the web-like structure of sport discourse in chapter 5. In a similar vein, anthropologist Geertz (1973) elaborated on his concept of culture as a system of symbols, by pointing to the way people use webs of signification.

The concept of culture I espouse [...] is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (Geertz, 1973, p.4-5).

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Geertz argued that culture must be regarded as ‘webs of meaning’ with meaning encoded in symbolic forms such as language (Ortner, 1997, p11). Culture is considered dynamic, as a symbolic construction and/or reconstruction of meaning rather than predefined or a fixed set of rules (Askehave, 2005).

In sum, a range of discourses surrounding physical culture form interweaving webs rather than linear chains of signification, as meaning-laden and meaning-making processes, ordered by, in Bernstein’s terms, the distribute rules of the primary field, and repositioned and reconstructed within the policy documents by recontextualising process in the recontextualising field. I will examine complicated articulations within and between discourses embedded within PESSCL/PESSYP and related texts and documents in chapter 5.

### **3.9 Conclusion**

The chapter has provided an overview of the main methodological issues of this thesis by offering as its focus a form of social constructionism centred on Bernstein’s work on the social construction of pedagogic discourse. This social constructionist approach provides a critical window beyond taken-for-granted ways of understanding policy for PESS, which means that this thesis sees policy-making as a value-laden activity. From this point of view, the perspective of social constructionism will be able to not just figure out how policy constructs various current forms of PESS but also offers a valuable sight into possible future developments of PESS in schools. In particular, we need to understand how these policies are socially constructed to shape PESS in school settings.

Bernstein’s work provides a way of describing how physical cultural discourse is constructed, transmitted and acquired in sport policy settings. In other words, Bernstein’s work enables us to gain a clearer understanding of what kind of physical cultural discourses form the conditions for production and reproduction, and asks how these discourses are de-located and re-located by agencies in the

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recontextualising field to construct policy and strategies that shape forms of PESS. In particular, this thesis is focused on the interface between the primary field and the recontextualising field along with particular emphasis on the recontextualising process.

In addition, I discussed the importance of textual analysis in that a range of discourses are embedded in a range of texts. Furthermore, I argued that discourse analysis provides a means of the systematic analysis of texts to find evidence of their meaning (Halperin & Heath, 2004; Hardy et al., 2004). In consideration of the evaluation process, the main official evaluation studies will be explored in order to understand ‘how’ the dominant agency has monitored the realisation of policy in schools and ‘what’ contents and discourses are prioritised in the evaluation reports (see chapter 7).

Finally, this chapter illustrated that the notion of articulation and webs of signification is of central importance in the construction of physical cultural discourses in the recontextualising field since the articulation of linguistic elements constructing connotative chain within a web-like structure is a crucial part of the recontextualising process which provides the raw material of ‘common sense’ by combining and connecting together a range of elements into representations of the policy for PESS.

Building on the literature review and consistent with the methodology, the following chapter sets out a qualitative research design and method including data generation and data analysis of the thesis.



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#### **4.1 Introduction**

Based on the methodological concerns in chapter 3, this chapter covers the research design and methods which detail the data sources chosen to provide the evidence base to address the research questions. Before I discuss the methods, the chapter will firstly provide a review of the research aims which will be linked to the research design. This chapter then details the appropriation of a qualitative approach to analysing and interpreting data for this thesis. In this context, specifically I discuss GT as the main data coding and analysis method of this thesis. After that, justifications for how and why the qualitative research designs suggested by Maxwell (2005) were relevant and appropriate for this thesis will be discussed. Following this, I will explain data generation including data collecting and data sampling and the specific methods used to analyse the data. This chapter further indicates how issues of validity have been addressed through the concept of triangulation and the criteria of GT. The research design and method chapter will conclude by summarising the key aspects of method along with ethical issues for this study.

#### **4.2 Reviews of research aims**

As discussed with respect to the research questions in chapter 1.3, the focus of the thesis is to identify the various configurations and juxtapositions of the physical cultural discourses embedded in policy for PESS; to examine the key players in policy-making for PESS; and to examine the main official evaluation studies in

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relation to priorities of evaluation and the connection between the policy and evaluation.

The research aims are to:

- Identify the major physical cultural discourses generated in the primary field and their recontextualisation to construct and constitute policy for PESS.
- Identify the main agents/agencies within the Recontextualising Field (RF) and their roles and interrelationships with respect to policy and strategy-making.
- Determine how the main official evaluation studies of these programmes prioritise and legitimate particular aspects of policy for PESS.

### **4.3 Qualitative approach and grounded theory**

A qualitative approach allows a detailed level of understanding to be developed which is vital when exploring intangible issues such as a discourse, social norms and social conflicts because of their complexity (Maxwell, 2005). Correspondently the qualitative approach can help me to interpret and better understand the complex reality of the policy-making process.

According to Bryman (2004), the epistemological position of interpretivism is broadly adopted within qualitative research. This position emphasises the importance of understanding the social world via an interpretation of those involved the action. In other words, social phenomena (like policies and strategies) must be understood in social contexts in which they are constructed and reproduced. In this sense a qualitative approach facilitates an exploration of the meaning and understanding of PESSCL/PESSYP regarding the analysis of physical cultural discourses within a particular context centred on the main agents

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and agencies. In addition, underpinned by its epistemological position, qualitative research generally conforms to the ontological assumptions of construction (Bryman, 2004). Hence the qualitative approach shows that the social world is perceived to be a consequence of social interactions and the operation of power which I have detailed in chapter 3.

The two research methods used in this thesis are: textual analysis (or documentary analysis) of policy documents, newspapers and official evaluation studies and semi-structured interviews with personnel in the policy area. In consideration of data coding and analysis, a GT approach is adopted in this study which is a qualitative research approach that was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s. Specifically, in this thesis, GT was considered a highly useful tool for coding large amounts of data and enabled me to develop substantive theory on the social construction of pedagogic discourse in PESSCL/PESSYP. A major strength of GT is that it provides a set of flexible analytic tools for analysing textual material as well as interview transcriptions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

GT is a 'collection of qualitative methodological approaches that enable researchers to develop theoretical explanations that are grounded in data collected in the field' (Holt et al., 2012, p. 292). Generally, GT was founded as a practical approach to help researchers understand complex social processes by providing each step of the analytic process towards the development of concepts (Charmaz, 2006; Suddaby, 2006). GT has been defined as 'the discovery of theory from data' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 2). Thus, GT can be said to be 'theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.12). A key element of GT is identifying higher levels of abstraction from data through the constant interplay between data collection and analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Suddaby, 2006). In this regard I examined the PESS knowledge (i.e. identifying physical cultural discourses) production and recontextualisation, the work of agents and agencies and official evaluation studies, to find the most plausible explanation for the relationships between categories and extant knowledge.

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GT seeks to discover fundamental patterns in a substantive area (Glaser, 2002). That is to say concepts and categories are key elements in GT and it is sometimes suggested that GT works best for generating categories and grounded concepts (Bryman, 2008, p.547). In this regard GT is adopted in this thesis, especially in developing the level of substantive theory in relation to methodological concerns of Bernstein's framework particularly related to the knowledge production and recontextualising fields. This study adopts Bernstein's work as a theoretical framework providing a conceptual guide for choosing the concepts to be investigated and framing the research findings. In this context, GT was found to be a highly useful methodological tool for data collection and analysis. In this sense it must be noted that this study has not used predetermined categories beyond the foreshadowed problems stated in the research questions, but remained open to new ideas and concepts when answering the research questions.

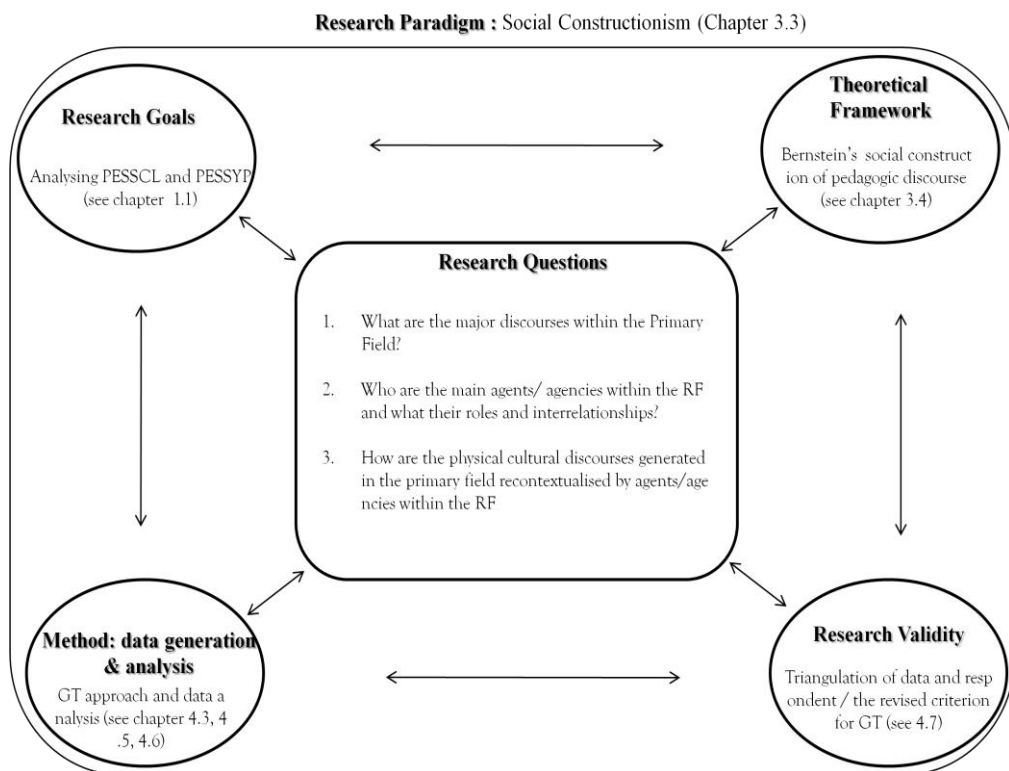
The main principles of a GT approach were adopted in my research including theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation of categories, and the constant comparative method. These will be described within the relevant sections of this chapter in section 4.6. The next section overviews the research design of this thesis drawing on the idea of qualitative research design (Maxwell, 2005).

### **4.4 Research design**

Research design can be thought of as a logical plan on how the study is to be conducted (Bryman, 2004; Maxwell, 2008). In the most elementary sense, the design is a blueprint of research in terms for describing a flexible and reflexive set of guidelines that connects the theoretical framework to methods for generating empirical data related to the research questions (Yin, 2003). Research design is primarily concerned with the generation and analysis of data, dealing with at least three issues in order to optimise the validity of data for given research questions: what data are relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyse the results (Bryman, 2004; Yin, 2003)?

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In this context a qualitative research design (Maxwell, 2005) has been adopted for this study on the basis of the methodology (chapter 3) to provide a structure which allows me to draw reasonable and defensible conclusions from the data. Maxwell (2005) presents a model of research design that stresses the ongoing interaction of the theoretical framework with other components of research design including research goals or aims, research questions, methods, and validity concerns. I modified the interactive design (Maxwell, 2005) to fit into my research as can be seen in Figure 3.



**Figure 3 An interactive model of research design (Adapted from Maxwell, 2008, p.217)**

At the most abstract and general level, this thesis is based on social constructionism (see 3.3) linked to Bernstein's social construction of pedagogic discourse. Within the research paradigm, five components (i.e. research questions, research goals, theoretical framework, methods and validity) are closely tied to each other through an integrated and interacting process.

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The upper triangle of this model (i.e. goals, conceptual framework and research questions) is a closely integrated unit (Maxwell, 2008). Research questions have a clear relationship to the goals of this thesis in terms of informing four main themes such as the physical cultural discourse, key agents/agencies, the recontextualising process and the evaluation process. In line with the research goals, Bernstein's social construction of pedagogic discourse provided an analytic framework for understanding the articulation of physical cultural discourses, the work of agencies, and evaluation processes within the recontextualising field. In other words it served as a point of reference and a guide in the analysis of data with substantive theory-producing potential (Bowen, 2006). Crucially the concept of discourse (see 3.4) linked to Bernstein's theory was to help me develop and select relevant research questions and methods illuminating what I would see in my research.

With regard to the bottom triangle of the model (i.e. research questions, data generation and analysis and research validity) a GT approach enabled me to respond to the research questions (see 4.7). Specifically when it comes to research methods including data generation and analysis in relation to research questions and the conceptual framework, this thesis looks for patterns through an analysis of a range of PESS-related documents and the activities of agents/agencies. First and foremost, the particular discourses embedded in policy documents, media texts and PESSCL/PESSYP were analysed, that is, what/how physical cultural discourse is selected, organised, differently valued, transmitted and defined, especially focusing on the interface between the primary and recontextualising fields (i.e. research question 1). Following that, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in both the ORF and the PRF were conducted to examine the work of key agents/agencies and their contesting forces within the recontextualising field (i.e. research question 2). In addition, the main official evaluation studies were investigated in terms of their focus and connection to evidence-based policy making, using semi-structured interviews with evaluation researchers as well as document analysis (i.e. research question 3). The specific methods of both

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generating and analysing data will be described in the sections below.

### **4.5 Data generation**

Data was generated in this study using: document resources and interviews. While document resources were mainly analysed to answer research question 1 (chapter 5) and 3 (chapter 7), interviews were primarily conducted for research question 2 (chapter 6). But there was some overlap and the materials generated by these methods were all used for all the findings chapters.

#### **4.5.1 Document resources**

Referring back to chapter 3.6, a document is a written text which is conceived and designed by people with interests and discourses and represents a particular perspective and point of view of social events. In this sense, using document materials is an essential part of policy analysis in that dominant discourses relating to the construction of PESS are embodied in these documents by special agents of recontextualisation (Bernstein, 1990).

Text analysis can be alternately called ‘document analysis.’ Generally, text analysis can be divided into discourse analysis and content analysis (Halperin & Heath, 2012). There are two types of content analysis: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative content analysis is concerned with the frequency of words, phrases, and images, and the patterns they form within a text, whilst qualitative content analysis is more interpretive analysis concerned with uncovering meaning, motives, and purposes in textual content (Weber, 1990). Qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis have much in common (Hardy, Harley & Phillips, 2004). This thesis is more focused on ‘analysing discourse’, rather than using a ‘discourse analysis method’, through the employment of the methods of a GT approach, including inductive coding processes and writing memos. In order to

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carry out this analysis, I have collected government sport policy documents, media forms including newspapers, and the main official evaluation studies from government evaluation organisations in the 2000s.

### *i) Sport policy documents*

Official policy documents produced by government and its agencies can be thought of as the ‘single and most important documents sources used in social research’ (Scott, 1990, p.59). Policy documents were mainly published by agencies funded by government such as DCMS, DfE (previously, DfES and DCSF), Sport England, and the Youth Sport Trust. Seven PESS documents were selected in terms of their close association with PESSCL/PESSYP in the 2000s (see Table 2).

**Table 2 Policy documents**

Year	Document	Department/Agency
2000/April	<b>A Sporting Future for All</b>	DCMS
2002/March	<b>Game Plan</b> <i>A strategy for delivering Government's sport and physical activity objectives</i>	DCMS Strategy Unit
2003/March	<b>Learning through PE and Sport</b> <i>A guide to the physical Education, School Sport and Club Links Strategy</i>	DfES, DCMS
2004/March	<b>High Quality PE and Sport for Young People</b> <i>A guide to recognizing and achieving high quality PE and sport in schools and clubs</i>	DfES, DCMS
2005/April	<b>Do you have high quality PE and Sport in your school?</b>	DfES, DCMS
2008/June	<b>Playing to Win</b> <i>A New Era for Sport</i>	DCMS
2009/October	<b>The PE and Sport Strategy for Young People</b> <i>A Guide to Delivering the Five Hour Offer</i>	Sport England YST

There were no specific documents to explain each strand of PESSCL/PESSYP, apart from *Learning through PE and Sport* (DfES & DCMS, 2003) which briefly



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introduced all programmes of PESSCL. In general, it can be argued that most of the policy documents tended to use the term ‘PESSCL or PESSYP’ as physical education and school sport strategy rather than ‘collection of several strands.’ Furthermore, particular physical cultural discourses like elite sport were frequently represented by drawing upon certain programmes of PESSCL/PESSYP such as SSCs and SSPs. I will examine these discourses in detail in chapter 5.

### *ii) Media: newspaper articles*

With respect to media article collections, I used NewsBank ([www.newsbank.com](http://www.newsbank.com)) which provides full-text content of local media and newspapers from the *BBC*, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, and *Daily Mail*<sup>8</sup> related to PESS policy. The articles were collected from 1999 to 2010 (n=467, see Table 3 and Figure 4). In the earlier stages of data collection, 2500 articles were originally found through Newsbank by using the keywords ‘physical education’, ‘school sport’ and ‘sport policy.’ Additional keywords based on the continuous analysis of the media articles were employed to filter down the 2500 articles. The keywords ‘school sport partnership’, ‘Youth Sport Trust’, ‘Sport England’, ‘Association for Physical Education’, ‘PESSCL and PESSYP’, ‘elite development’, ‘health and obesity’, ‘citizenship’, ‘Olympic legacy’, ‘lifelong participation’ were used. Following this, numerous newspaper articles were eliminated as most were not related with policy for PESS (e.g. a great number of health and obesity related newspaper articles) and some did not provide enough content (e.g. less than 4 or 5 sentences) on the topic to be included in the analysis. The media materials played a significant role in not only offering a valuable source combined with other research methods, but also providing a considerable validity of this thesis in terms of source triangulation (see 4.7). Below I have listed media articles and illustrated the Newsbank programme for media data collection.

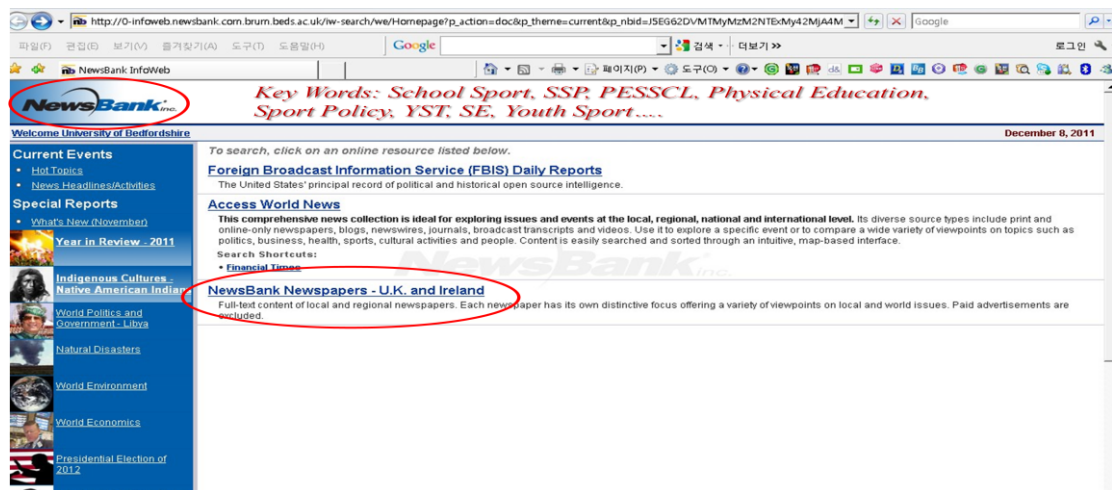
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<sup>8</sup> Regarding the selection of sorts of media, it was considered to keep political balance in terms of left and right wings. In general, *The Guardian* might be viewed as Centre Left, *The Telegraph* as Centre Right, *Daily Mail* as Right, and *BBC* as Centre (Middle).

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**Table 3 Media articles**

Media\Year	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	Sum (n)
<b>BBC</b>	3	9	3	7	7	21	16	8	11	9	8	14	116
<b>Daily Mail</b>	3	2	1	10	6	16	14	21	16	12	10	13	124
<b>The Guardian</b>	1	5	0	6	13	21	11	8	11	10	5	23	114
<b>The Telegraph</b>	0	2	8	7	10	9	16	16	12	12	8	13	113
<b>Total</b>	7	18	12	30	36	67	57	53	50	43	31	63	467



**Figure 4 NewsBank programme for media data collection**

### *iii) Official evaluation studies*

As discussed in chapter 2.5.2, there were three main evaluation agencies, including, Ofsted, Loughborough Partnership (Institute of Youth Sport), TNS-BMRB which have monitored and evaluated PESSCL/PESSYP, in particular centred on SSPs. A total of sixteen evaluation reports were chosen to investigate government evaluation of PESS commissioned from 2003 and 2010 (see Tables 4, 5 and 6). Whilst I selected all evaluation documents Ofsted and TNS-BMRB published, school sport partnership impact studies from LP were used because the impact studies evaluated the widening impact of SSPs including a range of

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activities, total curriculum time, the number of pupils receiving coaching, participation in competitions and events, and so on, the same details as the other official evaluation organisations provided in their studies. Moreover, I used academic studies (Armour & Makopoulou, 2012; Kay & Bradury, 2009) that have been published based on the data collected as part of the official evaluation studies of CPD and *Step into Sport*.

**Table 4 Ofsted Evaluation Study**

Year	Document	Department /agency
2003	<b>The School Sport Co-ordinator programme: Evaluation of phase 1 and 2 2001-2003</b>	Ofsted
2004	<b>The School Sport Partnerships Programme – Evaluation of phases 3 and 4 2003/2004</b>	Ofsted
2005	<b>The physical education, school sport and club links strategy</b> <i>The school sport partnerships programme support for Gifted and Talented pupils in physical education</i>	Ofsted
2006	<b>School sport partnerships</b> <i>A survey of good practice</i>	Ofsted
2009	<b>Physical education in schools 2005/08</b> <i>Working towards 2012 and beyond</i>	Ofsted
2011	<b>School Sport Partnerships</b> <i>A survey of good practice</i>	Ofsted

**Table 5 TNS-BMRB Evaluation Study**

Year	Document	Department/agency
2004	<b>2003/04 School Sport Survey</b>	TNS-BMRB
2005	<b>2004/05 School Sport Survey</b>	TNS-BMRB
2006	<b>2005/06 School Sport Survey</b>	TNS-BMRB
2007	<b>2006/07 School Sport Survey</b>	TNS-BMRB
2008	<b>2007/08 School Sport Survey</b>	TNS-BMRB
2009	<b>2008/09 School Sport Survey</b>	TNS-BMRB
2010	<b>2009/10 School Sport Survey</b>	TNS-BMRB

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**Table 6 Loughborough Partnerships Evaluation Study**

Year	Document	Department /agency
2004	<b>School Sport Partnerships</b> <i>Annual monitoring and evaluation report for 2004</i>	IYS
2005	<b>School Sport Partnerships</b> <i>Annual monitoring and evaluation report for 2005</i>	IYS
2006	<b>School Sport Partnerships</b> <i>Annual monitoring and evaluation report for 2006</i>	IYS
2007	<b>School Sport Partnerships</b> <i>Annual monitoring and evaluation report for 2007</i>	IYS
2008	<b>Summary of key findings from the following reports:</b> <i>Partnership Development Manager Survey</i> <i>School Sport Coordinator Survey</i> <i>Primary Link Teacher Survey</i> <i>The impact of School Sport Partnerships on Attainment</i> <i>The impact of School Sport Partnerships on Attendance</i> <i>The impact of School Sport Partnerships on Behaviour</i>	IYS
2009	<b>Summary of key findings from the following reports:</b> <i>Partnership Development Manager Survey</i> <i>School Sport Coordinator Survey</i> <i>Primary Link Teacher Survey</i> <i>The impact of School Sport Partnerships on Attainment</i> <i>The impact of School Sport Partnerships on Attendance</i> <i>The impact of School Sport Partnerships on Behaviour</i> <i>The Further Education Sports Coordinator Programme</i>	IYS

### 4.5.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were conducted in order to investigate the main agencies and agents of PESS, the process the dominant organisation had been involved in around the making and delivery process of PESSCL/PESSYP, the relationships between organisations and to examine the evaluation process of the policy for PESS. Generally the interview took the form of a semi-structured conversation to allow the interviewee to elaborate on themes and issues. The pilot interviews were conducted in November 2011 and main interviews took place during the autumn and winter of 2012.

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I used a standard set of questions and fairly specific topics to be covered in the interview, but the interviewee had a great deal of leeway in how to reply (Bryman, 2001; Gratton & Jones, 2004; May, 2001). In this approach questions are typically asked of each interviewee in a systematic and consistent order (see Appendix 3), but the interviewer is permitted or expected to probe far beyond the answers to their prepared standardized questions as this enables the interviewer to have more latitude to explore beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewee (Berg, 2004; May, 2001). It is important in semi-structured interviews to ensure that a similar wording is used between interviewer and interviewee (Bryman, 2001; Gratton & Jones, 2004). Accordingly, I sent interview questions to my interviewees in advance (see Appendix 1).

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with a specific focus centred upon the activities of key agents/agencies and the evaluation process in order to be consistent with the focus of a range of other data including policy documents and media materials, thus providing a form of triangulation of sources of data (Bryman, 2008; Golafshani, 2003). For these reasons, the semi-structured interviews were conducted for their potential to provide insights into the perceptions, beliefs, values and experiences of the key recontextualising agencies including YST, Sport England, AfPE and IYS which contribute to understanding the historical development and processes associated with the development of PESSCL/PESSYP and its evaluation context.

### *i) Interview participants*

As pointed out previously, policy-making for and implantation of PESS is an unavoidably value-laden activity because they are constructions of people or groups of people, which means there are different ideological positions and express differences in interests among the ‘competing’ groups in the recontextualising field. In this sense semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of vying groups centred on the Youth Sport Trust and Sport

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England in the Official Recontextualising Field, and the Association for Physical Education in the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field. A further group of candidates for interview included individuals involved in evaluation research.

**Table 7 Participant background information**

Name	Sex	Organisation	Position	Working Period
Baroness Sue Campbell	Female	Youth Sport Trust	Chief Executive	1994- present
Jane	Female	Youth Sport Trust	Senior Development Manager	2000- present
Lucy	Female	Sport England	Development Manager	2001-2005
Anne	Female	Sport England, PDM	Programme Manager	Sport England: 2000-2005 PDM: 2006-2011
Diane	Female	Institute of Youth Sport	Researcher	2002-2005
Dan	male	Institute of Youth Sport	Researcher	2003-2008
Marie	Female	CCPR, AfPE	Senior Manager	CCPR: 2001-2005 AfPE: 2006-present
Jeanette	Female	PEA UK, AfPE	Senior Manager	PEA UK: 2003-2005 AfPE: 2006-present

The eight interviewees were selected on the basis of their involvement in the development of PESSCL/PESSYP within the last 10 years (see Table 7). All names are pseudonyms except Baroness Sue Campbell.<sup>9</sup> Interview questions were logically derived from the research questions in terms of contributing to answering questions, especially the role of YST in certain contexts, the relationship between agencies, and the effect of evaluation studies on policy-

<sup>9</sup> Baroness Sue Campbell is the most significant agent of the development of the PESSCL/PESSYP strategies during the 2000s. I gained her permission to do this. Accordingly it seems to be more effective to reveal her identity in order to better examine the activities of the YST and its Chief Executive particularly including the relationship between the YST and crucial politicians and the nature of YST in chapter 6.

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making (see Appendix 3).

### *ii) Interview process*

Each interviewee was asked a different set of questions in terms of their working background or career. But in order to be consistent with all participants, I had a set of pre-planned core questions for guidance including their involvement in the development of PESSCL or PESSYP, partnership working among agencies, evaluation processes, and their view on the future direction of PESS (see Appendix3).

All interviews were recorded and then transcribed by a professional transcription service ([www.Transcribeit.co.uk](http://www.Transcribeit.co.uk)). Interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. Two interviewees had a further interview based on reflections on the previous interview. Part of the interview transcriptions were returned to interviewees by email for correction and approval for use in this research. As the interviews progressed, the interviewee was given the opportunity to check the transcript and give more relevant information if they chose to do so. Interview scripts were analysed using GT in conjunction with the theoretical framework. Furthermore, qualitative data computer software, NVivo 9.0 was used to organise and manage the interview data along with other research resources including policy/evaluation documents and media material.

### **4.5.3 Using NVivo 9.0**

The NVivo 9.0 qualitative software was used in this thesis as shown in Figure 5. This software helped me to search for, store, sort, manage and retrieve data. For example, I could organise newspapers in terms of topic (e.g. YST-related story) or discourses (e.g. sport discourse and health discourse). It enabled me to manage everything in one place in terms of research source materials and recode my

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analytical thoughts in one secure project file. Specifically I could integrate four different sources including policy documents, interview scripts, media commentaries and official evaluation studies in terms of codes and themes in NVivo 9.0. Furthermore, it allowed me to keep track of codes, provide easy access to memos, and facilitate the making of diagrams. Therefore NVivo 9.0 provided an advanced workplace in which I as the researcher could organise, classify and sort the data in order to be more explicit and reflective about the process of analysis (Bryman, 2008).

The NVivo software was written with GT in mind (Richards & Richards, 1994). Accordingly, NVivo 9.0 provided a running list of concepts to enable the creation of nodes such as physical cultural discourses embedded within policy documents and media, alongside an attached log of memos for recoding my ongoing reflections in order to develop the concepts.

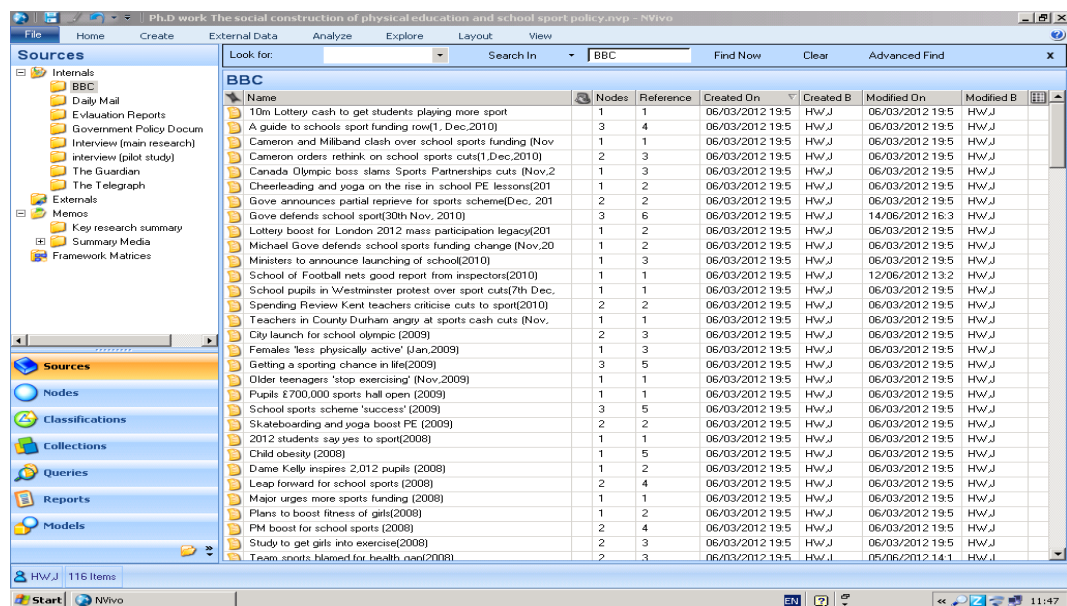


Figure 5 Using NVivo 9.0

In particular, the software allowed me to create and change categories in a variety of ways during the process of analysis.



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### 4.6 Data Analysis

Analysis is ‘the process of making sense and attaching meaning to the data’ and applying the resulting knowledge to the research questions by attempting to inferentially link the data to the specific events that are of interest to the research (Halperin & Heath, 2012, p.326). Data analysis is not a linear process, but a repeated and circular process. By drawing upon a GT approach I used theoretical sampling, constant comparative method, considered context, and wrote memos, in order to generate concepts from all the data I collected. In other words, data analysis was conducted as an iterative process of working back and forth between the data and the categories. I then integrated categories and refined the emerging substantive theory. In particular, data collection and analysis was repeated until I reached theoretical saturation of developing concepts and themes. An example of the analysis process undertaken in this thesis is presented in Figure 6. Based on this process, the following sections will discuss the main analysis process stages from the pilot study and theoretical sampling to create integrating categories.

#### 4.6.1 Theoretical sampling

The purpose of theoretical sampling is to maximise opportunities to develop concepts, categories or relevant themes through the initial analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). It is responsive to the data rather than established before the research begins. In this sense, it contributes to the next stage of data collection and analysis by providing direction to the research. In this thesis, theoretical sampling was conducted by piloting the initial analysis of policy documents (n=4), evaluation reports (n=6), media resources (n=230), and interviews (n=3)<sup>10</sup> specifically to test concepts and their emerging relationships. Most notably, this piloting process served to give new insights and increased theoretical sensitivity so that I could develop categories and themes for further

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<sup>10</sup> Policy documents: *A Sporting Future for All* (DCMS, 2000), *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategies Unit, 2002), *Learning through PE and Sport* (DfES & DCMS, 2003) and *Playing to Win* (DCMS, 2008); Evaluation reports: Ofsted (2005, 2006, 2009), LP (2006, 2007) and TNS-BMRB (2008); Interview: Sport England (n=2), IYS (n=1); Media: *BBC* (n=116) and *The Guardian* (n=114).

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coding and analysis. Furthermore, the supervisory team reviewed the results of analysis at this stage, which provided an opportunity for reflection and an elaboration on initial categories of physical cultural discourse including sub-categories from each category (see below Figure 6). They contributed by highlighting any points missed, added points to the coding and crosschecked. They also begin to compare my notions with their own ideas and knowledge of the data. The comparison helped to generate additional theoretical ideas.

Physical Cultural Discourses								
Health		Sport		Olympic Legacy	Active Citizenship	Lifelong Participation	Others	
Healthy lifestyle	Obesity	Elite Sport (Major)	Competition	Olympic Legacy	Active Citizenship	Lifelong Participation	Others	
Why should government invest in sport and physical activity? Because they have a major part to play in promoting health.	Physical health benefits of physical activity for adults. Obesity.	There are many existing examples in rugby league, rugby union, cricket and football	As the demand of the sport continues to grow it is important	They can also create a sense of national pride and prestige.	This work should include its Volunteer Investment Programme	Pleasure from sport as a leisure activity is derived as a complex mix of physical and psychological benefits.	It should also build the sport as a basis for continued participation after school through the development of school/club links.	Overall, sport may play a part in achieving social cohesion.

Figure 6 An example of themes and categories that emerged from theoretical sampling

From this process, I generated some findings from data and checked the feasibility of the various data generation methods as well as obtained data to confirm that it provided a basis for answering my research questions. For instance, there were five main emerging conceptual categories informing policy documents and media materials: health, sport, citizenship, Olympic legacy and leisure and lifelong participation. Moreover, the data generated from my piloting of the methods supplemented my data and also enabled me to elaborate the interview questions, and documentary resources for developing the data collection and analysis.

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### 4.6.2 The coding process

Coding is the process of making the chain of theory development (Charmaz, 2006). Coding is one of the most central elements in GT with the process of analysing data through being combined and sorted into families, enabling researchers to retrieve and collect together all the data that they have associated with a thematic idea (Halperin & Heath, 2012). The coding process includes reviewing interview transcripts and documentary sources and giving ‘labels’ or ‘naming’ of emergent component parts that will be of potential theoretical significance (Bryman, 2008, p.542). Coding is taken as a starting point for addressing my research questions. For instance, the main concepts such as ‘school sport crisis’, ‘competition’ and ‘talent development’ were emerging from media commentaries, which were grouped together to form the discourse of sport (see Appendix 7.1). In this way the categories and concepts are named by constantly fitting words which represent physical cultural discourses and the activities of the YST related to the development of policy for PESS. Throughout this process, the key feature and aim of coding is that many words or texts of the material I had collected are classified into much smaller categories (Berg, 2004). When it came to the recoding unit (unit of content), I used whole sentences and paragraphs, but tried to not miss a single word and symbol which may have an important meaning such as ‘couch potato’, ‘obesity epidemic’, and ‘lazy boys and girls’ because these words have a powerful function to represent the health theme related with the risk and crisis of health issues in the UK.

Overall I followed two main forms of coding: initial coding and focused coding illustrated by Charmaz (2006) who introduced a social constructionist version of GT that emphasizes the role of researcher interacting with data. Initial coding includes detailed data and generates as many ideas and codes as necessary to contain the data, which have been focused on emerging new concepts or categories through theoretical sampling. By piloting my methods, initial coding created a protocol for identifying categories. For example, references to ‘self-esteem’, ‘confidence’ and ‘leadership’ could be grouped together under the

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category heading of 'social and personal development'. In addition, I was able to decide the categories and themes emerging from the physical cultural discourses such as sport, health and citizenship discourses (see Appendix 4 and Appendix 7), the activities of the YST and relationships with other organisations, and the excluded voices in the main official evaluation studies, which helped me to code and analyse data at this stage. Importantly these categories and themes changed and developed in terms of the focused coding process.

Focused coding is the process of developing the most useful codes by testing initial codes against further data (Charmaz, 2006). While the initial coding identifies categories at a low level of abstraction as descriptive labels (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), focused coding is more concerned with categories at a higher level of abstraction. The data are re-explored and re-evaluated in terms of developing codes (Bryman, 2008). For instance, health discourse emerged as a higher level concept or theme (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) from lower level concepts such as 'PESS and obesity' in the initial coding, and developed the category within health discourse to arrange sub-categories such as obesity, physical inactivity, active lifestyle, obesity-related disease, NHS cost and health-promoted exercise (e.g. see Appendix 7-2). In addition, in focused coding, a certain relationship between lower level categories was identified (e.g. the relationship between youth obesity and NHS costs in the future). Juxtaposed with generating codes, a critical comparison between other categories was conducted at the focused coding stage (e.g. health-related exercise compared with traditional competitive team sports in terms of youth health enhancement).

The coding process centred on data collection and analysis continued until all categories were well developed. As I saw the data and categories over and over again, I became empirically confident that the categories were saturated, that is, there was no further elaboration of the categories as new data was added (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Once the coding was completed, I examined the data for patterns and insights relevant to the key research issues because the categories were combined into groups for more meaningful analysis (Halperin & Heath,

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2012). There are several ways to improve the analysis process such as making comparisons, using memos, and considering text and contexts and I used these for generating substantive theory.

### *i) Making comparisons*

Making comparisons is the process where the researcher looks for emerging patterns and themes by comparing each incident in the data with other components appearing to belong to the same category and other categories in terms of their similarities and differences (Goulding, 1999). In line with a GT approach I employed this method of comparative analysis with theoretical sampling, since conducting coding and analysis jointly generates theory more systematically (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). While coding an incident for a sub-category such as ‘elite sport development’, I compared it with the previous incidents in the same and different groups coded in the same category such as ‘sport discourse’ (e.g. linked to different sub-categories like ‘elite sport development’ and ‘competition’). After developing a range of categories, different categories and sub-categories became integrated through constant comparisons for the higher level of categories and themes. In this regard, it is important to note that I was able to develop the articulation of each discourse by means of making comparisons (e.g. competitive sports as a form of health promoting activity). In other words, the work of comparison and contrast between data allowed me to better understand the process in which discourse is generated by text and language resources (e.g. elitism or elite sport exclusivity is linked to competitive school sport in a number of documents).

For the successful comparisons, I also compared each category through the different data resources including media, policy documents and interviews, which helped me to develop ideas on a level of generality higher in conceptual abstraction. For instance, in order to respond to research question 4 with respect to the main official evaluation studies, I drew on categories from government policy

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documents, media and interview resources together for elaborating the categories I found.

### *ii) Using memos*

I wrote memos throughout the process of data generation and analysis. In particular, NVivo 9.0 allowed me to keep memos throughout the whole research process. The memos were helpful in crystallising ideas and keeping track of my thinking on developing the coding process through a certain amount of reflection including asking questions, making comparisons, throwing out ideas that did not fit the data, and brainstorming (Bryman, 2008). Accordingly, memo writing promoted analytical development in terms of sparking my thinking and encouraging me to examine my data and code in new ways (Charmaz, 2006). It also entailed being sensitive to contrasts and comparisons between categories that were emerging in order to elaborate the categories. In this regard, the memo was vital as it provided plenty of ideas which could be revised in order to map out emerging theory.

### *iii) Text and context*

Researchers must place their documents in their historical and social context to understand them fully (Halperin & Heath, 2012). Likewise it is crucial to understand that discourses construe aspects of the world in a selective and reductive way within particular social and political contexts. Specifically I tried to look for both the meaning of language related to crucial concepts (e.g. obesity crisis, Olympic legacy) and the development of an agency that produced or used the language (e.g. YST) in its specific context. For instance, the early 2000s can be seen as a significant era politically because the school sport partnerships began to develop which meant that the YST began to be deeply involved in the policy-

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making process along with the increase in political attention to PESS from government (see chapter 6). In Table 8, I determined the relevant contextual factors for my research context on sport policy in the 2000s: politics, policy, and Olympic events drawing on Table 1 in the literature review chapter.

**Table 8 Political and social contexts of the policy for PESS**

Year/ factor	Politics	Sport Policy & initiatives	Olympic Event	Additional Notes
1997	Tony Blair (Labour)			
1999		Young People & Sport national survey		Sport England Speednet
2000		<i>A Sporting Future for All</i> (DCMS, April)	Sydney Olympic (15 <sup>th</sup> Sep) (28 medals, ranked 10th)	Phase 1 <i>partnerships</i> were begun. (Sep)
2001	Tony Blair, (Labour)			
2002		<i>Game Plan</i> (DCMS, Dec) Developing PESSCL by DfES, DCMS (Jan)		
2003		<i>Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links (PESSCL)</i> rolled out (April) By DfES, DCMS <i>Learning through PE and Sport</i> (DfES)		
2004		Increased aim of PESSCL announced by Tony Blair (December)	Athens Olympic (13, Aug) (30 medals, ranked 10th)	At least 4 hours of PE and sport by the end of the decade, 85% by 2008
2005	Tony Blair, (Labour)		<b>London was Selected as host city</b> (6 July)	
2007	Gordon Brown MP, (Labour)			5 hours offer announced (July)
2008		<i>5 hours PE, PESSYP</i> was launched (Jan) <i>Playing to Win: A New Era for Sport</i> (DCMS, Jan)	Beijing Olympic (8, Aug) (47 medals, ranked 4th)	
2010	David Cameron, (Conservative Coalition government)	Cut funding for School sport partnership (Dec)		

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As a case in point, political factors had a significant influence on the work of the YST for the making and delivery of policy for PESS while Olympic events, especially the decision of host city for 2012 Olympic had a huge impact on the content of media commentaries in reference of Olympic legacy discourse.

### ***iv) Integrating categories and refining theory***

Concepts alone do not make theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The central and core category pulls together identified concepts which have a relationship to each other as presenting the main theme of the research (Goulding, 1999). It must appear frequently in the data and must be logical and consistent with the data. Integration is the final step of analysis through all the memos and creating the story line, creating diagrams to fit categories together. I tried to combine all major categories I developed in relation to research questions with all of the memos that I had written and to integrate the literature reviews and theoretical framework in order to refine the findings. Furthermore, I present diverse diagrams which help to understand complex articulations and relationships between and within physical cultural discourse.

### **4.7 Research validity**

Validity is concerned with the extent that research is plausible to others to make sense to the reader with minimising of potential researcher bias and providing adequate explanation in relation to relevant contextual factors (Halperin & Heath, 2012). In this sense I tried to demonstrate a careful reading of texts to provide an interpretation that is clearly related to the textual evidence and the contexts of their production.

One of the most powerful ways to ensure the validity of this study is through the concept of triangulation. The validity of findings can be checked using various



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forms of triangulation, including triangulation of sources, respondents and method in recognition of the complexity of social phenomena (Colafshani, 2003; Denzin & Smith, 1998; Maxwell, 2008). In this thesis, triangulation serves to corroborate and combine the data gathered from other sources to amass a more complete picture, which results in more credible findings (Halperin & Heath, 2012). For instance I used not only documentary resources including policy documents and their evaluation reports, but the findings from interviews were also integrated with the documents in order to answer the research questions. Importantly, media resources were used together in order to generate a more complete understanding of physical cultural discourses regarding the context of sport policy development in the UK.

On the other hand, in terms of respondent validation, I was concerned with getting feedback about interviewees' data to prevent misinterpreting the meaning of what participants said, but I was also aware that it was important to note their feedback is no more inherently valid than their interview answers (Maxwell, 2008, p.244).

When it comes to the categories and findings that emerged through using the GT approach, revised criteria (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p.426) were considered to check the validity.

- Criterion 1. Are concepts generated? Does it generate (via coding-categorizing activity) or at least use concepts and what are their source or sources?
- Criterion 2. Are the concepts systematically related? Whether such linkages have been made and do they seem to be grounded in the data?
- Criterion 3. Are there many conceptual linkages and are the categories well developed? Do they have conceptual density?
- Criterion 4. Is there much variation built into the theory?
- Criterion 5. Do the theoretical findings seem significant and to what

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extent?

For example, regarding the validity of citizenship discourse, I reviewed data on the topic of law within the collected coding activities and checked the linkages between the main categories (i.e. reduction in crime and academic achievements) and the articulation of policy for PESS with citizenship again. In addition, other concepts (e.g. self-esteem, confidence, leadership and so on) constructing the main categories were reconfirmed from both the policy documents and media.

### 4.8 Ethical issues

I was aware of any ethical issues that could potentially arise throughout the interview process. I used two ethical guides to protect research participants including with respect to confidentiality issues: Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2011) and Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association (BSA, 2006). The BSA statement of Ethical Practice requires researchers to 'have a responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of research participant is not adversely affected by the research' (p.3). Similar statements were expressed in the BERA guidelines, for example, 'Individuals should be treated fairly, sensitively, with dignity and within an ethic of respect' (p.5).

Thus before conducting the interviews, an informed consent form (see Appendix 2) along with an invitation letter (see Appendix 1) was sent to interview participants. The outline of my research was also clearly explained to them in detail before the interview to ensure that all participants understood the process in which they were to be engaged and how the interview would be used in this thesis. All interviewees were asked to sign the form to confirm their consent. The informed consent form was submitted to an ethics committee of the University of Bedfordshire to obtain permission to conduct the research. Personal information of participants has been kept confidential by means of the removal of identifiers and the use of

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pseudonyms, and all data has been stored separately from the identifiers of participants.

### **4.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has covered the qualitative research design (Maxwell, 2005) and specific methods consistent with the methodology outlined in chapter 3. This chapter also discussed data generation, data analysis, research validity, and ethical issues of this thesis. Specifically the research methods employed for this thesis draw on GT to look at patterns and categories of diverse resources from policy documents, the main official evaluation studies, popular media and interviews underlying the connection with research aims and theoretical frameworks.

In this way, government sport policy documents alongside four different newspapers were analysed in order to identify the physical cultural discourse constructing and constituting PESSCL/PESSYP and to elucidate how these discourses were recontextualised. In addition, I conducted semi-structured interviews with those who have involved in PESS agencies such as YST, Sport England, and AfPE to illustrate the activities of agents/agencies of PESS policy and explore a particular struggle and contestation between them to obtain power and/or control of PESS policy. Lastly, the main official evaluation studies were analysed to look into how these evaluation studies prioritise particular forms of physical education and school sport and particular aspects of policy.

In the following three data-based chapters (chapters of 5, 6 and 7), I move on to explore my findings in detail. In chapter 5 I examine five physical cultural discourses constructing and constituting policies and strategies for PESS; in chapter 6 I consider agents and agencies in the recontextualising field: Baroness Sue Campbell and Youth Sport Trust; and in chapter 7 I focus upon evaluating the main official evaluation studies: inclusion and exclusion of evidences.

## **CHAPTER 5: FIVE PHYSICAL CULTURAL DISCOURSES CONSTRUCTING AND CONSTITUTING POLICIES AND STRATEGIES FOR PESS**

### **CHAPTER 5: FIVE PHYSICAL CULTURAL DISCOURSES CONSTRUCTING AND CONSTITUTING POLICIES AND STRATEGIES FOR PESS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter identifies a range of discourses that feature within policies and strategies for PESS as well as media forms such as newspapers. As pointed out in chapter 3, it is important to keep in mind that we need to understand discourses in regard to policy change because discourses in sport policy play a powerful role in defining worthwhile knowledge, teacher and student learning and the teaching process (Penney & Evans, 1999). The recent policy for PESS has dramatically changed and the school has become an arena in which diverse discourse conflict between different groups to define as well as legitimate the meaning of PESS. In this sense, the development and implementation of PESSCL/PESSYP during the 2000s in England raises significant questions for the form and content of PESS. Returning to my discussion of Bernstein's theory of the social production of pedagogic discourse in chapter 3.4.3, this theory gives a crucial insight into understanding the relationship between the primary and recontextualisation fields in the process of knowledge production, and identifies the recontextualising process as central to construction of PESS pedagogical practice in the secondary field. Moreover, the concept of physical cultural discourse (see chapter 3.5) as the regulative discourse in which the instructional discourse of PESS is embedded, is useful in comprehending what discourses outside the field of PESS become appropriated to provide the sources of policy-making and eventually, though it is

## **CHAPTER 5: FIVE PHYSICAL CULTURAL DISCOURSES CONSTRUCTING AND CONSTITUTING POLICIES AND STRATEGIES FOR PESS**

not a part of this study, forms of PESS. The process of recontextualisation, as we noted in chapters 1 and 3 of this thesis, is fundamentally a process of the pedagogisation of physical cultural discourses, of changing non-pedagogic discourses into a form that is concerned with teaching, learning, curriculum and their assessment.

In this context, this chapter identifies five discourses which are created within various physical cultural sites; sport (5.3), health (5.4), citizenship (5.5), lifelong participation (5.6) and Olympic/Paralympic legacy (5.7), which are sources of policy for PESS. These discourses will be explored in terms of understanding their meaning and development in the primary field, investigating key themes surrounding them, and the ways in which these discourses are represented and constituted within both policy and in and by media in the recontextualising field. In addition, the interrelationship between discourses centred on articulations will be explained. To do this, returning to my discussion of articulation theory in chapter 3.6.4, I will examine the process of linking among discourses which forms diverse articulations between different ideas constructing and constituting PESSCL/PESSYP. I will examine the main commentaries which form a commonsense consensus of benefits for PESS with critical views on these apparently 'necessary' (rather than contingent) articulations present in policy and in media texts. Before examining these discourses individually, I will illustrate the complexities of discourses embedded within policy showing that they form, not just chains, but webs of signification. I will argue that this approach provides a useful perspective to better understand the complicated interrelationship among physical cultural discourses.

### **5.2 The complexities of discourses embedded within policy: forming webs of signification**

The UK government stressed that their aim for policy for PESS was 'simple', in

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so far as they sought to provide more competitive opportunities as well as high quality physical education for all young people (DCMS, 2000, 2008). However policy for PESS on the contrary is not simple. The concept of PESS is becoming a more and more complex social reality as I will show in the web-like structure of physical cultural discourses in this chapter. It can be argued that various discourses in relation to government political goals have been interacting in PESSCL/PESSYP (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). For instance, the process of articulation makes new meaning of combinations between for example the discourses of sport and citizenship in regard to crime reduction and academic achievement particularly centred on the *Step into Sport* initiative. Furthermore, the main strands of PESSCL/PESSYP including the Gifted and Talented programme, coaching and SSCs are strongly associated with talent development. Accordingly, it is important to analyse the discourses and the ways they are brought into alignment in policy and media texts in order to understand webs of signification which makes particular sense of PESS, in terms of what Hall calls a ‘structure-in-dominance’ (Hall, 1985, p.100).

**Table 9 Dominant discourses informing the main policy documents during the 2000s (see Appendix 4 for analysis of dominant discourses within policy documents)**

Year	Document	Dominant Discourse
2000 April	A Sporting Future for All (DCMS)	<b>Sport:</b> Participation and Talent development <b>Social Inclusion</b>
2002 Mar	Game Plan: - A strategy for delivering government’s sport and physical activity objectives(DCMS & Strategy Unit)	<b>Sport:</b> Participation and Talent development <b>Health</b> <b>Social Inclusion</b> <b>Lifelong Participation</b>
2003 Mar	Learning through PE and Sport - A guide to the physical Education, School Sport and Club Links Strategy(DfE &DCMS)	<b>Citizenship</b> : volunteering, social skill development, academic achievement

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2008 Jun	Playing to win( DCMS): A New Era for Sport	<b>Sport:</b> Talent development and competition <b>Olympic Legacy</b>
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Returning to my discussion on the Labour government’s priorities for PESS in chapter 2.3, the salience of this field dramatically increased during the 2000s. As such, the former Prime Minister, Tony Blair, proposed to the BBC (2001) that PESS had emerged as ‘one of the key ways to overcome school exclusion, crime and drugs’ by giving young people the chance to choose an active and healthy lifestyle. The statement reflects the complexity of the variety of physical cultural discourses involved in youth sport policy, and that these discourses are intertwined and significantly overlap each other. From Table 9, during the Labour government terms in office (1997-2010), sport policy witnessed a considerable amount of investment in both elite and mass participation (Grix & Carmichael, 2012). In this context, policy for PESS had changed priorities according to government interests and agendas (e.g. education and social inclusion) or social context such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games. The launch of PESSCL within the context of *A Sporting Future for All* (DCMS, 2000) and *Game Plan* (2002) orientated policy toward cooperation between sport and government agendas, informed by such discourses as social inclusion, health and citizenship alongside elite sport development. In the case of PESSCL, *Learning through PE and Sport* (2003) emphasised the wider role of sports in reference to citizenship and academic achievement. Over time, however, apart from the initial guidance for PESSCL which was orientated toward targeting underrepresented groups, priorities of the strategy became more focused on the provision of competitive sport for young people. For example, priorities for PESSYP expressed in *Playing to win* (DCMS, 2008) focused on underpinning the goal to win more Olympic and Paralympic medals. Of course, the successful bid to host the 2012 Games increased the elite sport focus with the emphasis on competitive sport in school. Accordingly, it can be argued that while a wider role for sport including health

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and citizenship is emphasised in the early 2000s, elite sport development linked to more medals is much more the focus of policy in the late 2000s.

As we can see from Table 9, sport discourse was the most dominant and pervasive discourse constructing and constituting policy for PESS. In this context, recontextualising agencies/agents including various media, articulated sport discourse (chapter 5.3) and draw on a range of other discourses, in particular health (chapter 5.4), citizenship (chapter 5.5), lifelong participation (chapter 5.6) and Olympic/Paralympic legacy (chapter 5.7), all drawn from the primary field of knowledge production. In each section I examine the links and relationships that are pervasive in the media/policy to establish a complex model of the webs of signification of PESS. I now turn to examine the major discourses individually.

### **5.3 Sport Discourse**

Sport discourse is the most dominant discourse throughout PESSCL and PESSYP. Within physical culture in the UK, sport became part of the broader cultural fabric of life since the end of the Second World War (Hill, 2002; Griggs & Ward, 2012). The field of sport has since then become a more complex part of society in regard to its globalization, professionalization and commercialization (Kirk, 2013). Chiefly, sport as a category of physical culture includes a range of competitive sport activities, such as major team and individual sports, and discursive practices, that is, a diverse field of activities which yield a range of meanings and realities (e.g. professionalism, commercialism, globalization, amateur ethos in the voluntary sector, social issues and events including gender, health, moral development and Olympic events) (Hill, 2002). It is impossible to cover all aspects of sport generated in the primary field, accordingly, I focus on analysing the main themes centred on competition and elite sport development embedded within PESSCL/PESSYP and media commentaries.



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Sport activities were not the main part of school physical education in the UK until the introduction of compulsory mass secondary schooling in the late 1940s (Kirk, 2010). However competitive sports became the heart of physical education in a very short time. Furthermore, as I have discussed in chapter 2, a form of sport discourse based on talent development has been prominent in sport policy in the UK since the 1960s. In this context, and increasingly, youth have been drawn into organised competitive team sports as part of the National Curriculum for Physical Education<sup>11</sup> throughout the 1990s (Penney & Evans, 1999). This means a dominant, games-oriented form of PESS has not changed since at least the 1990s.

The Labour government had ‘the highest aspirations for sport’ (DCMS, 2000, p.6) in 2000 and their aim ‘to create a world leading sporting nation’ had not changed by 2008 (DCMS, 2008a, p.6). From the first Labour government sport policy (*A Sporting Future for All*, 2000) to the more recent policy document (*Playing to win*, 2008) the twin foci of (competitive) school sport and talent development in regard to elite sport development were clearly shown as the primary policy goals. Hence it seems that it is impossible to speak about policy for PESS without reference to competitive sport, and particularly high performance sport. I argue that the discourse of sport produced in the primary field has been reworked in PESSCL and PESSYP in the form of Gifted and Talented initiatives such as the Junior Athlete programme and multi-skill programme, as a key part of the recontextualising process.

In addition, in numerous media articles published between 1999 and 2010, the sport discourse has manifested itself in terms of a particular interpretation of an emphasis on the value of PESS and significant benefits for young people in relation to elite sport development (e.g. BBC 2000a; Ward, 2004, *The Guardian*), health improvement and tackling obesity (e.g. *The Guardian*, 2003; Hope, 2007, *Daily Mail*), more confidence for young people, and crime reduction (e.g. BBC

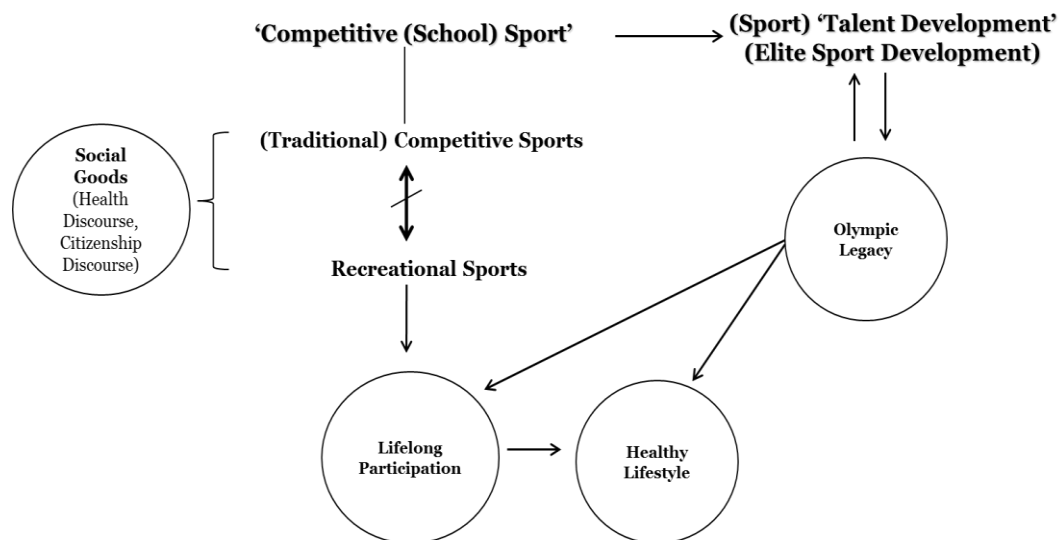
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<sup>11</sup> In the National Curriculum for Physical Education in 1992, 1995 and 1999 sport games were compulsory through PE (Capel & Whitehead, 2013; Penny & Evans, 1999).

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2004c; Trelford, 2003b, *The Telegraph*). In this context, sport discourse appears to be more or less the largest set of practices in the primary field of knowledge production and provides resources upon which other discourses such as health, citizenship and Olympic/Paralympic legacy draw. Moreover, sport discourse, as it is recontextualised in the policy field is very complicated and with other concepts forms a web, rather than a chain, of significations.

Figure 7 reveals this complex, web-like structure of sport discourse. The central concepts defining sport discourse within PESSCL/PESSYP are ‘competitive (school) sport’ and (sport) ‘talent development’.



**Figure 7 The structure for sport discourse**

While the discourse of competitive and elite sport is a dominant strand in this complex structure-in-dominance, there is a clear tension in policy documents with the aspirations to widen participation in PESS. For instance, in the preface of *Game Plan* Tessa Jowell claimed the government should adopt a:

Twin track’ approach of increasing participation in (competitive) sport and physical activity and developing sustainable improvement in success in international competition, giving particular attention to identifying and

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nurturing those with sport talent (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.7).

Thus, sport discourse can be understood in terms of the increased political salience of both grassroots (including school) sport and elite performance, twin foci that have been in tension in England since the 1960s (Grix & Phillpots, 2010). Increasingly since then, the focus on competitive sport and talent development has become more prominent in policy for PESS, and the tension with sports participation intensified, as evidenced in PESSCL/PESSYP, a selective movement of discourse that can be viewed as a major achievement of recontextualising agencies (especially centred upon the YST: see chapter 6).

So far in this chapter I have explained sport discourse in the primary field consisting of two main categories, ‘competition’ (5.3.1) and ‘talent development’ (5.3.2). From Figure 7 above, while being mutually supportive of each other, (competitive) sport articulates with social goods such as health (5.4) and citizenship (5.5). In addition, there are struggles between the form of competitive sport and other discourses including recreational sports and health-promoting exercise related to lifelong participation (5.4 and 5.6). I will examine each of these discourses in detail in the following sections.

### **5.3.1. Competition: competitive sport<sup>12</sup> and traditional team sports**

It is clear that the focus on competitive sport is central in sport policy documents and is prominent in media articles to the extent that ‘competition is absolutely

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<sup>12</sup> It is important to clarify the terminology of ‘competitive sports’. I have used ‘competitive sport’ and/or ‘(competitive) sport’ rather than ‘sport’ because sport consists of diverse practices and forms. For example, often traditional team sports such as football, rugby and netball involved in competitive sport and those sorts of sport seems to be more closely connected with elite development (and achieving more medals in the Olympics). Furthermore, I have used the term ‘competitive sport’ distinguished with non-competitive (or less competitive: recreational sport) sport such as running, swimming and yoga because the former links to the sport discourse whilst the latter closely links to health and lifelong participation (see Chapter 5.4). Accordingly, the particular form of sport is crucial to fully understand a range of discourses embedded within policy and media texts.

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essential in school' (BBC, 2003b; *Daily Mail*, 2006). This is manifestly demonstrated by the statement of former Secretary of DCMS, Andy Burnham, who believed that:

Sport's power to captivate is unlocked in the thrill and drama of competition. I want people of all backgrounds and ability levels to experience the joy and friendship that competitive sport brings. My aim is clear and simple- to create a healthy 'Playing to win' culture in English sport by creating competitive opportunities for all (DCMS, 2008a, p.2).

The importance of competition for young people is particularly prominent in *Playing to win* (DCMS, 2008a) and in this sense, PESSYP introduced 'competition' and 'coaching' strands which reinforced the importance of competitive sport through the creation of competition manager posts, coaching and intra-school competition (Sport England & YST, 2009b).

In line with the emphasis on competitive sport, schools were urged to take responsibility for providing competitive chances for young people through making school sport a 'top priority' (BBC, 1999a). Specifically, it was argued by some sections of the media that competitive sport had been undermined by an anti-competitive sport culture (i.e. competition harms young people) of the 1980s and 1990s, a lack of facilities, and non-specialist PE teachers in primary schools (BBC, 2008a), so the government put 'school sport co-ordinators (SSPs) in place up and down the country to rebuild our shattered structure of competitive school sport' (DCMS, 2002, Foreword by Tessa Jowell, p.8). In a similar vein, media reported that SSPs would be established to revive competitive team sports in schools (BBC, 1999b; Hughes, 2002, *Daily Mail*). Furthermore, competitive sport discourse within policy was replicated by a range of programmes such as inter- and intra- school sport competitions and festivals including a traditional sports day which was supported by school sport co-ordinators and competition managers (Edward, 2011; Flintoff, 2008b). In addition, former DCMS Secretary of State Tessa Jowell urged schools to resurrect traditional sport days in an attempt to

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reverse an alleged decline in competitive sport in schools (Clark, 2003, *Daily Mail*; Hughes, 2002, *Daily Mail*). In particular, although PESS initiatives had encouraged young people to participate in a broader range of sports and physical activity, often competitive traditional major sports (for example, tennis, cricket, rugby union, football, athletics, gymnastics and swimming, DfES & DCMS, 2003, p.13) were highlighted in the context of restoring competitive sports (e.g. Hall, 2004, *The Guardian*). This trend is directly traced back to *Raising the Game* (DNH, 1996) which put competitive team games and sports at the core of sport policy in the middle of the 1990s, as I have discussed in chapter 2.

The links between competitive sport and other discourses constructing and constituting policy for PESS are illustrated in Figure 8. As I already noted, competitive sport was directly linked to fostering talent development (see 5.3.2). Moreover, competitive sport has frequently been linked to the discourses of citizenship (see 5.5) and health (see 5.4) For example, Nick Seaton, chairman of the Campaign for Real Education said in the *Daily Mail*:

Life is full of competition and young people can get used to it at school. Traditional sports help foster team spirit and youngsters learn to win and lose gracefully. They can also burn off some of the energy that could be used in other directions which are more damaging (Clark, 2006a).

In a similar vein former Labour Health Minister Ivan Lewis (2006-2008) insisted that ‘competitive sport must continue in order to foster team spirit, keep pupils fit and prepare them for adult life’ (Clark, 2006b, *Daily Mail*).

However sometimes this competitive form of sport competes with and contradicts physical activity for the purpose of health and promoting lifelong participation. For instance, a number of newspaper journalists (Paton, 2008a, *The Telegraph*; BBC, 2008b; Smith, 2007, *The Guardian*) argued that PESS was emphasising a narrow range of competitive team sports at the expense of wider efforts to promote health-related exercise. Accordingly, from this point of view, as sport

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discourse centred on competitive sports is firmly located at the centre of PESS, young people's options to join in a wider range of activities in school becomes limited (Capel & Whitehead, 2013). Interestingly, government policy also contained the notion of the importance of taking part in the 'whole range of active recreation, from competitive sport to non-competitive activities such as fitness exercise, dance and countryside walking' (DCMS, 2000, p.37). This seems to be a contradictory statement given the prominent concern with talent development. I will discuss this point in detail in chapter 5.3.3.

The next section is about another core concept 'talent development' which is at the centre of the sport discourse informing PESSCL/PESSYP.

### **5.3.2 Developing youth sport talent: The pyramid model and virtuous cycle of sport**

The development of youth sport 'talent' is a core concept of PESSCL/PESSYP and media in relation to a close connection between PESS and elite sport development. Developing the sport talent of young people is linked to competitive school sport in an exclusive way throughout PESSCL/PESSYP. In other words, a variety of initiatives introduced by PESSCL/PESSYP is de-located and reworked form of sport discourse produced in the primary field. For instance, according to *A Sporting Future for All* (DCMS, 2002), SSC was created based on an 'explicit focus on elite sport' (p.8). In addition, the strategies included a distinct Gifted and Talented strand of PESSCL/PESSYP including profiling and tracking of talented sport players, a national network of Competition Managers, a national competition scheme, elite disability sport, multi-skill camps, multi-sport clubs and a National School Sport Week, in order to improve their performance and increase success rates in top level competition (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; DfES & DCMS, 2003; DCMS, 2008a). Returning to my discussion on elite-sport-oriented sport development in the UK in chapter 2, talent development and high performance

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sport are nothing new in the course of sport development in the UK (Croston, 2013; Kirk, 2004). To be clear, sport policy has been focused towards elite sport development for the goal of medal-winning from both Conservative and Labour governments from the mid-1990s onwards (Green & Houlihan, 2004), and in this context physical education has been expected to contribute to the pursuit of elite sporting achievement (Houlihan, 2000; Kirk & Gorely, 2000). In a similar vein, there had been increasingly unequivocal mentions of PESS for the elite sport development and Olympic/Paralympic success (i.e. achieving more medals) in politicians' and medallists' comments and the work of journalists during the 2000s. For instance, the former Education Secretary Charles Clarke noted that 'the Olympic Games would be a massive boost to sport in schools.' (BBC, 2004e) and Jason Queally, cycling gold medallist said that 'all successful sporting nations have the roots of their success in school sport and I hope there will now be an increase in the choice of sports.' (*The Guardian*, 2000b).

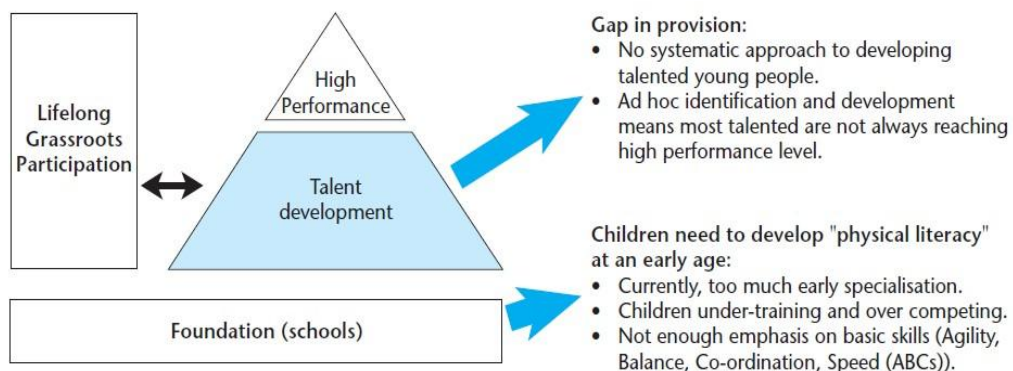
Specifically, the significance of PESS in line with particular connections between competitive sport and talent development is easily demonstrated within both sites of policy-making and media production. It appears to be common for government politicians and media commentators to refer to elite sport development by means of emphasising a need for (competitive) school sport. The first Labour sport strategy *A Sporting Future for All* (DCMS, 2000) restated the priorities of youth sport as a necessary foundation for future elite performance and international success. The policy document *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002) proposed to support Gifted and Talented pupils in school in terms of School Sport Partnerships Programmes. Furthermore, this pervasive diffusion of sport discourse is demonstrated by reference to media reports containing politicians' statements and evaluation research regarding the role of school and sport initiatives related to elite sport development. The BBC (1999b) and *The Daily Mail* (Moss, 1999) introduced the SSPs as effective ways of nurturing young sporting talent for the future by means of 'a renaissance in competitive sport at school' and competitive

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sport was said to ‘give every child the chance to be the very best they can be and helps us find the champions of tomorrow’ (Selvey, 2007, *The Guardian*). The media also reported that the mission of schools for elite sport had failed, that is, schools were not doing enough to find the potential Olympic/Paralympic stars of the future because too little attention was paid to talented pupils (BBC, 2004a; Ward, 2004, *The Guardian*). In consideration of articulations surrounding sport discourse centred on linking between policy and developing youth sport talent, there are two explicit models: the pyramid model and virtuous cycle of sport.

***i) The pyramid Model (mass participation -> elite sport development)***

Increasing mass participation levels in sport is articulated with elite sport development within policy documents. The rationale is typically expressed as follows: ‘without a broad base of participation we will not draw out the most talented stars of the future’ (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.52, also see Figure 8). Accordingly, this ‘pyramid model’ of sport development assumes that increasing high performance is driven by a widened base of participation. In other words, from Figure 8, it is assumed that schools should provide a broad base as a foundation and/or a clear pathway to elite sport for success in international competition (DCMS, 2000; DfES & DCMS, 2003).



**Figure 8 Pyramid talent development model (DCMS & Strategies Unit, 2002, p.124)**



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According to Kirk and Gorely (2000)<sup>13</sup> the pyramid model of sport development typically assumes that physical education is the preparation stage for elite sport competition in terms of the learning fundamental motor skills forming the basis of the structure. *A Sporting Future for All* (DCMS, 2000) emphasised this way of thinking:

It is in school where most of us get our first chance to try sport. It is here that children discover their talent and their potential. They need high quality teaching of basic skills. They need opportunities to compete at a level in line with where their ability has developed (p. 2).

This same message is reinforced through the popular media which reports regularly on the importance of basic skills for sport such as running, jumping and athletics, gym and basic fitness, drawing on Olympic stars such as Jessica Ennis as examples (e.g. BBC, 2000a; Davies, 2010, *The Telegraph*). In this sense, regarding the transformation of grassroots sport (mass participation) to success in international competition, it can be argued that the wording of the *Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links* (PESSCL) strategy underpins the relationship between PESS and elite sport, as a talent development pathway.

However despite the pyramid model's popularity, there have been critical voices in the academic literature. First and foremost, the model's design raises moral issues because it implies the systematic exclusion of youth regardless of the basis of 'ability', i.e. 'fewer and fewer individuals can participate at each level' (Kirk & Gorely, 2000, p.123). Moreover, mass participation in school and club sport does not necessary drive higher international performance because elite sport success is more likely linked to other factors such as family background and local variables (Edward, 2011, Kirk & Gorely, 2000; Harvey et al., 2013). Therefore to some extent, the pyramid model results in evoking a narrow perspective on physical education as a preparation stage for achieving elite sport success by a small

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<sup>13</sup> Also, they suggested other popular metaphors associated with the pyramid model: 'foundation stones' and 'trickle-down effects'.

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number of individuals in the future which is factually incorrect and ethically questionable and may even deter young people from pursuing lifelong participation because the pyramid structure is restrictive of school physical education programmes (Kirk, 2003, 2004). Although it appears that some consideration has been given to the extent to which the pyramid model systematically excludes young people, as evidenced in the 2002 inclusion of a route to Lifelong Grassroots Participation (see Figure 8), it is clear that the pyramid model remains central to the discourse of elite sport development in *Game Plan* despite the critiques of this model.

### ***ii) A virtuous cycle of sport***

Grix & Carmichael (2012) discuss the notion of a virtuous cycle of sport as illustrated by Figure 11, which has formed the basis of arguments made by government for investing in elite sport:

The notion of a virtuous cycle of sport takes this (government funding of elite sport) further, first by presenting the relationship between elite and mass sport as self-reinforcing and circular. Thus, the virtuous cycle of sport holds that elite success on the international stage leads to prestige and elite sport contributes to a collective sense of identity; this, then, boosts a greater mass sport participation, leading to a healthier populace; this, in turn, provides a bigger pool of talent from which to choose the elite stars of the future and which ensures elite success (Grix & Carmichael, 2012, p.76-77).

As such, talent development is articulated within policy documents with Olympic/Paralympic legacy and mass participation centred on competitive sport. The DCMS (2002, p.82) also emphasised the link between youth talent development and SSP/SSC, noting that the discourse of talent development is justified by a 'feel good factor' in relation to elite sport success at

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Olympic/Paralympic Games, which are expected to inspire young people to engage in physical activities. In this way, the virtuous cycle of sport constructs and reinforces the dominant sport discourse within other policy documents (e.g. *Playing to win*, DCMS, 2008).

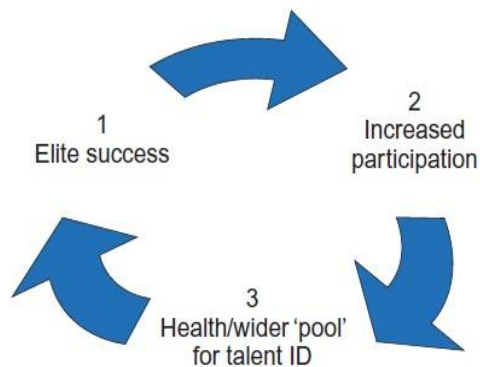


Figure 9 A virtuous cycle of sport (figure adapted from Grix & Carmichael (2012, p.75))

With respect to the nature of the link between sport participation and talent development (i.e. Figure 9, 2&3 → 1; Increased participation → Elite success), the crucial words articulating mass sport participation with elite success is ‘pathway’ or ‘transition’ from school to community sport and elite sport, that is, a preparation to climb the ‘ladder’ of talent development, implying the pyramid concept of youth sport development (DCMS, 2000; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; DfES & DCMS, 2003; DCMS, 2008a, Sport England, 2008). Government documents set out their plan positioning sport discourse at the core of policy for PESS in order to transform school sport participation to community sport participation and elite sport performance through high quality ‘competitive sport’ (DCMS, 2008a, p.2). The talent development discourse was further strengthened in 2008 with the publication of the Labour government’s policy statement for PESSYP, *Playing to win*, which placed competition and performance at its heart. The former Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport Andy Burnham in his

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foreword to the document (DCMS, 2008a), stressed the talent development discourse centred on offering more competition chances for young people:

When you play sport, you play to win. That is my philosophy [...]. This plan (PESSYP) suggests a shared goal to unite around – maximising English sporting success by expanding the pool of talent in all sports. In short, more coaching and more competitive sport for all young people (DCMS, 2008a).

Importantly, this document confirmed that the Youth Sport Trust (YST) would have responsibility for providing more coaching and competitive opportunities to all pupils in terms of working in partnership with UK Sport based on a network of SSPs, SSCs and Competition Managers (DCMS, 2008a). The sport discourse centred upon competition and talent development had been located centrally within PESSCL and especially PESSYP through the work of the YST as the major recontextualising agency of PESS during the 2000s. This role will be discussed further in chapter 6.

### **5.3.3 Dominant sport discourse constructing and constituting PESSCL and PESSYP**

Building on the previous sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, it can be argued that talent development linked to elite sport success through competitive school sport had ensured sport discourse was dominant within PESSCL/PESSYP (DCMS, 2008a; Sport England, 2008). The sport competition festival and Gifted and Talented programme were located within the SSPs, and Competition Managers were appointed to manage the delivery of the new framework through a programme of inter-school competitions in 2004. In addition, the UK School Games had been organised from 2006 (DCMS, 2008a). In this regard, PESSCL/PESSYP was primarily concerned with the ‘sportization’ of PESS in terms of providing competitive sport-oriented activities (Green, 2008, p.227). Furthermore, according

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to Houlihan and Lindsey (2012), the emphasis on competition was underpinned by the bid to host the 2012 London Games and former Prime Minister Gordon Brown's attention to youth sport competition in 2007. In this context, the intentions of this sport discourse-oriented youth policy are arguably incompatible with the social inclusion or other policy objectives such as health. In other words, the privileging of sport discourse is inevitably to reduce the possibilities of PESS to realise health improvement, social inclusion, and citizenship in schools. Moreover, policy slippage may be unavoidable due to the confusion of practice in schools because of this incompatibility between the competition-focused policy and opportunities to achieve diverse government goals including health promotion through PESS (Penney & Evans, 1999).

With respect to girls' participation in PESS, a number of competition-related strands in PESSCL/PESSYP contributed towards a predominance of competitive opportunities centred on traditional team sports being provided in what has traditionally been viewed as 'male' sports (Flintoff, 2008b, p.399). Several news articles also criticised the competitive sport orientation in PESS because 'many girls (and boys) have no interest in competitive sport' (Devine, 2010) and girls prefer to exercise than to play competitive sport (Ward, 2007, *The Guardian*). Since many activities offered in PESSCL/PESSYP had emphasised hypermasculine qualities centred on competition and physicality, many girls might be excluded from receiving the diverse forms of physical activity that enable them to lead active and healthy lifestyles (Kirk, 2003). Furthermore, government social inclusion-related aims appeared to have failed because the predominance of competitive sport is not for all students but for only a minority of the most competent students (Bailey, 2005; Capel & Whitehead, 2013; Flintoff, 2008b; Kay, 2005).

In addition, young people's health was often marginalised or subsumed into other competitive activities within PESSCL/PESSYP. Although Ofsted (2009) recommended sports colleges and SSPs to be at the core of local initiatives to

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tackle youth health problems such as obesity, health promotion through traditional competitive sport seems to offer contradictory arguments because recreational-type activities can be much more effective to promote health than high level competition (Kirk, 2006, also see 5.4.2). Moreover, both PESSCL/PESSYP did not suggest any specific programme in relation to health promotion such health-related exercise (Harris, 2000).<sup>14</sup> Although an increased and widened base of participation in recreational sport activities may foster healthier young people and lifelong participation (Cale & Harris, 2011), competitive-oriented sport and games were dominant within PESSCL/PESSYP. This competitive focus presented a barrier for many young people, in particular girls and low ability-level boys, to participation beyond school leaving because of a disconnection between school sport experience and adults' physical activities (Edward, 2011; Flintoff, 2008b). In this sense, it can be said that although the boundary of physical education looks to be extended beyond the curriculum through implementing PESSCL/PESSYP, the range of contents offered to young people in physical education may have shrunk.

### **5.4 Health Discourse**

Health is a symbol through which various meanings associated with individual life and social well-being are given expression (Colquhoun, 1990). In recent years, health has become one of the major topics of scientific research including in the disciplines of sociology and cultural studies. Health is a focus for major industries over the world and a matter of political concern (Evans et al., 2004). In particular, biomedical knowledge centred on the relationship between health and physical activities has been generated by health experts and scholars in the primary field (Tinning, 2010).

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<sup>14</sup> HRE refers to 'the teaching of knowledge, understanding, physical competence and behavioural skills, and the creation of positive attitudes and confidence associated with current and lifelong participation in physical activity (Harris, 2002, p.2).

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The concept of health has been closely connected with physical activity. Indeed, the link between physical education and health is not new. In consideration of the historical context of the role of physical activity to health, a medico-health rationale (or therapeutic) relationship between physical activity and health in physical education had emerged from the mid-1800s and health connected with exercise in the 1950s and 1960s was supported by obesity-related research following the growing concern with public health (Kirk, 1988, 1992; Smith & Green, 2005). In this context, the government, academic journals and industrialists have suggested health can be managed by health-related educational programmes (Rose & Miller, 1992).

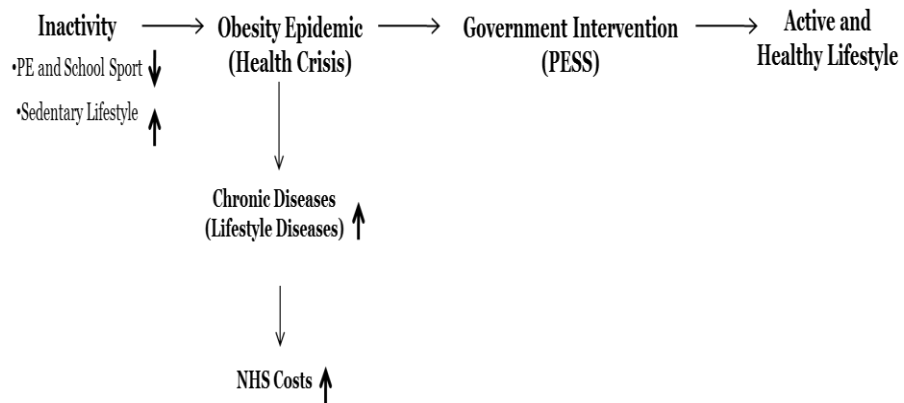
Recently, concerns relating to inactivity rates and rising obesity levels amongst young people have led to advocacy for forms of physical education related to healthy lifestyles to become key to improving the levels of youth health (Houlihan & Green, 2009; Kirk, 2006). For instance, in the UK, 'health-related fitness' was introduced in schools in the 1980s (Kirk, 1992b) and a health theme centred on 'healthy and active lifestyle' became a statutory component and main concept in the current NCPE (Cale & Harris, 2013). Accordingly the role of physical education in promoting youth health has been increased and government as well as media commentators have identified the PESS-related initiatives to be instrumental in addressing young people's current and future health issues (Cale & Harris, 2013).

However the position of health discourse within PESSCL/PESSYP appeared to be relatively marginalised due to the dominance of the sport discourse. Policy documents and strategies seem to be not much concerned with an articulation between youth health and physical activity. Although *Game Plan* (DCMS, 2002, p.44) concluded that health is one of the overarching objectives of sport policy because 'the health benefits are the most strongly supported by the evidence', and the health concern was designated one of the outcomes of 'high quality of PESS' as shown in Appendix 5, the health effects have continued to be viewed as

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subordinate to the areas of sport, that is, a by-product of participation in competitive sport.

With regard to health and obesity, there are government policies such as ‘Choosing Health’ (DfE, 2004) and ‘Healthy Weight, Healthy Lives’ (DfE, 2008), but there are no specific health-promotion related strands within PESSCL and PESSYP. Furthermore, health discourse was not a dominant discourse within the main sport policy documents, *Game Plan* excepted. In contrast, the health concerns of young people were the most frequently discussed discourse in the media, with respect to a link between inactivity and an obesity epidemic. Media commentaries concerned about the positive effects of sport especially linked to tackling youth obesity would appear to boost investment in PESS from government (e.g. BBC 2002a, 2002b; Foster, 2002; Hope, 2005).



**Figure 10** The structure for health discourse

As can be seen in the structure for health discourse in Figure 10, the concept of ‘obesity’ is crucial to understand how the health discourse is represented and addressed in policy and by media. The structure of health discourse in the policy documents and media outputs such as newspapers demonstrates that the alleged increase in youth physical inactivity associated with sedentary living leads to an obesity epidemic which will result in increasing chronic diseases and at the same



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time increasing NHS costs. Accordingly, PESS strategy initiatives such as PESSCL and PESSYP are thus required to address this problem by encouraging young people to lead active and healthy lifestyles.

In this regard, it can be said that the health discourse is primarily constructed by complicated articulations surrounding health benefits of PESS as below, in both negative and positive forms:

- Youth inactivity → obesity epidemic → chronic diseases → increasing NHS costs (5.4.1)
- PESS → tackling youth obesity → active and healthy lifestyle (5.4.2)

Accordingly, it can be considered that PESS can be a crucial way to achieve health enhancement for young people in the present as well as the future in terms of tackling youth obesity.

Next, I will examine the obesity crisis centred on the obesity epidemic (5.4.1) and the use of PESS as a means of tackling obesity and promoting youth health (5.4.2).

### **5.4.1 ‘Health Crisis’ in the form of an ‘obesity epidemic’**

#### ***i) Obesity Epidemic***

The terminology of ‘obesity’ was rarely used in the medical literature before the 1960s (Colquhoun, 1990; Gard & Wright, 2001). However by the 2000s the concern for obesity has frequently appeared in academic journals, government health policies and media in the wake of growing concerns surrounding obesity-related disease and the rising cost of health care (Kirk, 2006; Smith & Green, 2005). Recalling Figure 11, health discourse is constructed within policy documents (see especially, *Game Plan*) through articulations of insufficient activity and an increased risk of childhood obesity (and being overweight) which

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will result in increasing NHS costs because of lifestyle diseases such as coronary heart disease and hypertension.

The rhetoric of an 'obesity epidemic' has been prevalent in the media and has stressed the importance of physical activity particularly among young people. The obesity epidemic appears to claim to be a worldwide phenomenon. It provides a crucial discursive resource in the legitimization of academic disciplines, public health policy and the sport policy agenda (Gard, 2004; Smith, Green & Roberts, 2004). Effectively, the obesity epidemic of the UK was emphasised by simply reporting or predicting the obesity rate of young people drawing on health-related research and making comparisons with other countries such as Europe and America. For instance, childhood obesity in Britain has, it was claimed, 'trebled in the last 20 years' (*The Guardian*, 2005a) and 'among 3 million obese children in the European Union, one-third of them in the UK' (Hope, 2005, *Daily Mail*). Furthermore, the UK will suffer more obesity than America (BBC, 2003b) in terms of the prediction of obesity rate: 'by 2050 25 percent of children in the UK will be clinically obese' (Harris, 2007, *Daily Mail*). The media appears to simplify and distribute the obesity crisis to a wider public by selective reporting of figures.

In a nutshell an obesity epidemic has become the biggest health concern among young people in the UK both in the academic and popular press (Foster, 2002; Smith & Green, 2005). In this context, the health crisis of youth has served a vital function in the justificatory rhetoric of a need for more sport activity as a means to solve the obesity problem, along with a focus on the causes of childhood obesity and its consequences in the future. In other words, the obesity epidemic creates an urgent health crisis that requires society to remove the risk factors such as young people's inactivity. In this sense, the notion of 'risk society' (Beck, 1992) centred on the obesity epidemic and health crisis, plays a significant role in reinforcing health discourse.

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### *ii) 'Risk Society' formed by the obesity epidemic and health crisis*

Some researchers (Gard & Wright, 2001; Evans, Evans & Rich, 2003; Kelly, Hickey & Tinning, 2000; Tinning, 2010) discuss the health crisis generated by the alleged obesity epidemic drawing on the notion of a 'risk society' (Beck, 1992). Risks provided one of the significant rationales for a need of PESS initiatives such as SSPs and SSC in the 2000s (DCMS, 2000; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). The narrative, they claim, is that we live in a world characterised by risks including an obesity epidemic, in which government rely on 'health experts' who manage the uncertainty of illness through the identification of health risk factors from their scientific knowledge and expertise (Gard & Wright, 2001). A health crisis is constructed through the social production of practices such as scientific research. Policy as well as media commentary reproduce the articulation of youth obesity in relation to an alleged decrease in their sport and physical activity (Evan, 2003; Kirk, 2006). In other words, a health crisis can be seen as a result of the proliferation of obesity-related research recontextualised within and by policy and the media. For instance, *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002) reported the low participation rates of 'only 32 per cent' of adults in England participating in 30 minutes of moderate physical activity compared to '80 per cent' in Finland (p.7). In *Game Plan* scientific quantitative data is selectively chosen to construct a sense that there is an urgent social problem which contributes to construct negative articulations (i.e. Youth inactivity → obesity epidemic → chronic diseases → increasing NHS costs).

In particular, the media plays a crucial role in shaping and reinforcing the notion that there is a health crisis associated with the widespread risk of obesity. The role of PESS for health promotion is supported through its appropriation of risk-related concepts such as 'obesity epidemic' or 'health crisis'. For example, the panic around the obesity risk of young people is generated and legitimised by health research which argued that youth are likely to die before their parents (James, 2002, *Daily Mail*; *The Guardian*, 2005a). Furthermore, the term 'time

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bomb' is used to represent the future of children's health and associated 'spiralling' NHS costs (Batty, 2008, *The Guardian*, also see BBC, 2003d; Townsend & Campbell, 2003, *The Guardian*). For instance, *The Guardian* accounted that 'roughly 23% of young people are either overweight or obese when they enter primary school [...] these distressing figures confirm that a new generation of children are paying the price for decades of inaction' (Crace, 2008). Reports claimed that the cost of physical inactivity would be 'at least £2bn' a year which represents about '54,000 lives' lost prematurely (BBC, 2005a, also see *Daily Mail*, 2004; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). Accordingly, schools are urged to 'battle' (Townsend & Campbell, 2003, *The Guardian*; Vadon, 2007, *BBC*) or 'combat' (Wintour, 2004b, *The Guardian*) childhood obesity through PESS. In this way, the articulation between PESS and obesity (and overweight) is easy to witness on the basis that PESS contributes to reduce the cost of the NHS in the future by preventing a number of obesity-related diseases. In other words, both policy and media reinforce the articulation between physical inactivity and health risk (youth obesity) associated with chronic diseases and high health costs to the NHS and in so doing makes a case for PESS (Cale & Harris, 2011).

### ***iii) Reasons for childhood obesity and the consequences of an obesity crisis in the future***

Generally, there has existed a strong relationship between inactivity and obesity alongside the growing concern for diet in both policy and media. When it comes to the causes of young people's inactivity, generally two reasons are argued in policy documents and by the media: a decline in the amount of competitive sport in school and the prevalence of sedentary lifestyles such as watching television or videos and playing computer games. In particular, the media have constructed a link between cuts in school sports and physical education and rising childhood obesity (BBC, 1999c; BBC, 2003c; Townsend & Campbell, 2003, *The Guardian*). In addition, *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002) confirmed the sedentary behaviour group as the most at risk health group. The sedentary lifestyle is

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constructed as a health risk factor associated with ‘lifestyle disease’ including hypertension, respiratory, type-2 diabetes and heart disease in the future (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002).

Regarding future health concerns of young people, government and media reports directly connect the growing problem of obesity with National Health Service (NHS) costs in the future. In this context, Tony Blair highlighted the central importance of sport and physical activity in the foreword to *Game Plan* in terms of economic concerns:

This report focuses on the importance of increasing grassroots participation for health benefits, estimating that physical inactivity currently costs the nation at least £2bn a year (or 54,000 lives lost prematurely). (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.5).

The government believed PESS could contribute to reduce the risk of lifestyle disease and consequently would result in a contribution to the economy and an increase in productivity (Collins & Kay, 2003). The economic logic of reducing health costs in the future has been evidenced by the media through government interventions such as ‘Fat or fit nation: the state of school sport’ (BBC, 2005a).

In the next section, the role of PESSCL/PESSYP to tackle the obesity crisis is investigated.

### **5.4.2 The role of policy and strategic initiatives to tackle the health crisis**

#### ***i) What’s the mission? Remove the ‘risk’ to youth health?***

As outlined in the section above, the concept of ‘obesity’ is central to the health discourse and youth obesity is alleged to be an outcome of an inadequate amount of physical activity along with modern lifestyles. In this way, the logic that youth health risk can be treated by youth sport policy (e.g. SSPs) in terms of increasing

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participation in (competitive) sport is legitimated as commonsense knowledge in *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002) and by the media. In other words, *Game Plan* and numerous media commentaries identified PESS to be a tool for potential treatment in order to ‘combat’ growing levels of obesity in school. For instance, the SSPs were introduced for health promotion:

The goal has been set against a back ground of rising childhood obesity rates, with concern that pupils must take more exercise to avoid later health problems. The government is attempting to open secondary school up to primaries via a network of school sports coordinators (BBC, 2003e).

Within a significant amount of media commentary, ‘physical education’ (Davies, 2004, *The Telegraph*), ‘school sport’ (BBC, 2005a), ‘school sport partnerships<sup>15</sup>’, ‘the PESSYP (the so-called 5 hours offer)’ (Jones & Davies, 2006) have articulated with the health of children by tackling the obesity crisis. Interestingly, when Olympic champions and head teachers criticised the decision of the SSPs funding cut in 2010, they also used the same rhetoric that the austerity will damage children’s health and active lifestyles (see BBC, 2010a; Campbell, 2010, *The Guardian*).

In addition, we can see in the highlighted emphasis on concepts such as ‘active lifestyles’ or ‘healthy lifestyles’ that young people will increasingly make personal choices and take responsibility for maintaining sport activity within their lives (Tinning, 2010). A healthy and active lifestyle is also one of the stated outcomes of high quality PESS (DfES & DCMS, 2004). For instance, according to *High Quality of PE and Sport for Young People*, young people should:

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<sup>15</sup> Some partnerships included ‘huff and puff’ and ‘wake-up and shake-up’ sessions to address concerns about young people’s fitness by offering daily based activities (before the start of school or in lunch time), but these programmes do not seem to be widespread in England (BBC, 2004b; Ofsted, 2005, 2009).

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Understand that PE and sport are an important part of a healthy, active lifestyle. [...] They can explain how the school helps them to maintain a healthy, active lifestyle (DfES & DCMS, 2004, p.6).

Young people should lead more active lifestyles because they are responsible for their own health (Donnelly, 2003), which means ‘healthy behaviour has become a moral duty and illness an individual moral failing’ (Crawford, 1984, p.72). In this sense we can say overweight and obese young people ought to move forward into the active and healthy lifestyle through PESS which is so pervasively represented in both *Game Plan* and media outlet.

However, in consideration of the articulation between physical activity and health benefits, the recontextualising of obesity discourse within the policy and media<sup>16</sup> often generated critical issues on the narrow focus of health by means of ‘healthism’ (i.e. the idea that health is an individual issue, determined by body size and weight and a chain of signification of exercise - slenderness - health (Kirk & Colquhoun, 1989; Kirk, 2006)). The linking between body weight (youth obesity) and health assumes that a thin body is a healthy and good thing whereas a fat body is an unhealthy and bad thing (Kirk & Colquhoun, 1989). For instance, *The Guardian* (2005a) reported ‘overweight and obese children (due to their inactivity) tend to make unhealthy adults, suffering from conditions such as heart disease, diabetes and osteoarthritis. There is an economic cost to the nation, too, which, according to government figures, could be to the tune of £7.4bn.’ In addition, overweight and obese children have been portrayed in the media through diverse images of bad citizens who are ‘weak willed’, ‘lazy’, and ‘worthless’, for instance, ‘lazy children are storing up problems in later life’ (Hope, 2007, *Daily Mail*). In addition, the headlines of articles typically represent young people as ‘at risk’ relating to an alleged decrease in youth participation in sport: ‘couch

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<sup>16</sup> ‘Overweight and obese children (due to their inactivity) tend to make unhealthy adults, suffering from conditions such as heart disease, diabetes and osteoarthritis. There is an economic cost to the nation, too, which, according to government figures, could be to the tune of £7.4bn’ (*The Guardian*, 2005a).

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potatoes to be targeted’ (BBC, 2002b); ‘too fat to get fit- the children unable to take part in PE’ (Henry, 2003, *The Telegraph*); and ‘fat or fit nation: the state of school sport’ (BBC, 2005a). Interestingly, the term ‘couch potato’ was frequently used to describe the typical obese young person who does not engage in organised physical activities (e.g. BBC 2001b, 2002b; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; Foster, 2002, *Daily Mail*). The important point to note is that there is little critical awareness of how healthism is constructed, by a process of removing the uncertainties and ambiguities inherent in these relationships between physical inactivity and obesity through the careful selection and omission of data in policy documents and media forms, while at the same time marginalising or ignoring critical voices (see section iii below). Some educators criticise healthism (Evans, 2003; Kirk, 2006), and were concerned with the unproblematic and simplistic articulation between the form of physical activity activities and lifelong healthy lifestyles (Bailey, 2005; Cale & Harris, 2011, 2013).

### *ii) Recreational sport: Some tensions between Health and Sport discourses*

As stated earlier, in section 5.3.1 and 5.3.3, there have been tensions between the two discourses of sport and health, in particular, between (traditional) competitive sports and recreational activities<sup>17</sup>. Although most policy documents have stressed the provision of a range of activities for young people, *Game Plan* mentioned:

Importantly, the physical activity required to achieve the recommended daily target can take many different forms, including brisk walking and

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<sup>17</sup> Regarding a terminology concern in this thesis; ‘recreational activities’ have been used with (health promoted) exercise activities that are characterized as less competitive, more recreational and individual or small-group activities than traditional sports. Some researchers called these sorts of activities as ‘lifestyle activities’ (Coalter, 1996). We can understand recreational activities are more focused by enjoyment whilst exercise is expected to be focused upon explicit health outcomes. However, the two concepts have been used here with almost the same meaning or intention related to health discourse and lifelong participation because most activities are overlapping so it can be difficult to tell the difference between them (e.g. Exercise can be a medium of recreational activities (Kirk, 1999)).



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cycling, and need not consist of traditional competitive sporting activities (p. 52).

In a similar vein, Murphy and Waddington (1998) proposed that whilst most health-related arguments in reference to regular physical activity may be clear, such arguments are significantly less persuasive in regard to competitive sport and elite sport. That means competitive sports can also be pursued for enjoyment as recreational activities.

Recreational activities appear to have suffered marginalisation throughout PESSCL/PESSYP even though these activities have the potential to promote not only health but also lifelong participation for young people (see also 5.7.1). In this sense, several media articles also recognised the importance of recreational activities including dance and aerobics (so-called girl-friendly sports) alongside traditional sports for children's health promotion (e.g. Lipsett, 2008, *The Guardian*) and girls' sport participation (e.g. Campbell, 2005, *The Guardian*; Paton, 2007, *The Telegraph*). Some educators also advocate a need for recreational and health-related purposeful activity beyond traditional team and competitive sport for health enhancement (Bailey, 2005; Cale & Harris, 2011, 2013).

### ***iii) Oppositional voices on the effects of policy for the health promotion***

We cannot deny that sport policy's accountability for children's health will be increasing because the concept of the obesity epidemic as a social risk creates a significant symbolism of degeneration (Kirk, 2006). However it should be acknowledged that PESSCL/PESSYP (and numerous media commentaries) appeared to uncritically accept the role of PESS as a solution to the problem of youth and health.

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There are several critical voices which are subordinated in the recontextualising process. These voices criticise the anecdotal and contingent association between physical activity and youth obesity. First of all, they argued that the obesity-related (and overweight) chronic diseases are much more complicated than is often portrayed because obesity seems to be more influenced by socio-economic factors with respect to gender, race, class and family background beyond a narrow biological focus (Gard, 2004; Gard & Wright, 2001; Smith & Green, 2005). Thus, obesity is not just about balance between energy intake and energy expenditure. According to critics such as Gard (2004), it is impossible to simplify young people's lives related to involvement in sport and ill-health since improving youth health is far more complicated than this.

In addition, the unquestioning acceptance of the role of PESS for preventing youth obesity could result in a distorted view of health because healthism views health as requiring self-control and reducing body weight (Crawford, 1984; Evan, 2007; Ives & Kirk, 2013). As pointed out previously, overweight and obese people are often presented in the media as morally bad because they are said to be lazy, greedy and cannot control their appetites (Crawford, 1984; Kirk & Colquhoun, 1989), a judgement conveyed through specific language in newspaper titles such as 'couch potato children blame parents' (BBC, 2001b). However some scholars claimed that this narrow and simplistic approach to health could damage young people's body image, mental health, and self-esteem (Cale & Harris, 2011, 2013; Evans, 2003; Gard & Wright, 2001).

A few media commentaries also have provided some criticisms of the taken-for-granted relationship between physical activity, health, and obesity drawing on comments from university lecturers or physical education teachers. For instance, *The Guardian* (2004a) said that since 'obesity is a much bigger agenda that involves parents, school travel and the population as a whole, PESS alone is not going to solve the obesity crisis.' Moreover, drawing on university research, the *Daily Mail* (2007) reported that there was 'no evidence PESS has any impact on

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child's weight', while Paton (2008a, *The Telegraph*) claimed that (competitive) sport activity in secondary schools in particular is doing little or nothing to help curb the UK's record teenage obesity rate. However unfortunately, these critical voices were silent in PESSCL/PESSYP, that is, these voices did not inform policy.

Next I will examine the discourse of citizenship which is one of the most powerful discourses particularly related to improving leadership and volunteering, and academic achievement within policy for PESS.

### **5.5 Citizenship discourse**

There are different definitions of citizenship in different fields of study. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (Marshall & Scott, 2005), in political theory, citizenship refers to the rights and duties of the member of a community whilst sociological theory generally defines citizenship as a status which is enjoyed by a person who is a full member of a community. Membership of a community has three elements: civil (e.g. right for individual freedom), political (e.g. participating in voting) and social (e.g. participating in an appropriate standard of living). In particular, the New Labour government emphasised 'active citizenship' which was concerned with civic and personal responsibilities for solving contemporary social problems such as health (Coalter, 2007).

Citizenship discourse in the context of PESS can be understood from the prevailing belief in the potential role of sport to develop both personal and social positive youth development. The articulation between sport and citizenship (especially the potential of sport to enhance moral development) has a long history from the Victorian public schools (Macfadyen & Bailey, 2002). In Britain, from the late 1800s, playing team sports in public schools was recognised as a valuable way to foster character development as well as respecting the social order (Kirk, 2010). In recent years, there has been an increase in public and

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political concerns about the problem of anti-social behaviour among young people in the UK as well as in many other countries (Davies, 2005). For instance, the NCPE (DfEE & QCA, 1999, p.8) has explicitly stressed the moral values which can develop through physical education. In this context, from the early 2000s, sport initiatives such as 'Positive Future' and 'Sky Living for Sport' tried to re-engage disaffected young people in education and society (Sandford et al., 2008).

From my analysis citizenship discourse is noticeable along with the other major discourses including sport and health during the 2000s in England. This can be seen as an additional discourse to Kirk's (1992, 1999) three physical culture discourses, i.e. sport, health and active leisure (see 3.5) which he argued were the main 'legitimizing publics' (Williams, 1985) for the social construction of forms of school physical education. In particular, between 2002 and 2005, the citizenship discourse was strongly represented by the media following the Labour government publication of *Learning through PE and Sport* which emphasised the promotion of successful learners and responsible citizens. A crucial reason why the citizenship discourse was strongly articulated with sport and its manifestation within policy and the media in England is that:

Just as in the UK, where new Labour's emphasis on social inclusion and active citizenship has increased the social policy role of sport, so a new emphasis on social relationships and networks within development programmes has led to an increased concern with social capital<sup>18</sup> and sport's potential to contribute to its development (Coalter, 2010, p.1376).

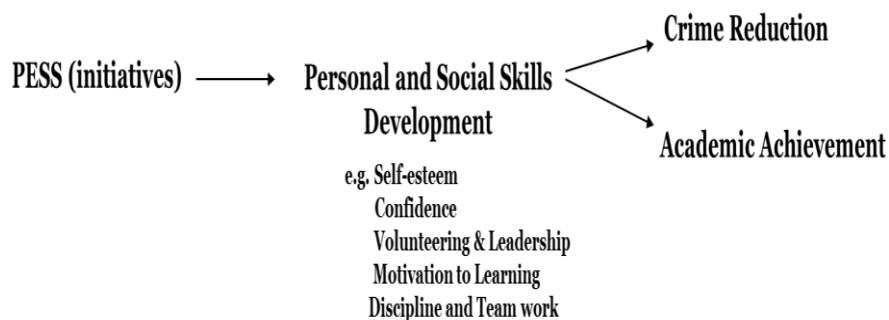
We can note a convergence of government concerns for social inclusion and citizenship (Eley & Kirk, 2002; Kay & Bradbury, 2009). Social inclusion is combined with 'active citizenship' through the development of personal rights and

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<sup>18</sup> Social capital as central to the social inclusion agenda is a very complex concept and there are competing definitions. Generally social capital is concerned with 'the role of social network and civic norms, and is linked with concepts of trust, community and civic engagement' in order to contribute to social cohesion and civic renewal (Bailey, 2005, p.75; Kay & Bradbury, 2009). Sport (participation) might support to build social capital by providing social skills and developing networks.

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responsibilities (Coalter, 2007). This has resulted in the introduction of a citizenship curriculum which addresses the three strands of social and moral responsibility, political literacy, and community involvement. In a similar vein, Tony Blair stated in the foreword to *Game Plan* that sport is ‘a powerful and often under-used tool that can help Government to achieve a number of ambitious goals’ (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.5). Tessa Jowell also believed sport could make a valuable contribution to ‘improve all round educational performance, to build confidence, leadership and teamwork, to combat social exclusion, reduce crime and build stronger communities’ (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.7). Furthermore, in the media it was argued sport and physical education have a positive effect on ‘behaviour, attendance and the attitude to learning’ of young people (BBC, 2006).



**Figure 11 The structure for citizenship discourse**

As can be seen in Figure 11, citizenship represented in both PESSCL/PESSYP and media seems to be mainly articulated with developing personal and social skills to build social capital, which includes improving volunteering and cutting crime (Coalter, 2007) as well as encouraging educational attainment and rising academic standards as a whole school.

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### 5.5.1 Developing personal and social skills through PESS

We can argue, then, that in policy documents and in media forms such as newspapers, the role of sport for developing citizenship has emphasised the importance of improving personal and social skills such as self-esteem (DCMS, 2000; Hughes, 2002, *Daily Mail*; Holmes, 2007, *The Telegraph*) in youth (DCMS, 2000; Kay & Bradbury, 2009). Interestingly, diverse linguistic elements contribute to the process of articulation between sport and citizenship. That is, the discourse of citizenship is more centrally and formally represented in policy by using key language such as ‘volunteering’, ‘social cohesion’, ‘attendance’, ‘leadership’, ‘teamwork’, and ‘responsibility’ (DCMS, 2000, p.7; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.7). In addition, the key psychological concepts such as ‘self-esteem’, ‘confidence’, ‘self-discipline’ and ‘motivation’ are linked to citizenship and contribute to better youth behaviour and improvements in educational standards within both policy (e.g. DfES & DCMS, 2003, p.1) and the media (e.g. *The Telegraph*, ‘sport has the power to change lives’ (Holmes, 2007)). Specifically, the media have contributed to making a strong connection between competitive sport and citizenship by reiterating similar arguments, for example, that competition is ‘essential’ (BBC, 2003b), ‘vital’ (*Daily Mail*, 2009), and ‘key’ (Selvey, 2007, *The Guardian*) to changing youth lifestyle through valuable lessons about teamwork and commitment.

In particular, *Step into Sport* as one of the key strands of PESSCL and PESSYP<sup>19</sup> (see 2.4.1) and was constructed to directly link to active citizenship in relation to leadership and volunteering (DfES & DCMS, 2003). Furthermore, this strategy initiative has been seen as a vehicle for reducing the anti-social behaviour of young people (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; BBC, 2004c).

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<sup>19</sup> In PESSYP, the name of the strand was changed to ‘leadership and volunteering’.

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### *i) Volunteering: Step into Sport*

Citizenship discourse is closely connected with the concept of leadership and volunteering in terms of creating considerable benefits for the individual and their wider community. In particular, the explicit link between *Step into Sport* and citizenship was highlighted in the policy document *Learning through PE and Sport*:

Step into Sport is encouraging children, young people and adults to begin and continue an involvement in sports leadership and volunteering [...]  
The programme has clear links to citizenship (DfES & DCMS, 2003, p.11).

*Step into Sport* appears to provide an appropriate volunteering opportunity for young people to stimulate a desire to engage in sports. In addition, the initiative centred on youth leadership experience implied that sport volunteering has been seen as a key element for teaching and developing 'pro-social tendencies' (Eley & Kirk, 2002, p.165). Specifically Kay and Bradbury (2009, p.125) proposed that *Step into Sport* programmes appear to have a positive effect on young people's personal and social skill development, and broadening social participation as social activity that underpins the development of social capital. Accordingly, it is argued that the discourse of citizenship, generated in the primary field, is appropriated within policy documents and reconstructed and reconstituted in the form of initiatives such as *Step into Sport* which in turn is realised within a particular form of PESS in the secondary field.

### *ii) Reducing anti-social behaviour and crime*

The relationship between citizenship and youth crime prevention was the one of main articulations embedded within sport policy and especially the media for the justification of government intervention. For instance, the BBC (2001a) reported

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that school sport is ‘a key weapon’ against school exclusion, crime and drugs, drawing on the then Prime Minister Tony Blair’s comment. Just as *Action Sport* was a response to urban riots, stimulating government investment in sport in 1981 (see 2.3), developing youth citizenship including personal and social skills such as confidence, self-esteem and teamwork was expected to translate into less anti-social behaviour in the wider social context, in particular targeting ‘at risk’ youngsters such as those with low self-esteem (e.g. BBC, 2004c; Kelly, 2010, *Daily Mail*; Kelso & Smithers, 2004, *The Guardian*; Trelford, 2003b, *The Telegraph*). In a similar vein, former Prime Minister Blair unequivocally stated that PESSCL was a powerful means for tackling crime (BBC, 2001; *The Guardian*, 2002) because this sport-based intervention was viewed as a ‘cure for bad and anti-social behaviour’ of young people (BBC, 2007). He said in *The Telegraph*:

It is important that we give this (PESSCL) encouragement to sport, not only for its own sake but because, as many people now recognise, it is one of the best anti-crime policies that we could have (Davies, 2003, January 22).

In particular, the media used and reported on the specialist sports college reports which discussed improving behaviour by tackling anti-social behaviour among teenage boys (e.g. BBC, 2004c; Davies, 2005a, *The Telegraph*; Hall, 2004, *The Guardian*; Trelford, 2003b, *The Telegraph*).

### **5.5.2 Successful learning through PESS: improving academic achievement**

The explicit connection between raising academic standards through sport was a very powerful rhetoric to connect sport policy with education policy largely through the work of the Youth Sport Trust (see 6.3.2). With respect to students’ higher academic achievement, excellence in physical education and sport were proposed as key because it can support young people’s learning by means of raising their aspirations for and attitudes to learning (DCMS, 2000; DfES &



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DCMS, 2003; BBC, 2006; *The Guardian*, 2003). Furthermore, this academic effect was expected to be able to transfer into other subjects, for example, ‘sport helps children to do better in math and English’ (BBC, 2003c). In particular, academic achievement had been frequently mentioned in policy documents and media reports in particular in the period between 2000 and 2005, which was around the time of the publication of *Learning through PE and sport* in 2003 (DfES & DCMS, 2003; see Appendix 7-3). In *Learning through PE and sport* it was proposed that professional development seeks to:

Improve the understanding of how high quality PESS can be used as a tool for whole school improvement, particularly, in terms of attendance, behaviour management and attainment (DfES & DCMS, 2003, p.12).

Hence, it is claimed that high quality PESS can develop students’ personal qualities, including ‘high levels of dedication, attendance and positive behaviour such as fair play, which will have an impact on pupils’ attitudes to school and learning juxtaposed with transferring whole school improvement’ (DfES & DCMS, 2003, p.4). In other words, the positive association between PESS and academic performance is demonstrated here from a functionalist perspective (Eitle, 2005), that is, sports provide useful skills such as organisation, time management, discipline and motivation which will be able to lead to future educational success (BBC, 2004c; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; DfES & DCMS, 2004; Cunningham, 2002, *The Telegraph*). In this way, policy documents argued that PESS could be used to improve cognitive and/or social skills which encourage youth behaviour management in terms of reducing risk-taking behaviour and improving academic attainment in order to develop good citizens in our society.

In addition, the notion that there are potential academic benefits of Specialist Sport Colleges contributed to promotion of the educational effects of PESS. Drawing on the Ofsted reports, *Game Plan* suggested that SSCs were making progress in raising academic standards as well as improving sporting achievement (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). This evidence is reproduced in media

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commentaries again and again in order to illustrate the link between sport and improved academic learning. Specifically, these claims were supported by university research from Northumbria University and Loughborough University where it was argued that Specialist Sport Colleges could help tackle anti-social behaviour and improve academic achievement in terms of developing self-esteem, discipline, team working, and leadership skills (e.g. BBC, 2004c, 2004d; 2004f; Bee, 2005; Davies, 2005a).<sup>20</sup> Moreover, a positive relationship between physical activity and intellectual development as cognition or brain functions was suggested in media reports citing scientific brain research (e.g. Asthana, 2007, *The Guardian*; BBC, 1999c; Borland, 2010, *Daily Mail*; Moss, 2010, *The Guardian*).

However there was no clear and robust evidence for such claims about the benefits of sport for citizenship and academic achievement due to a lack of a developed rationale to justify measuring specific outcomes of PESSCL/PESSYP (Coalter, 2010). Whilst volunteering linked to the citizenship discourse was represented well through *Step into Sport*, the connection between crime reduction and such initiatives was vague and ambivalent. Even media articles and *Game Plan* illustrated that evidence of crime reduction through PESS initiatives was not clear and in any case it was difficult to evaluate the impact of PESS in these areas (Davies, 2005, *The Telegraph*; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). In addition, there was little evidence of a relationship between PESS and academic benefits (Bailey, 2005) and furthermore it was difficult to reach a definitive conclusion on the relationship (Elite, 2005). Furthermore, Coalter (2007) suggests that the relationship between sport and crime has been presented without addressing 'the mythopoeic nature of sport', where the benefits claimed for sport are built on popular, idealistic and distorted elements of truth and as such are vague and ill-defined (p.115). In this sense, the comprehensive rhetoric used by PESSCL/PESSYP seems to promote PESS 'as the panacea for current ills'

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<sup>20</sup> Newspaper titles described this articulation of PESS with citizenship: Sport 'improves boys' behaviour' (BBC, 2004c), 'Finding time for sport' (BBC, 2004f), 'Physical education should be a priority for every school: Peta Bee on selective sports colleges' (Bee, 2005, *The Guardian*), 'Specialist colleges prove their value' (Davies, 2005a, *The Telegraph*).

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(Houlihan & Lindsey, 2012, p.12). Accordingly, there is a need to build on the theoretical rationale for assessment and develop programmes more systematically to address the various effects of PESS on crime reduction in order for outcomes to be matched to specific programmes (Coalter, 2007; Nichols, 1997).

### **5.6 Lifelong participation discourse**

The notion of lifelong participation relates to the link between school and club (and community) for young people, and was originally formulated from the so-called ‘Wolfenden gap’ in the late 1950s (see chapter 2.2). From this time, the idea of lifelong participation became a key and ubiquitous aspiration that has remained a central feature of sport policy and the rhetoric of the physical education profession over the last 50 years (Bloyce, et al., 2008; DCMS, 2000; Jackson, 2008). The foundation of lifelong participation is related to the concept of the transfer of learning between the school and life outside the school gates, fostering young people’s motivation and confidence for a lifetime of involvement in sport and physical activity (Capel & Whitehead, 2013; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; Kirk, 2010; Wintour, 2004a, *The Guardian*). The notion is captured in this statement by Tony Blair in *A Sporting Future for All* that ‘schools provide more and better sporting opportunities for our children, and encourage people to carry on taking part in sport beyond the school years’ (DCMS, 2000, p.3).

As implied by the title, *the Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links* strategy (PESSCL) emphasised lifelong participation through effective school-club links (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; see Appendix 4-2). Likewise, former Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell stressed in the foreword to *Game Plan* that strong links between school and club should be an essential role of School Sport Coordinators to ‘tackle the larger drop-off’ in the number of young people involved in sport outside school (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.8). The commentaries in the media (see Appendix 7-5) also warned about the drop-off of young people after

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they leave school by means of providing survey statistics such as UK school sport survey, for instance, ‘just 28 per cent of the UK population do any regular sport or exercise’ in *The Guardian* (Kelso, 2008), and emphasised the need for the link between school lessons and local sport clubs (BBC, 2002b; Tarleton, 2003, *The Guardian*).



**Figure 12 The structure for Lifelong Participation discourse**

From the structure of lifelong participation discourse in Figure 12, certain strands including the ‘School/Club Links’ (Club Links) and ‘Extending Activities’ in PESSCL/PESSYP appear to be explicitly legitimated by the lifelong participation discourse (DCMS; 2000; DfES & DCMS, 2003, 2004). The government diagnosed inadequate school-club links as a considerable ‘problem of post school drop-out from youth sport participation’ (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.77). However the aspiration of lifelong participation seemed to be complex because of the continued dominance of competitive sports in PESS (see 5.7.2). Before exploring the success of PESS related to the lifelong participation discourse, this discourse will be investigated regarding leisure activities intended to enhance young people’s health.

### **5.6.1 Lifelong participation and recreational activities for youth health**

The term ‘lifelong participation’ has been used in PESSCL/PESSYP as an umbrella concept for references to ‘active lifestyle’ juxtaposed with the discourses of health. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, recreational activities, such as

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swimming, aerobics and cycling, play a crucial role in enlarging the range of physical activities in which young people are engaged. Regarding promoting youth health, the aim to enhance the level of physical activity amongst young people was especially dominant within the media; this was regularly articulated by government in terms of promoting the idea of a lifelong interest in sport and healthy lifestyle which was then reported in the media, for example, the primary role of school sport is ‘to encourage children to adopt a healthy and active lifestyle beyond the school gates’ (BBC, 2005a; also see, Tarleton, 2003, *The Guardian*; *The Guardian*, 2004b).

According to Kirk (1999), the idea of physical recreation is legitimated as a form of regeneration or enjoyment, as alternatives of daily work. Providing a range of activities for young people can be a vital pathway to lifelong involvement in terms of choice (Green, 2012; Roberts, 1999). In this sense, the diversity of young people’s participation was emphasised to increase the potential for lifelong participation. *A Sporting Future for All* suggested that more young people need to:

Take part in the whole range of activity recreation, from competitive sport to non-competitive activities such as fitness exercise, dance and countryside walking for lifelong participation (DCMS, 2000, p.37).

In this context, the government introduced ‘Extending Activities’ in 2008 as one of the strands of PESSYP, to provide young people with diverse activities supported by County Sports Partnerships (CSPs) working at a local level with School Sport Partnerships (SSPs).

### **5.6.2 The complexity of lifelong participation**

Despite little evidence to demonstrate that sport policy builds the foundation for lifelong participation for young people, it appears that the architects of PESSCL/PESSYP hoped that these strategies might contribute to increased

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participation opportunities for young people to support the goal of lifelong participation (Flintoff, 2008b; LP, 2008a, 2009). Specifically, the introduction of new types of physical activities including recreational or lifestyle activities in the wake of launching diverse PESS initiatives such as School Sport Partnerships, School/Club Links and Extending Activities during the 2000s, was seen to facilitate the development of broad sporting experiences amongst young people since the boundary of traditional competitive team sports were extended.

However as pointed out previously, competitive team sports-related initiatives have continued to dominate PESS. In addition, school-club links centred on traditional team sports were pursued in the interests of talent development (DfES & DCMS, 2003). Kirk (2010) indicated the dominant sport-based form of PESS had failed to prepare young people for lifelong participation because the vast majority of adults do not take part regularly in competitive team sports and more importantly, the form of sport games-based practice deprives many children, especially girls, of the opportunity to develop competences to participate in sport and physical activity (Campbell, 2005; Collins & Kay, 2003; Kirk, 2001; Ward, 2007). Therefore the (over) emphasis on competitive sport detracted from the goal of lifelong participation and, in this regard, the discourse of lifelong participation exists in tension with the dominant competitive sport discourse.

Moreover, it is not easy to say how or whether PESSCL/PESSYP enhances lifelong participation because youth sport participation is a complicated multidimensional social phenomenon. Green (2012) argued that sport policy has a minimal impact on lifelong participation because it involves:

Differing activities, a multiplicity of sometimes overlapping sometimes markedly different skills, differing levels of commitment and intensity, differing forms of participation and differing motivation (p. 14).

It is important to be aware of diverse factors within and beyond school which influence young people's physical activity patterns, and to recognise the

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complexities engaged in changing their involvement in sport and physical activities. Accordingly, there is need for studies to better understand the interrelationship between individual youth life patterns and their perceptions related to their sporting experiences as well as the social process of lifelong adherence to physical activity (Green, 2012).

### **5.7 Olympic/Paralympic legacy discourse**

An Olympic/Paralympic legacy is somewhat different from those discourses previously identified as it is not only an outcome of the London 2012 Games but also has outcomes of its own that could be articulated with elements of the discourses of sport, citizenship, health, and lifelong participation. With this understanding in mind I examine the articulations in media and policy documents in relation to the Olympic Legacy and PESS.

Olympic/Paralympic legacy discourse consists in reality of a very broad set of concepts because it is closely linked with elite sport development as well as the discourses of health and citizenship in terms of a sport development and participation legacy, and is prominent within *Game Plan* and *Playing to win* (see Appendix 4-2 and 4-4). In particular, the policy document '*Playing to win*' (DCMS, 2008a), as its title implied, considerably highlighted the importance of London Games in terms of achieving elite sport success, using crucial language such as 'world leading sporting nation' and 'world leading physical education and school sport system'. The use of language 'world leading' reinforces elite performance and Olympic/Paralympic success in relation to a consciousness of nationalism, which is used to justify and legitimate more competitive sport in school physical education.

What is clear here is that the successful bid for the London Games, announced in 2005, triggered the prioritising of the development of elite sport, towards a sport

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for sport's sake agenda (DCMS, 2008a). In other words, the decision to award the Games in 2012 bestowed the crucial political legitimation for the increased importance of elite sport, in particular through PESSYP (Grix & Phillpots, 2010; Houlihan & Green, 2009). Talent development discourse is evoked and more explicitly connected to the 2012 Games in terms of the value of the so-called 'festival effect' (Weed et al., 2012, p.75) of elite success as a catalyst for mass participation, echoing the notion of the virtuous cycle discussed above. For instance, the real test of the PESSCL strategy 'will be performance in 2010 not in 2002' (DCMS, 2000, p.16), and PESSYP was part of enlarging the pool of talent across 'all our major sports who can inspire a next generation of talent through success at the 2012 Olympics' (DCMS, 2008a, p.6, also see Sport England & YST, 2009a).

The terminology of the 'Olympic legacy'<sup>21</sup> is relatively new within the Olympic/Paralympic lexicon. 'Legacy' is a complicated concept and there remains a lack of agreement on its meanings, but generally it is related to the infrastructural benefits (i.e. tangible and hard legacy) and non-infrastructural benefits (i.e. intangible and soft legacy) linked to hosting Olympic/Paralympic events (Girginov & Hills, 2009). It promotes not only the tangible benefits such as sport facilities, but also indirectly contributes to cultural, educational and social development including health and civic engagement. In particular, the non-infrastructural benefits are based on the idea that sport development is related to wider issues in society (Girginov & Hills, 2009; MacRury, 2009; Minnaert, 2012). The etymology of the word of 'legacy' is generally related to anything remaining such as individual bequest or an inheritance from events, as a retrospective concept (i.e. what is left after the Olympic: post-Games), however more recently,

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<sup>21</sup> Although the modern Olympic Games were first established in 1896, it was not until the late 1980s when the concept of 'Olympic legacy' began to be used (Girginov & Hills, 2009). The term 'legacy' has increased in importance with Olympic stakeholders' (e.g. government, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and hosting cities) required to use legacy as a means of justifying the hosting of the Games since the Olympic bid centred on environment and sustainable Olympic legacy (Girginov & Hills, 2009; Leopkey & Parent, 2012).



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it is deemed to be both a prospective and developmental concept (i.e. how legacy can be planned for pre-Games) (Girginov, 2011).

There are no initiatives in the PESSCL strategy to directly promote the Olympic/Paralympic legacy. However *The PE and Sport Strategy for Young People* (Sport England & Youth Sport Trust, 2009a, p.4) clearly stated that PESSYP (and the five hour offer) had to deliver a Public Service Agreement (PSA) with indicator five being to ‘Deliver a successful Olympic Games and Paralympic Games with a sustainable legacy and get more children and young people taking part in high quality physical education and sport’. In particular, some strands of PESSYP emerged as a result of the successful Games bid, such as an event volunteering strand in *Step into Sport* (Sport England & Youth Sport Trust, 2008).<sup>22</sup>

In addition, media played a crucial role in reinforcing the articulations surrounding an Olympic/Paralympic legacy in the recontextualising field. For example, media commentaries (e.g. BBC 2008a; Kelso, 2009b, *The Guardian*) argued that PESSCL/PESSYP contributed to ‘increase the pool of talent’ to ensure that we achieve the Olympic legacy which inspires more young people to participation in sport. Especially, media commentaries after 2005 were informed by the discourses of Olympic/Paralympic legacy centred on the language of ‘inspiring young people.’ Accordingly, as shown in Figure 13, it is claimed that one of the positive outcomes of Olympic/Paralympic success is to inspire young people to lead a healthy lifestyle, develop citizenship, and increase the potential of young people to participate in high performance sport. In particular, PESS is identified as a strategy that supports the achievement of the Olympic legacy and thus the relationships between these concepts are symbiotic.

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<sup>22</sup> Other initiatives such as the UK School Games and the Young Ambassador programmes have emerged in the context of PESSYP (Sport England & Youth Sport Trust, 2008).

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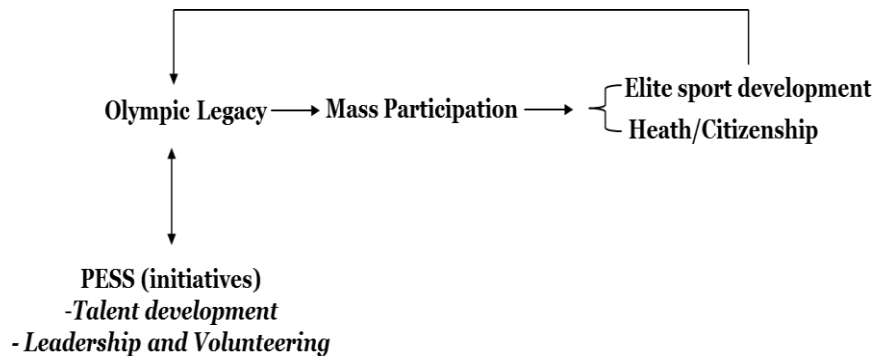


Figure 13 The structure for Olympic legacy discourse

Although I critique the pyramid model of elite sport development in chapter 5.3.2, I acknowledge a pyramid structure was evident in the relationship between the Olympic legacy and mass participation.

### 5.7.1 London Olympic/Paralympic Legacy and ‘inspiring’ young people

The rhetoric of ‘inspiring young people’ was highly prominent in policy documents, strategies (e.g. DCMS, 2008a; Sport England & YST, 2009a) and media commentaries. The media reported repeatedly that a key pledge of hosting the 2012 Games was to ‘inspire a generation of young people’ to take part in more sport (Clark, 2010, *Daily Mail*). *The Guardian* reported that the former Prime Minister Gordon Brown called for competitive sport initiatives such as competition managers and a national school sport week to boost more competitiveness in the run up to the 2012 Games in London (Mulholland, 2007).

In June 2008, the Labour government announced a legacy action plan (DCMS, 2008b) setting out its priorities for the benefits from the London 2012 Games. The legacy action plan consisted of five political promises<sup>23</sup> (MacRury, 2009); one of

<sup>23</sup> These were making the UK a world-leading sporting nation; transforming the heart of east London; inspiring a new generation of young people to take part in volunteering, cultural and

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the key promises was to make the UK a world-leading sport nation through offering all 5 to 16 year-olds in England five hours of high-quality sport a week and all 16 to 19 year-olds three hours a week by 2012. This promise is exactly the same as the '5 hours offer' plan in PESSYP. In this regard, the concept of Olympic/Paralympic legacy was clearly recognised by the government.

However there is a lack of evidence of how Olympic/Paralympic Games can increase participation in sport and physical activity (Weed et al., 2012). The effects of Olympic legacy can be questioned, yet these alleged legacy benefits including mass participation, health and citizenship have been commonly cited in policy and media while ignoring any challenging and critical voices. First and foremost, the relationship between Olympic success and participation (especially among young people) was unclear (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). In addition, research that has produced evidence in relation to Olympic legacy is negligible (Coalter, 2007; Weed et al., 2009).

Olympic/Paralympic legacy can also be problematic when the background of different young people combined with diverse sport contexts are considered in relation to different aspects of sport legacy (Collins, 2008; Girginov & Hills, 2009). The opportunities for young people to become high-level sport performers may be limited by socio-economic factors such as family background (Harvey et al., 2013). Hence, Olympic/Paralympic legacy cannot be seen as a singular thing that is manifest across all sports in the same ways. Furthermore, there is little direct evidence to demonstrate the effects of sport stars such as Sir Stanley Matthews (DCMS, 2000) and Dame Kelly Holmes (DCMS, 2008a) as role models who are able to inspire young people to engage in sport (Grix & Carmichael, 2012). In this sense, although the Blair government in *Game Plan* concluded that most evidence proposed there is no automatic link between international sport success and mass participation, other policy documents

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physical activity; making the Olympic Park a blueprint for sustainable living and demonstrating the UK is creative, inclusion and welcoming place to live in, visit and for business (MacRury, 2009, p.6).

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(DCMS 2008a, Sport England & YST, 2009a) legitimated the notion of the Olympic/Paralympic Games' benefits in relation to high levels of participation and often its by-product health and citizenship effects.

### **5.7.2 Connection with other physical cultural discourses**

Arguably, and notwithstanding the rhetoric of an Olympic/Paralympic legacy of mass participation, the London Games actually led to an increased focus upon the development of elite sport in policy. *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002) stressed the 'feel-good factor' of international sporting success. *Playing to win* (DCMS, 2008a) used the Games legacy discourse explicitly as a context for the need to fund competitive sport. However whilst *Game Plan* appeared to connect sport with other discourses including health and citizenship, *Playing to win* was more focused upon elite sport development with a particular concern for the London Games. The media also linked the London Games and youth talent development in terms of encouraging competitive sport, giving a prominent place to politicians' comments such as the former culture secretary Andy Burnham and the former education secretary Charles Clarke (BBC, 2004e; Summers, 2008, *The Guardian*). In addition, the introduction of Competition Managers and increased intra- and inter-school competition demonstrated well the articulation of elite sport with legacy discourse.

The legacy discourse is also connected with the health discourse in reference to overcoming the obesity epidemic by virtue of increasing levels of physical activity and promoting active lifestyles (DCMS, 2008a; Davies, 2008a, *The Telegraph*; Summers, 2008, *The Guardian*). Olympic stars were deployed as 'ambassadors' to stimulate interest and motivate young people to become involved in sport (DCMS, 2000). For example, Dame Kelly Holmes was designated as promoter to motivate young people to participate in competitive sport (DCMS, 2008a). In addition, interestingly, these same ambassadors strongly

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criticised the Coalition government's decision to cut school sport funding in 2010 and sent letters to Prime Minister Cameron because they warned this would destroy the 'true' Games legacy of preventing child obesity and illness (BBC, 2010b; *The Guardian*, 2010a).

Legacy was also employed as a catalyst for sports development, using sport for the creation of social goods such as a 'feel-good factor' or national pride for enhancing social inclusion (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). Furthermore, Olympic volunteering programmes such as *Get Involved*<sup>24</sup> related to the sustainability agenda and sought to inspire young people to have pride in Britain and to foster friendships, with the hope that young people (especially, 16-19 years old) become involved in sport after leaving school (Minnaert, 2012; Davies, 2009, *The Telegraph*).

However, some critics of the notion of legacy of mega sports events argued that the interlinking between legacy and citizenship required demonstrating Olympic/Paralympic benefits at relatively low cost (Collins & Kay, 2003; Houlihan & White, 2002; Weed et al., 2012). In this way, the Games legacy was aligned closely with the positive aspects of sport, as a moral practice that is good for social cohesion and friendship. However according to Coalter (2007), the linking of legacy with these other discourses was barely articulated coherently and even less frequently effectively monitored and evaluated.

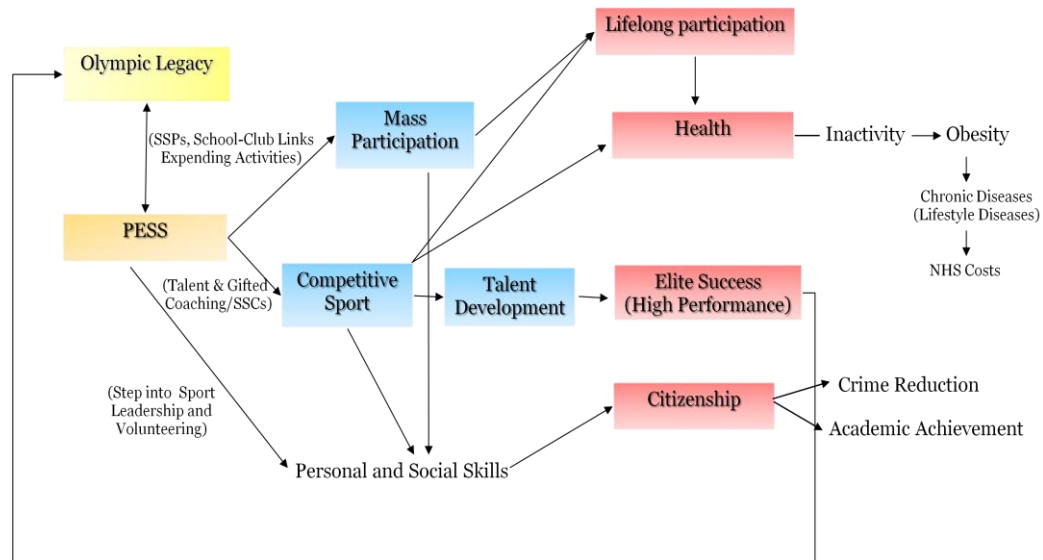
As can be seen in Figure 14, in this chapter I have identified chains of signification in relation to each discourse and thus have identified the development of complex webs of signification constituting and constructing policy for PESS. I have argued that policies and strategies for PESS are anchored in webs of signification in terms of complex connections between elements of discourses. As I attempted to show in this chapter, the relationships between PESS and talent development, health and citizenship appear to be much more complex than the assumed benefits stated

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<sup>24</sup> This programme provided more than 2,000 opportunities for young people (16-18 year olds) to volunteer at London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

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within policy documents and media commentaries. Moreover, it can be said that these articulations of elements of discourse make contingent links rather than resting on logically necessary relationships (Kirk, 1992a).



**Figure 14 Webs of signification within PESSCL and PESSYP**

This contingent relationship in policy documents means there is no guarantee PESS will lead to either a healthier population or better civic behaviour or elite sporting success, thus accordingly these combinations do ideological work through a selective drawing on knowledge from the primary field into the recontextualising process, by making contingent relationships appear to be logically necessary.

**5.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the dominant physical culture discourses constructing and constituting policies and strategies for PESS, including the discourses of sport, health, citizenship, lifelong participation, and Olympic/Paralympic legacy, revealing diverse articulations between these discourses within the

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recontextualising field. This chapter has sought to show that the social construction of policy for PESS takes place through the formation of complex webs of signification involving articulations of a range of physical cultural discourses. In line with the complexities of policy, the structure of physical cultural discourses was also extremely complex, reflecting a range of human interests and values. Discourses were embedded within sport policy and media in an irregular way, and these discourses intertwined and significantly overlapped each other. In addition, each discourse itself was complex because a range of different ideological effects were active through the processes of articulation within webs of signification.

Sport discourse was the most dominant throughout the policies and strategies for PESS, in which two sub-discourses were central: participation in competitive sport and talent development. Elements of the sport discourse were articulated with a range of other discourses such as health, citizenship, and Olympic/Paralympic legacy, with different foci each time. This linking of sport and other discourses has been continually reworked. The health discourse has been relatively undermined in policy even though young people's health concerns linked to the obesity crisis and active lifestyles were most frequently reported in the media. Citizenship emerged as a powerful discourse in Labour government policy more broadly, and was selectively privileged and appropriated in policy documents and media reporting.

This chapter has sought to provide evidence of how the policy-making process is politically charged, and also advances the interests of sport development centred on achieving high performance. Furthermore, by examining the construction and constitution of policies and strategies for PESS in terms of these physical cultural discourses, this chapter has sought to map the universe of possibilities for the *practice* of PESS, what is thinkable *as* PESS and also then what is not. Specifically, I argued that the policies and strategies for PESS offered a limited range of possibilities for the instructional discourse of PESS within a structure-in-

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dominance, where the sport discourse was the dominant discourse. Building on the finding of this chapter, I also suggest that some discourses such as creativity in and through movement for example, were more or less entirely missing. There was no mention in PESSCL/PESSYP of creativity and expression or the explicit use of physical education for moral development, while forms of dance and other movement forms, and of meditative and martial arts do not feature prominently in policy for PESS. In this sense, these inclusions and exclusions of physical cultural discourses are all politically charged, and will have an impact on the quality of young people's education and their life chances in the future.

The physical cultural discourses generated in the primary field are appropriated by dominant groups who have power in the recontextualising field. Accordingly, the recontextualising process is always linked to a political process and power relations, and always produces favoured and dominant forms of policy for PESS. In other words, the various discourses I identified in this chapter were created in the primary field and de-located into the recontextualising field in terms of the work of dominant agents or agencies who construct policy. In the next chapter, I will examine the most dominant agent and agency working within these processes in the PESS field, that is, Baroness Sue Campbell and the Youth Sport Trust.



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**6.1 Introduction**

Chapter 5 identified the major physical cultural discourses (i.e. regulative discourse) in Bernstein's primary field and their recontextualisation to construct and constitute policies and strategies for PESS. This chapter will discuss the main recontextualising agent (i.e. Baroness Sue Campbell) and agency (i.e. YST) that were creating, legitimating and constructing pedagogic discourse between the primary and secondary fields. Furthermore, I will discuss the power relationships between agencies and agents around the social construction of PESS to better understand the formation and implementation of PESSCL/PESSYP.

The YST has been a major organisation that supports, promotes and provides sports development opportunities for young people in PESS during the late 1990s and the 2000s in England (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Green, 2008). Although an independent charity, the YST, were increasingly drawn into formal roles to work on behalf of government, beginning with their role to designate Specialist Sports Colleges in 1997. By 2008 and the publication of *Playing to win* (DCMS, 2008a)<sup>25</sup>, the YST was identified as the leading organisation for PESS. However,

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<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, the Foreword by the Secretary of DCMS in *Game Plan* (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002, p.11) clearly mentioned Sport England was in charge of boosting participation (Community Sport) while UK Sport was to develop elite sport. The YST was not mentioned. However, within *Playing to win* (DCMS, 2008) the YST was designated for the development of physical education and school sport, which shows the increase in the status of both the PESS policy and the YST.

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it is not clear how the YST, as a non-governmental organisation (see 6.2), was able to position itself to have a huge influence on policy for PESS (Kirk, 2009; Grix & Phillpots, 2011). Therefore it is crucial to examine the manner in which the YST, acting like a ‘para-statal’ organisation, made the transition from the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF) and positioned itself as a dominant player in the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF). Furthermore, in the course of developing a role as the leading organisation for PESS, the YST has worked in tension with other development agencies within the ORF, and also with physical education professional groups including the Association for Physical Education (AfPE) within the PRF.

Therefore, in this chapter, I examine the processes of both the YST’s changing role in terms of shifting their position from the PRF to the ORF between the late 1990s and early 2000s (6.2) and the relationships with other agencies in relation to the development of PESSCL/PESSYP. Hence, this chapter details the process of how the YST could get involved in shaping and influencing strategies and policies for PESS in terms of three streams, drawing on the multiple streams framework (6.3). This chapter also examines the recontextualising roles of other agents/agencies located within the ORF such as the Prime Minister, Ministers and Olympic stars alongside the media (6.4).

The chapter moves on to look at processes of contestation by exploring relationships not only within the ORF, in this case, between the YST and Sport England (6.5.1), but also between the YST and AfPE (i.e. between the ORF and PRF) (6.5.2). Both Sport England and AfPE were inevitably marginalised because of the dominant position of the YST in the policy-making process for PESS. In a similar vein, the relative autonomy of the PRF was reduced by an increase in the YST’s control over policy-making for PESS on behalf of the government, which caused the PRF groups (e.g. physical education professionals groups) to remain marginal to policy-making. However the influence of the YST would eventually change because of the Coalition government’s decision to cut funding for the

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SSPs (in particular) in October 2010. Thus the YST's present and future direction under the Coalition government's austerity regime is discussed in the last section (6.6).

### **6.2 The process of the shifting of the YST's position**

In this section, I will discuss the change of the YST's position from an independent charity to the main agency for constructing and leading the implementation of government policy for PESS. Before that, I examine the development of the YST and its emergence in the crowded policy arena of PESS amongst a number of other sport initiatives and different interest groups such as education (e.g. physical education curriculum time), sport (e.g. talent development) and health (e.g. reducing obesity) (Houlihan, 2000).

#### **6.2.1 A crowded PESS policy space and the development of the YST**

It is important to understand the positive and supportive context for the YST to come into the sport policy space as a key provider by examining the PESS situation. In chapter 2.2.3, regarding the reconstruction of sport development for PESS in the 1990s, schools were expected to implement government sport strategies in the wake of an increase in government investment and involvement in youth sport. In particular, John Major's Conservative government was interested in providing opportunities for young people to engage in sport for the development of talent for elite sport. In line with the previous government, PESS was further underlined with the New Labour government's wider social agendas centred on education and social inclusion. In this context, a range of other youth sport initiatives developed during the 1990s such as Sport England's *Active Schools Programme*, *Sportmark* and *Sportmark Gold*, the YST's TOP Programmes and Specialist Sport Colleges. As Houlihan (2000, p180.) suggests

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the policy field of physical education and youth sport was at this time a ‘crowded policy space’, with a number of new initiatives with slightly different agendas introduced into the field. Within the crowded policy arena, the YST had grown in size, status and influence with a particular focus on the promotion of sport in schools in the 2000s.

### **6.2.2 The development of the YST and its emergence**

#### *i) Main activities of the YST and its emergence*

Since the YST was created in 1994, it has been responsible for various sport initiatives and strategies as pointed out in Table 10. When the YST was established in 1994, its initial position within the recontextualising field was much closer to the PRF rather than the ORF. That is why the YST initially became involved in the promotion of sport in schools (particularly primary schools) in terms of TOP programmes. TOP was an in-service training programme for primary school teachers and provided bags of child-friendly sport equipment and training cards (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Green, 2008). The programmes are variously designed to enhance levels of participation and enjoyment in PESS for young people through developing numerous educational and sporting activities.

Since then the YST had grown in status and influence, which included playing a main role in supporting PESSCL/PESSYP. There is no doubt that the political salience of and public investment in youth sport has increased and been maintained because of the success of the YST and its Chief Executive Baroness Sue Campbell (Houlihan & Lindsey, 2012). In a similar vein, the restructuring of youth sport in England based on School Sport Partnerships had improved sporting opportunities available to young people in terms of increasing the range and quality of chances to be physically active (Flintoff, 2008b).

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**Table 10 Chronological overview of the major activities of the YST**

Year	Main Programmes and Strategies	(Main) Partners
1994	The YST was established	
1994	TOP Initiatives	
1997	<b>SSC initiatives</b>	DfE
1998	Millennium Volunteers (MV) programme <sup>26</sup>	DfE
1999	Nike Girls in Sport <sup>27</sup>	Nike
2000	<b>School Sport Partnership Programme</b> (Initially, School Sport Co-ordinator Programme) Nike Zoneparc	DCMS and DfE  Nike
2002	<b>Sporting Playgrounds</b>  Coca-Cola PB Challenge Parks	DCMS  Coca-Cola
2003	<b>PESSCL Strategy:</b> Specialist Sports Colleges (SSCs), School Sport Coordinators (later subsumed within the School Sport Partnerships), Gifted & Talented, QCA PE & School Sport Investigation, Step Into Sport, Professional Development, School/Club Links, and Swimming.	DCMS and DfE
2003	Sky Living for Sport <sup>28</sup>  Cadbury Get Active	BSKYB, DfE  Cadbury
2006	Aviva-Norwich Union Girls Active	Aviva – Norwich Union
2008	<b>PESSYP:</b> Club links, School, Coaching, Competition, Continuing Professional Development, Disability, Extending activities, Gifted and Talented, Infrastructure, Leadership and volunteering (Step into Sport), and Swimming.	DCMS and DCSF

<sup>26</sup> Millennium Volunteers programme is a nation-wide government initiative to increase citizenship and rebuild a sense of community among young people through providing training and support for young sport leaders to do volunteer work in their schools and the communities (Eley & Kirk, 2002).

<sup>27</sup> Nike girls in sport was an 18 month school based project concerned with developing ‘girl-friendly’ activities in physical education.

<sup>28</sup> Sky Living for Sport centrally targeted those ‘at risk’ of being excluded from the benefits of school life, whether through poor attendance, lack of confidence or poor behaviour (Bloyce & Smith, 2010).

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The YST was drawn into policy-making and thus the ORF from 1997 and increasingly from 2000, the voice of the PRF was weakening, which resulted in a disconnection in communication between the YST and physical education professional groups (see 6.5.2). The section below explores the process of the shifting of the YST's position within the recontextualising field in detail.

### **6.2.3 The change of the YST's position: closer to government**

Recalling chapter 2.4.2, the YST had been the main organisation working with the government on policy for PESS during the 2000s. In the early years, the YST was a small independent charity funded by £250,000 a year for four years from Sir John Beckwith. The YST was established as an independent charity and as Jane describes is thus reliant on bidding for funding:

The YST are part of the school sport landscape, but the YST is not a government funded organisation like Sport England, we're an independent charity, so we have to bid for contracts in government departments and corporate funders as well (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

The success of the beginning of the YST's commitment through the TOP programmes allowed the YST to make a mark on school physical education. However their role and function has since changed to become similar to that of government organisations such as quangos and para-statal organisations, in particular through managing first the designation of Specialist Sport Colleges and then the SSPs work for government. In other words, their position shifted increasingly towards the ORF from around 2000.

Returning to some of the discussions of the recontextualising field in chapter 3.5.2, the ORF is created by the government and occupied by selected agents and agencies. In a similar vein, again, the point of this is clear that the YST took the

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responsibility for assisting government to make and implement sport policy by contracting with a government department. This means the location of the YST was increasingly in the ORF as they developed and delivered the PESS initiatives, including the SSCs, SSPs and PESSCL. Just as important, the YST were becoming similar to a government agency. Jane illustrates that the YST went from:

...being extremely independent charitable body that was delivering aspects of government policy to looking like the government policy and we were the same thing because we got closer and closer, we got more and more intimately involved in delivering every aspect (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

Baroness Campbell also highlights the meaning of moving into the ORF during the late 1990s:

We got their (government) resources, meant that we were them, we became them, they became us really, their strategy was our strategy, their money was the thing we spent but it was actually ours but we had given it away (Baroness Sue Campbell, YST, Chief Executive, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

In a similar vein, one interviewee described this situation in terms of government saying to the YST, “these are our overall aims, here’s the money, go and deliver for us” (Dan, Institute of Youth Sport, Researcher). Hence, it might not be surprising that “people see the YST as part of the government or an arm of government” (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager). Interestingly, as the YST became engaged in the government policy process, they almost ‘stopped doing other things including finding commercial partners because they were so busy doing what the government wanted’ (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager).

The main reason for getting closer to government for the YST seems to be closely linked to funding. The government funding was helpful for them in a business

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sense because they were able to obtain more resources. Furthermore, compared to commercial sponsors, the public grant offered a huge amount of funding, supporting the YST for over 10 years. In this regard, Jane explains that the ‘transformational change’ required:

Government PESS policy and it requires very large investment which most commercial companies won’t put in, they’ll put in £1m, £2m, they’re not going to give you £100m, £50m, they’re just not going to do it so you have to look to government and so I got close to government in order to get the money I wanted (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

We can say that as a result of government investments in PESS initiatives based on PESSCL and PESSYP, the YST had been capable of using approximately £2.2 billion for managing and implementing the sport policy initiatives between 2003 and 2011 (DCMS, 2008a).

In the next section, I move on to investigate three ‘streams’ including agency, value and agent as outlined in Table 11, which allowed the YST to play a central role in supporting the government’s national strategies as a leading organisation in the policy arena during the 2000s in a crowded but supportive political context for the YST.

### **6.3 Three ‘streams’ behind the YST becoming a main organisation for policy and strategy for PESS**

As Table 11 shows, the three ‘streams’ impacting on the YST becoming the main organisation for PESS are examined by drawing on the framework of multiple streams (MS) which provide possible sources of policy change for systematically analysing the policy for PESS (see 3.2.1). The MS perspective proposes, three set of processes or ‘streams’ are identified, namely ‘problems’, ‘policies’ and



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‘politics’, which interact with each other to promote policy change (Kingdon, 1995). I will examine these ‘streams’ of policy change: crisis and value (e.g. physical education crisis) as ‘problem’, agency (e.g. the relative weakness of professional groups) as ‘politics’, and agent (e.g. the influence of Baroness Campbell) as ‘policies’ in the following sections.

**Table 11 Three ‘streams’ behind the YST becoming a main organisation for policy**

Streams	Details	Contexts
<b>Problems:</b> <b>Crisis and Value</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Physical education crisis’ emerged in regard to a loss of time for the physical education curriculum in primary schools in the late 1990s</li> <li>• Using sport as a tool to meet government’s wider social agendas centred on social inclusion and educational achievement</li> <li>• YST: The positioning of policy for PESS in the centre of the government’s goals (e.g. Learning through PE and school sport)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PESS attracted the attention of politicians in a contested political environment (increasing public investment and diverse initiatives)</li> </ul>
<b>Politics:</b> <b>Agency</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marginalisation of Sport England’s role in PESS: staff &amp; sport initiatives cut, ‘investor rather than deliverer’ in the wake of the modernization process of the Labour government</li> <li>• The relative weakness of professional groups (e.g. BALPPE and PEAUK): absence of consensus for PESS policy, leadership and power</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• School was expected to play a significant role in achieving youth sport development and partnerships from the 1990s</li> </ul>
<b>Policies:</b> <b>Agent</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baroness Sue Campbell as entrepreneur and lobbyist in PESS: powerful connection with ministers and other politicians</li> <li>• Baroness Sue Campbell as non-political advisor: link both between the YST and government as well as between education and sport policy</li> </ul>	

Furthermore, the MS framework is primarily concerned with agenda setting processes with a focus on the interaction between ideas, agencies, and agents within institutional arrangements (Kingdon, 1995). I argue that PESSCL was successfully launched when crisis and value, agent, and agency came together in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which opened a ‘policy window’ (Kingdon, 1995).

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Baroness Campbell, an entrepreneur, acted to couple the factors to provide opportunities for PESS to become a key element in national sports policy. Correspondingly, the YST's role has changed to become a main spokesperson on behalf of PESS within the ORF over the years, specifically in the period from 1997 to 2000, when SSCs were designated in 1997 and then on the advent of SSPs in 2000.

### **6.3.1 Crisis and Value: PESS crisis and wider social objectives of policy for PESS**

There were two key rhetorical themes within the constellation of discourses apparent in increased PESS political attention: the crisis of decreased time for PESS and wider social objectives of policy for PESS.

#### ***i) Physical education in crisis***

Returning to my discussion of 'physical education in crisis' in chapter 2.2.3 and 2.2.4, this issue made the policy space more complex. In the late 1990s, the 'physical education crisis' emerged in regard to a loss of time for physical education in primary schools through the suspension of the statutory order in order to increase time on the curriculum for the numeracy and literacy hours (Flintoff, 2008b, Phillpots, 2012). The crisis was evidenced by, for example, the *Young People and Sport National Survey* (Sport England, 2000) conducted by Speednet, a lobby group and consortium of physical education interest groups. Moreover, the media dealt with the issues centred on a squeeze on physical education and marginalisation of school sport throughout the 2000s by drawing on not only official reports such as Ofsted research (e.g. Harris, 2006, *Daily Mail*) but also on a comparison of the number of hours of PESS with other European countries (e.g. Oyston & Davies, 2005, *The Telegraph*). These reports stressed

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that physical education had been marginalised completely in terms of curriculum time (BBC, 2000a) and school sport had been ‘neglected’ (BBC, 2003a; Chaudhary, 2003, *The Guardian*) and had declined since the 1970s (Clark, 2003, *Daily Mail*), which was likely to cause permanent damage to the search for sporting talent and the health of young people in the future.

We might argue then that the need for new sport initiatives such as SSCs and SSPs appeared to be supported by the claim that there was a widespread crisis in PESS. Such a view was explicitly recognised in policy documents, which noted that ‘in too many schools physical education and sport have declined’ (DCMS, 2000, p.7). Accordingly, a possible solution was suggested to increase the amount of PESS in schools and, especially, increase competitive sport opportunities for pupils. The Labour Party set the PSA target as a policy priority which was to provide a minimum of two hours of physical education and sport per week in PESSCL and later five hours in PESSYP (the so-called 5 hours offer) in the wake of diverse lobbyist influence.

Interestingly, while the lobbying activity groups of the NCPE working group as well as the Speednet campaign helped to provide the positive context and the necessary conditions for the development of the YST in terms of increasing political attention to PESS (Houlihan & Green, 2006; Phillpots, 2012), physical education professional groups did not have enough political power or influence due to the lack of consensus for developing policy and a ‘vacuum’ in leadership (see 6.3.2: Agency factor). In this circumstance, the YST, in particular Baroness Campbell took the role of ‘policy entrepreneur’ (Kingdon, 1995) with the Labour government (see 6.3.3: Agent factor).

Along with physical education crisis, other crucial political issues centred on government’s wider social objectives such as education, social inclusion and health provided important contexts for the launch of PESSCL/PESSYP.

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### *ii) Positioning PESS at the centre of the government's broader social objectives*

As indicated earlier in chapter 2.2, in the Labour government one of the priorities in the policy agenda was education, largely because education was seen as a key to achieve broader objectives such as social inclusion, academic achievement and crime reduction (Houlihan & White, 2002, also see 5.2.2). Therefore, the government placed sport (and PESS) more centrally on the wider social agenda reflected by their modernising agenda (Coalter, 2007). When Tony Blair set out a new sport initiative (i.e. School Sport Partnership Programme) at Labour's annual party conference in 2000, he commented 'it (sport initiative) is not only a sports policy, but a health policy, an education policy, a crime policy, an anti-drug policy' (*The Guardian*, 2002). Moreover, Estelle Morris, the former Education Secretary, stressed that 'school sport has a real impact in raising standards, improving behaviour and increasing attendance' (BBC, 2002c). In this sense, there seems little room for doubting that the Labour government anticipated sport can be used as a powerful way to deliver their agenda, especially related to broader education objectives including improving academic standards of schools, a change in school ethos, tackling poor pupil behaviour and encouraging active citizenship (Coalter, 2007; Phillpots, 2012).

Specifically, in consideration of social inclusion, sport was regarded as a powerful way of 'breaking down barriers' in society (DCMS, 2000, p.13) in terms of promoting fairness by improving the provision of PESS for girls and women, young people with disabilities and people from minority ethnic backgrounds. As we can see in the rhetoric of 'A Sporting Future for All' (DCMS, 2000), a new sport initiative such as SSPs was used to support the ideology of welfarism within the government's wider policy paradigm of social justice (Flintoff, 2008b; Oakley & Green, 2001). Government set the basic principle to enable 'all young people, whatever their circumstance', to take part in physical education and sport (DfES & DCMS, 2004, p.1). In addition, along with social inclusion, achieving social goods through sport participation was stressed. Richard Caborn, at the time

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Minister of State for Sport and Tourism proposed in the policy document, *High Quality PE and Sport for Young People* (DfES & DCMS, 2004):

Everyone should have the opportunity to participate in sport. Getting school children into sport – and keeping them involved – is essentially vital as regular participation can reduce obesity, improve fitness levels and by improving concentration and self-esteem, can help attendance, behaviour and attainment (DfES & DCMS, 2004, Preface)

The Labour government emphasised ‘the power of sport can be available to all’ (DCMS, 2000, Foreword by Tony Blair) because it was assumed that participation in PESS will solve policy problems such as growing obesity in young people (i.e. the health crisis, see chapter 5.4.1), anti-social behaviour and poor educational performance (see chapter 5.5) which government had identified as requiring action.

In line with the role of PESS for improving academic performance, the YST was concerned with the academic value of PESS because a main stakeholder was the DfE. In this sense, Jane understands the redefinition of the role of sport which is seen as playing a crucial role in improving education achievement:

Whereas I think over the course of time, that period from 1999 to 2002, that shift in investment from sport and it came from education, was that understanding of how you can use sport as a vehicle to improve the life chances for young people, how sport is fundamentally part of a child’s education and how we can help children to learn through the vehicle of sport (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

In other words, the YST perceived that sport is not just for sports sake, but about how schools might use sport as an educational tool to help children achieve success academically and personally, that is, they connected PESS, academic achievement and citizenship, as I have shown in chapter 5. They expected SSCs to

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be able to translate into other subject areas of the school by using sport as a vehicle to drive young people's educational standards. The SSCs were:

able to use sport to support or deliver on other wider school priorities, so using sport to increase attendance at school or using sport to improve behaviour [...] So a lot of Specialist Sports Colleges looked at teaching and learning as a focus and why it's so successful within physical education, how can they utilise that or translate that in other departments such as Maths and English and Science etc.?' (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

Furthermore, a cornerstone of the role of the SSCs led the YST to engage in developing the School Sport Partnership Programme largely because of the Prime Minister Tony Blair's enormous support. Baroness Campbell described how SSCs began to grow in 2000 through giving examples of communication with Tony Blair:

(Tony Blair said) these schools (SSCs) are doing really well, they're not only doing well in terms of sport and health but they're doing really well academically, but how do we get them to spread that good practice?' So I just sat one day and I drew the sports college in the middle and then I drew the little blobs around the outside, then littler blobs which were the primary schools (Baroness Sue Campbell, YST, Chief Executive, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

In this sense, it can be argued that the successful launch of PESSCL was the result of 'opening a window' on the interplay of policy problems such as health and academic achievement, and policy solutions Baroness Campbell provided (i.e. PESSCL), with political support especially from Tony Blair. Specifically, the YST took responsibility for setting the SSPs up by 2003 and they were given permission to disseminate it to every school across England based on the support and investment from the government. Clearly, the Prime Minister and DfE saw the value in the network of schools working together as groups and clusters beyond

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several good practices of SSCs, which fostered the educational value of schools to meet the government general agenda. This is also reflected within government sport policy such as *Game Plan* in consideration of improving whole school standards and raising academic achievement through participation in PESS (DCMS, 2002).

In this context, the YST had to position itself to fit the government agenda under political pressures of academic success and sporting performance with more success on the international stage. In other words, on the one hand, the YST's main focus seems to reinforce the sport discourse in terms of encouraging more young people to participate in competitive sport and promoting talent development. On the other hand, they also positioned PESS at the centre of the government's broader social and education objectives. Likewise, it can be argued that they extended and redefined a PESS boundary beyond the traditional focus of the subject framed by the NCPE.

All in all, undoubtedly, the YST (and Baroness Campbell) had taken a lead in articulating the value and education effects of school sport (and physical education) with government policy goals. They articulated elite sport development and academic achievement of young people with the government's broader interests and objectives. Later, the YST developed the emphasis of competitive sport through competition managers and intra- and inter- competition after the mid-2000s, when government focused on elite sport development with a particular concern for the London 2012 Games (e.g. DCMS, 2008a).

### **6.3.2 Agency: The YST seized the PESS leadership opportunity created by the relative weakness of both Sport England and AfPE**

Although the school-related policy area was crowded with diverse programmes and agencies, it could be argued that the success of the YST in becoming an

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organisation leading on the development of government policies for PESS was partly due to the absence of dominant sporting organisations or professional interest groups capable of delivering what the Labour government wanted (Houlihan & Green, 2006; Houlihan & Phillpots, 2012; Smith & Leech, 2010). In this respect, Anne clearly comments on this absence:

Sport England did not have the time and the personnel to look at youth sport, AfPE did not have the teeth to influence what was going on in schools, so Baroness Sue Campbell and the YST come in and offer, the political animal that she is, speaks to the right people at the right time and develops and runs with the Youth Sport Trust (Anne, Sport England, Programme Manager, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2011).

The YST could seize the PESS leadership opportunity created by the relative weakness of Sport England, AfPE, LEAs and NGBs of sport (Phillpots, 2012). In particular, it was Baroness Campbell who was the outstanding entrepreneur who played a crucial role in shaping PESSCL and PESSYP (see 6.3.3).

Sport England had supported school-based sport initiatives such as the *Active Schools* programme in the 1990s and the initiative consequently included a range of programmes already well-established including the YST's TOP programme. However whilst the YST had been successful with TOPs which had significant influence on shaping the government's decisions and thinking in the 2000s, *Active Schools* did not have a huge impact due to the lack of clarity (Houlihan & White, 2002). Accordingly, it can be considered that Sport England became marginalised in PESS initiatives centred on SSCs and SSPs from the late 1990s.

Moreover, Sport England did not have enough resources and time to take responsibility for policy for PESS and for this reason they required other partners to deliver policy to schools instead of them because Sport England should be 'investors rather than deliverers of services, and as such be smaller bodies', a reconceptualization of Sport England's role that was part of the process of



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modernisation of government organisations at the beginning of the 2000s (DCMS, 2002, p.18). Sport England was perceived by the Labour government as an organisation in need of significant internal reform through the reduction in overall numbers of their staff and programmes in order to cut costs (DCMS, 2002; Houlihan & Green, 2009). Lucy also highlights the change of Sport England's role:

Sport England is being, in terms of the numbers of people that are working at Sport England, they're being reduced so their work is becoming far more strategic rather than actually being involved themselves (to deliver policy) (Lucy, Sport England, Development Manager, 8<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2011).

Sport England was expected, not to deliver PESS initiatives and programmes, but to function as a funding organisation. Furthermore, there was a significant gap between Sport England and physical education and youth sport due to the lack of people and resources. Even though they tried to take care of youth sport it was 'too wide for Sport England so they wanted a partner to look at youth sport and the Youth Sport Trust saw the gap' in the 2000s (Anne, Sport England, Programme Manager). In this regard, Anne emphasised that Sport England brought the YST into the youth sport policy arena to contribute to the government policy agenda in 2000.

Regarding the involvement of AfPE (within the PRF) in policy for PESS, Jeanette (a senior manager of AfPE) argued that there was a relative weakness of the physical education professional groups, centred on the British Association of Advisers and Lectures in Physical Education (BALPPE) and Physical Education Association of the United Kingdom (PEAUK) during the mid-1990s, to influence the policy agenda. She highlighted that there was a clear lack of policy focus and absence of any consensus for developing PESS between BALPPE and PEAUK. Accordingly, the two leading physical education organisations had not been sending consistent and effective messages to government (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Houlihan & Green, 2006). They appeared to fail to contribute to the development

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of young people through coherent articulation of potential physical education benefits because not only were they excluded from the main process of making policies, but they also had strong tensions between them (Houlihan & Green, 2006).

In these circumstances of the weakness of the professional organisations in the PRF, the YST was able to move into a void largely because of:

the vacuum in leadership in physical education. The YST kind of moved into areas where perhaps it should not have had to do. The organisations in physical education were so badly led, during the mid-1990s, that the trust and Sue Campbell got pulled into the school sport arena (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager, 20<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

As the YST was becoming the main recontextualising agency for PESS, the commentaries of the media tended to report the YST’s voice as the representative of PESS organisations in that they were committed to not only increase school sports participation levels of young people (Holmes, 2007, *The Telegraph*), but also improve standards of PESS (Hoey, 2006, *The Telegraph*; *The Guardian*, 2010b) alongside the success of SSCs in relation to improving academic achievement and behaviour of pupils (Clark, 2007; Davies, 2005a; *The Guardian*, 2004a). The increase in the number of references to the YST in the media from 2000 provides some evidence in support of this point.<sup>29</sup>

Another reason the physical education professional groups lost their ground in relation to policy-making can be linked to the marginalisation of Sport England’s position on the policy arena. When the NCPE was set up in the 1990s, the

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<sup>29</sup> The term ‘Youth Sport Trust’ was arranged by using Text Search Query of Nvivo 9.0 throughout 467 media articles I collected. 62 newspaper articles were found to mention Youth Sport Trust (and Baroness Sue Campbell) in relation to PESS (and PESS policy).

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
2	2	1	3	4	7	7	11	7	6	12

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physical education professional groups managed to obtain huge support from Sport England because Sport England consisted of many people who had physical education backgrounds (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager). However as the structure of Sport England had been changed due to the reform (e.g. reducing members in particular those who were from an educational background) during the 2000s, there was ‘never a strong support for physical education and at the same time there was nobody strong enough to interrogate what the trust (YST) was doing’ (Jeanette, AfPE, Senior Manager).

### **6.3.3 Agent: The influence of Baroness Sue Campbell**

The dramatic growing political influence and prominence of the YST in relation to PESS initiatives during the 2000s cannot be fully comprehended in isolation from the role of Baroness Campbell as the YST’s Chief Executive. The significance of Baroness Campbell’s influence cannot be understated. She was a key agent in the recontextualising field, able to link not only between the YST and the government but between government’s education policy and sport policy. In essence, she was the most powerful and influential agent of PESS working within the ORF during the 2000s. It is especially important to understand the process in which Baroness Campbell had been involved in the ORF in terms of her role working with the Labour government.

#### ***i) Baroness Sue Campbell as Non-Political Advisor and her impact: from SSCs to PESSCL***

As outlined in my discussion of major organisations for government’s policy for PESS in chapter 2.4, the Labour government emphasised wider joint departmental working (i.e. ‘joined-up policy making’) and, in this sense, the government formed the School Sports Alliance (i.e. a joint advisory and coordinating

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committee comprising the DfE, DCMS, NOF and YST), and employed a special adviser on sport to work with the DCMS and DfE on the school sport (Hylton & Bramham, 2008; DCMS, 2002). In this context, the PESSCL strategy centred on SSPs could move forward quickly as these two key departments (i.e. DCMS and DfE) could work together due to Campbell's role between 2000 and 2002. Baroness Campbell described the manner in which she became the non-political advisor in terms of her personal relationships:

Because I personally knew the minister for sport and the minister for education, they decided to offer me an opportunity to be what's called a non political advisor, that means the politics has nothing to do with it, I was advising them on the subject, not on whether it was politically suited their party or not [...] I built a personal relationship with them and their support was really important in us achieving what we did (Baroness Sue Campbell, YST, Chief Executive, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

Given the apparent success of Baroness Campbell due to her advisory role, the YST had a huge opportunity for the first time to become involved in policy-making for PESS at government level. It is perhaps not surprising that such an opportunity was strengthened further with the development of the PESSCL strategy, outlined in the cross-departmental document *Learning through PE and Sport* (DfES & DCMS, 2003). Specifically, a PSA target came out as the first joint target for connecting sport policy with education policy in 2002. In 2003, the PESSCL strategy was set up, which was underpinned by the PSA target. In particular, Steve Granger, Campbell's Managing Director of the YST, was central to building the structure and infrastructure of PESSCL. Baroness Campbell stresses the partnership with him:

Steve was the architect of the strategy, so I did the politics, so I used to say "I'm clearing the ground, you build the building, and I'll get the ground flat for you, clear everyone out the way, I'll get the money and you've got to build the building [...]" So we were a wonderful

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partnership and he really helped to design both strategies, I helped to get the political support for them, I helped to find the funding from government (Baroness Sue Campbell, YST, Chief Executive, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

In this regard, Baroness Campbell generated political support and funding from the government and the YST constructed the strategies to realise government policy goals, which shows the YST clearly had been making the PESSCL strategy within the ORF. However as the YST through the political machinations of Campbell relocated itself within the ORF, the PRF and many schools and teachers were ‘only marginally involved in innovations emanating from the programme as it has progressively developed’ (Flintoff, 2008b, p.151). I will discuss this issue in chapter 6.5.2.

### ***ii) Baroness Sue Campbell as entrepreneur in policy for PESS***

Many interview respondents described Baroness Campbell as a very talented policy persuader and lobbyist in the policy arena. They also portrayed her as very active and passionate about the work of the YST and able to articulate to a number of powerful politicians the benefits of PESS. Likewise, she was skillful in forging a positive and influential relationship with civil servants and Labour politicians, but most importantly with Tony Blair. She was able to not only have valuable opportunities to speak to government ministers, but also to receive enormous trust from ministers (Phillpots, 2012). Dan, an IYS researcher, explained how she persuaded the politicians:

I remember hearing a story from somebody in the YST that Sue Campbell was given an audience with Tony Blair about that time and told that “you have got to make an impact with him within a couple of minutes or he is lost to you.” People would dispute whether there ever is or will be the evidence of necessary what PESS does, but she was

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very good at using anecdotes and particular case studies to convince the politicians. I think the other thing was you had politicians who empathised enough with sport, that they were willing to be convinced by that (Dan, Institute of Youth Sport, Researcher, 4<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2012).

Consequently, as her reputation grew her position became more powerful, especially during the 2000s because she had the ‘ear of minister in a very immediate way’ (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager). In this regard, the YST were essentially the architects of new sports initiatives such as the SSCs, SSPs and PESSCL because Baroness Campbell was:

very trusted by the government, by this point because everything they gave her she delivered and that was unusual for government ministers, they don’t find many people that they say “can you do this?” and they say “yes” and they get it done. So she became very trusted, so they started to give her the support to develop a strategy (Diane, Institute of Youth Sport, Researcher, 15<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2011).

Even the media highlighted the role of Baroness Campbell as the main agent of the government’s strategy centred on school sport partnerships (e.g. BBC, 2000a; Bose, 2006; Davies, 2006c, 2009). For instance, *The Telegraph* (Mott, 2003) reported that ‘Sue Campbell is highly regarded, not least for her ability to persuade the government to spend money on school sport coordinators for every secondary school.’ In addition, *The Guardian* (2004a) described Baroness Campbell as ‘the heart of government’s strategies for PESS in schools’ and *The Guardian* (2010) claimed that the success of the Youth Sport Trust and SSPs is that they have attracted ‘a whole new generation of children to sport by providing a wider range of activities which will result in saving far more money for the NHS.’

Baroness Campbell functioned as ‘interpreter’ and ‘human bridge’ so that each department could work together (Dan, IYS, Researcher). The main role of advisors was to build a bridge between the two departments at the highest levels

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so that the policy for PESS made sense as a whole by means of communication between them, especially in reference of ‘how physical education policy and sport policy could come together in schools’ (Baroness Campbell). By so doing, she led the government to ‘understand how sport and education were so closely linked and how powerful sports can be or is to a child’s education within school’ (Jeanette, AfPE, Senior Manager). However some claimed that ‘any criticism about the YST appeared to be not welcomed’ (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager), which resulted in the creation of certain kinds of conflict, in particular with physical education professional groups in terms of disconnecting communication in PESS (also see 6.5.2).

All in all, on the one hand, Baroness Campbell as entrepreneur advocated policy initiatives for PESS centred on PESSCL by facilitating particular ideas of the wider social roles of PESS, floating around in a ‘policy primeval soup’ (Parsons, 1995, p.19). On the other hand, the concept of ‘physical education and school sport’ is arguably manipulated and misrepresented in the context of ambiguous and unclear goals of policy (Zahariadis, 2003). The meaning of the emergent term ‘physical education and school sport’ within policy is especially important because the possibilities for PESS can be determined and changed according to interpretation of the concept (Kirk & Gorely, 2000; Pope, 2011). For instance, it can be argued that the manifestation of sport discourse within PESS strategies is evident in the replacement of the term of ‘physical education’ by ‘physical education and school sport’ (Pope, 2011; Ward, 2012). The use of ‘physical education and school sport’ is very clearly intended to bring PESS in under the ideological umbrella of the sport discourse. As stated earlier in chapter 5, within policies and strategies for PESS, sport is seen as an effective ‘tool’ to achieve broader social goods such as crime reduction, academic achievement as well as health enhancement along with lifelong participation and Olympic/Paralympic legacy (e.g. DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). This commonsense view of sport is crucial in order for Baroness Campbell and the YST to secure government buy-in.

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Accordingly, it can be said that Baroness Campbell and the YST also recast 'physical education' as 'physical education and school sport' to enhance the focus on competitive sport. As the terminology of specialist 'sport' college (not specialist 'physical education' College) and 'school sport' partnership (not 'physical education' partnership) implied, the YST (and government) had been primarily concerned with cashing in on the symbolic power of the notion of sport and the extent to which this powerful discourse was so readily accepted by politicians (Adams & Griggs, 2005; Ward, 2012).

### **6.4 Recontextualising agents and agencies**

The recontextualising agents and agencies centred on the YST and Baroness Campbell located within the ORF are at the heart of the recontextualising process in that they transform physical cultural discourses as these are delocated and relocated from the primary field to the recontextualising field. The non-pedagogic discourses of sport, health, citizenship, Olympic/Paralympic legacy and lifelong participation communicate diverse interests and values of agents/agencies that selectively use these discourses. In addition, the media played a crucial role in reporting these agents and agencies' recontextualising activities in relation to policy for PESS. In this sense, the main recontextualising players including the media were involved in filtering physical cultural discourses in the interface between the primary and recontextualising fields. As chapter 3.3.2 demonstrated, the meaning of power is inextricable from discursive resources in that dominant recontextualising groups articulate PESS with selected appropriate physical cultural discourses.

In the following section, I discuss the recontextualising agents (6.4.1) and agencies (6.4.2) who contributed the dominant voices to constructing policy. Furthermore, I will also discuss the role of the media (6.4.3) as a recontextualising agent in itself which contributes to the construction and reinforcement of a range



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of articulations surrounding physical culture in the recontextualising field.

### **6.4.1 Powerful agents: politicians and sport stars**

There were important politicians associated with PESSCL/PESSYP including two former Prime Ministers (Tony Blair and Gordon Brown; see Appendix 8-1), the former Culture Secretaries (Tessa Jowell and Andy Burnham; see Appendix 8-2), the former Education Secretaries (Charles Clarke and Estelle Morris; see Appendix 8-3), and the former Sports Ministers (Kate Hoey and Richard Caborn; see Appendix 8-4). Collectively they have served to legitimate the privileging of particular physical cultural discourses in the sport policy-making process, including the discourses of sport, health and citizenship.

Arguably, the most influential politicians in relation to the production of the policy documents were the former Prime Minister, (i.e. Tony Blair) and Secretaries of State for DCMS (i.e. Tessa Jowell and Andy Burnham) because they introduced the main direction of the government sport policy in prefaces to a series of government documents.<sup>30</sup> Importantly, Tony Blair and Tessa Jowell were key politicians who had a strong relationship with Baroness Campbell as I have suggested earlier in this chapter. In the first Labour government policy document, *A Sporting future for All*, Tony Blair emphasised youth sport development in terms of ‘taking part at club and national levels to discover young people’s talent and potential’ (DCMS, 2000, p.2-3). In addition, Tony Blair and Tessa Jowell continued to prioritise school sport because, they argued, it is a powerful tool to help the government achieve a ‘number of ambitious goals’ including social inclusion, citizenship (in relation to reducing crime and improving academic achievement), and health, in *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.5). In

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<sup>30</sup> *A Sporting Future for All* (2000), Prime Minister Tony Blair; *Game Plan* (2002), Prime Minister Tony Blair and Secretary of DCMS Tessa Jowell; *High Quality PE and sport for young people* (2004), Secretary of State for Schools Stephen Twigg and Minister of Sport and Tourism Richard Caborn; *Playing to win* (2008), Secretary of DCMS Andy Burnham.

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contrast, Andy Burham was explicitly focused on elite sport development through more coaching and more competitive sport particularly linked to the London 2012 Games (DCMS, 2008). Accordingly, it can be argued that while a wider role of sport (i.e. sport for all) was emphasised in the early 2000s, elite sport development (i.e. sport for sport's sake) was much more prominent in the late 2000s within policy documents.

Moreover, by using sport stars as role models for 'inspiring younger generations', a strong connection between competitive sport participation and Olympic/Paralympic legacy was established (DCMS, 2008a). Above all, Dame Kelly Holmes was considered the most essential Olympic legacy advocate whose contribution legitimated an Olympic/Paralympic legacy as part of the policy for PESS. She was designated as an Olympic Games' ambassador for PESS by the YST and DCMS in order to manage a National School Sport Week for young people's competitive participation (DCMS, 2008a).

The following section examines the YST as one of the main voices of the policy for PESS within the ORF.

### **6.4.2 The voice of the YST within the ORF**

As I have shown in chapter 6.2.3, the YST had been growing their commercial sponsorship and more significantly obtaining significant funding from government departments from the late 1990s. Hence, with respect to commercial interests, the YST must 'listen to what their corporate partner's priorities are and persuade stakeholders through the benefits of sport initiatives' (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager). For instance, Nike wanted to engage more girls in sport while Sky was interested in how to use sport as a vehicle to engage those children who are at risk of being excluded from school. Accordingly, the YST responded to these key stakeholders' agendas, in terms of using sport as a tool for achieving

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their customers' priorities. Likewise, when the YST became a main voice of PESS supported by large amounts of funding from the government, they focused on the government's sport agenda including the development of elite sport, social inclusion and citizenship, an agenda that went beyond their original aims embodied in the TOP programmes such as developing learner (and young disabled people)-oriented equipment and quality training for primary teachers.

In addition, returning to my discussion on the strong relationships between Baroness Campbell and powerful politicians including Tony Blair, Estelle Morris and Kate Hoey these major recontextualising agents were closely associated with the YST. They supported the work of the YST in the media (e.g. Hoey, 2006<sup>31</sup>), and vice versa, the YST considered what the government wanted to achieve through youth sport policy. For instance, although the YST originally developed SSCs for talent development, they later linked the SSCs to academic achievement and citizenship which were emphasised by the government (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; DCMS & DfES, 2003). In addition, in consideration of an Olympic/Paralympic legacy, the YST stressed Gifted and Talented provisions, and the leadership and volunteering initiative in the context of PESSYP related to the London 2012 Games (Sport England & YST, 2009). In a sense, the YST represented not only PESS in the policy arena, but they also reflected the government's views through their contributions to constructing PESSCL/PESSYP.

### **6.4.3 The role of media as a recontextualising agency**

Returning to my discussion of using media texts as data in chapter 3.6.1, the content of media often reflected specific interest groups whose voices sound loud in particular contexts, a process which is central to the recontextualising process and the construction of sport policy and PESS strategies and initiatives. As I will

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<sup>31</sup> "The Youth Sport Trust, an organisation which over the years has done much to help improve standards of PE and school sport." (Hoey, *The Telegraph*, 2006).

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show below, the media used speeches and/or actions drawing on powerful politicians, popular Olympic stars, and sports organisations to contribute to the recontextualisation of the discourses which constructed and constituted policies for PESS. Although there were some different focuses on reporting PESS initiatives among media, the media, as a recontextualising agency, mainly played a role in creating and reinforcing dominant voices through drawing on powerful agents in their news stories and commentaries.

There is some degree of consistency between policy-makers and media producers in terms of focusing particular discourses because the media tend to use the speech of privileged agents. For instance, in the early 2000s, particularly regarding the discourse of health and citizenship which were a focus of *Game Plan* (2002) and *Learning through PE and sport* (2003), the importance of competitive sport linked to health and citizenship juxtaposed was frequently reported by the media, drawing on agents such as Tony Blair (see Appendix 8.1.3 and 8.1.4), Tessa Jowell (see Appendix 8-2-4 and 8-2-5), and Charles Clarke (see Appendix 8-3-2 and 8-3-4). Yet, after the decision that London would host the 2012 Games, the media tended to use politicians' comments such as Tony Blair (see Appendix 8-1-7), Gordon Brown (see Appendix 8-1-8 and 8-1-10) and Tessa Jowell (see Appendix 8-2-6) in relation to an argument for a greater focus on competitive sport in schools associated with delivering an Olympic legacy, evident for example in policy documents such as *Playing to win* (2008).

The media also reported the comments of Olympic athletes when they were talking about youth sport policy. The Olympic 'stars' signify a particular set of interests, which are indirectly implicated in constructing a commonsense view of PESS (Scott, 2000). In particular, double gold medallist Dame Kelly Holmes was the most referenced Olympic star in the media (see Appendix 8-6). Along with the connection between Kelly Holmes and Olympic legacy, the media reported her to strengthen the link between competitive school sport and other discourses including talent development and elite sport development, health, citizenship and

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girls' participation. In addition, regarding the demand to rethink the coalition government's decision on the funding cut to SSPs in 2010, British Olympic champions such as cyclist Jason Queally and badminton silver medallist Gail Emms attracted headlines of newspapers as follows:

- 'Elite athletes warn David Cameron not to axe school sports grant' (Campbell, 2010).
- 'Olympic athletes condemn David Cameron's school sports cuts' (*The Guardian*, 2010a).

They warned the government decision to cut funding would harm the Olympic/Paralympic legacy, not only jeopardising the chance of winning more medals, but also the possibility of preventing child obesity. Interestingly, regarding the funding cut, the media mainly reported Olympic stars rather than teachers (e.g. 'teachers in County Durham angry at sports cash cuts' (BBC, 2010a), also see *The Guardian*, 2010b), and students. Moreover it is notable that such high profile athletes were not necessarily neutral having worked as ambassadors for the YST.

In considering the health discourse in chapter 5.4, the health concerns of young people centred on the obesity epidemic was the most frequently reported in the media. In particular, health-related agents and agencies in the media played a significant role in transforming health discourse from the primary field to the recontextualising field. Substantively, the health benefits of PESS recontextualised as commonsense was largely undertaken by a number of recontextualising players including professors (e.g. BBC, 2005b, see Appendix 8-7-2), doctors (e.g. *Daily Mail*, 2004, see Appendix 8-7-3) and health-related agencies such as Department of Health (e.g. BBC, 2007c, see Appendix 8-7-4), National Obesity Forum and the British Heart Foundation (e.g. Childs, 2010, *Daily Mail*, see Appendix 8-7-5) alongside the reporting of scientific evidence and surveys in the media (e.g. Batty, 2008, *The Guardian*, see Appendix 8-7-6 ~

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Appendix 8-7-9). Accordingly, in the media, these recontextualising agents/agencies juxtaposed medical science research and commonsense knowledge thereby providing the authority of government political power to sport development policy as well as persuading the public of a necessary linkage between PESS and health (Evans, 2003). In other words, the biomedical knowledge generated in Bernstein's primary field was modified by health-related organisations and politicians through a recontextualising process to enhance the importance of PESS (Tinning, 2010). Hence, in this context, the media is a powerful recontextualising agency in terms of its capacity and inclination to make persuasive arguments in support of the need for government intervention to tackle youth obesity and to reduce the growing costs of inactivity by connecting physical activity, obesity prevention and health. However these scientific resources especially about the association between obesity-related research and PESS was reiterated and circulated in policy documents and popular media forms without any serious critical challenge or test (Gard & Wright, 2001; Evans, Evans & Rich, 2003).

Finally, the *School Sport Matters* campaign initiated by *The Telegraph* for delivering more sport in schools highlighted exemplary practice in PESS alongside awarding best school, teachers, team and player from 2005 to 2012 (Davies, 2012, *The Telegraph*). In this context, Gareth A Davies, as school sport correspondent in *The Telegraph*, had reported regularly on the school sport partnerships, as having a crucial role in supporting the activities of the YST (e.g. Davies, 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2007a, 2007b). For example, he argued that the SSCs supported by the YST showed a positive impact on both pupils and schools at large in terms of improving good behaviour and academic achievement (Davies, 2005a). The major achievements of the YST related to SSPs, SSCs and National school sport champions were also reported by Baroness Campbell and the former chief executive Steve Grainger. Accordingly, it can be argued that the media functioned as a crucial recontextualising agency which legitimates not only the

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privileging discourses around PESS but also the YST's position of managing government's school sport strategy<sup>32</sup>.

On the whole, drawing on major agents/agencies in relation to the policy process, the media constructed reality from a particular perspective of the strategies in terms of reinforcing certain articulations of the physical cultural discourses in the recontextualising field. What is very clear here is that major recontextualising agents/agencies in the media played a significant role in weakening oppositional and critical voices from the PRF. In other words, by reporting only the dominant voices of recontextualising agents and agencies, the media strengthened particular articulations of elite sport development and youth obesity to construct and constitute policy for PESS, while comments from the PRF's critical concerns including researchers, teachers and physical education professional groups (e.g. Paton, 2008b, *The Telegraph*) were very few. In this sense, physical educators seem to be marginalised in the process of representing the main issue on policy in the media (e.g. Houlihan, 2000).

In the next section I discuss the relationships between the YST and other organisations including Sport England and AfPE by examining partnerships and tensions within the ORF and between the ORF and PRF.

### **6.5 Interrelationship between the YST and other organisations: partnerships and tensions within the ORF and between the ORF and PRF**

Returning to my discussions of the partnership between agents and agencies in

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<sup>32</sup> There was some degree of different focuses on PESS initiatives among media. In particular, *Daily Mail* had reported on PESS initiatives less than the other three newspapers. For instance, regarding funding cuts to SSPs, this issue was highlighted in some section of the media (BBC, 12 articles; *The Guardian*, 23 articles; and *The Telegraph*, 16 articles), which can be contrasted to the *Daily Mail*'s more limited coverage (2 articles). In addition, as I have shown in this section, *The Telegraph* had reported regularly on the SSPs and the YST. Despite these differences all newspapers, as a recontextualising agency, played a similar role in reinforcing the dominant discourses by using speeches and actions of drawing on privileged agents/agencies.

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chapter 2.4, although the Labour government argued for the importance of building partnerships for developing policy for PESS, the sport development objectives of the partnership were often marginalised or even undermined by the core activities of the other partner organisations. Even Baroness Campbell criticised the partnerships because the ‘government and ministers constantly talk about the cross-government working but they were incapable of doing it’ (Baroness Campbell). According to Phillpots (2012), the YST, Sport England and NGBs appeared to be ‘insiders’ who are actively involved in the policy process, whilst AfPE, LEAs and some Higher Education institutions seem to be policy ‘outsiders’ in terms of their access to ‘policy beliefs’ and resources (p.13). This power imbalance and struggles around it took place in Bernstein’s recontextualising field which is of significant importance for us to understand the relationship between agencies (‘Who’ have the power to recontextualise knowledge), which is closely linked to the acquisition of knowledge and pedagogy in school, i.e. the construction of knowledge in the forms of curriculum activities and potential future directions of PESS.

As I already noted, the rapid emergence of the YST within the recontextualising field inevitably resulted in various tensions and struggles between it and other organisations, especially Sport England (see 6.5.1) and AfPE (see 6.5.2) (Hylton & Bramham, 2008; Phillpots, 2012). Moreover, because of the growing dominance of the YST during the first decade of the 2000s, it can be said that the policy arena exhibited a pronounced form of ‘asymmetrical partnership governance’ (Grix & Phillpots, 2011, p.77).

### **6.5.1 Relationships within the ORF: DCMS, DfE and Sport England**

The YST had a partnership with the DCMS, DfE and Sport England for constructing and implementing PESSCL/PESSYP. Baroness Campbell describes these relationships between governmental organisations in the ORF:



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The relationship with the government departments during the previous government was excellent and during that period we had very little to do with Sport England because our funding came from the Department for Education, it was complementary to the funding Sport England got from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, so we weren't taking any of their money away, we were using this money from over here and our accountability was to DfE. So our relationship with DCMS was marginal towards the end of that period (Baroness Sue Campbell, YST, Chief Executive, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

There are two important points to note from the above comment. First, the ORF is not a homogenous field with equal funding and harmonious relationships, or equal influence on policy. Although DCMS led on decisions about the allocation of Exchequer funds for sport, the YST received money from DfE which played an important part in funding policy development and strategies (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002; DCMS, 2008). Accordingly, with respect to PESSCL/PESSYP, DfE was the main provider of funding funders for construction and implementation of PESSCL, whilst the role of DCMS was marginalised because their funding went to Sport England.

Second, whilst private funding providers such as Nike and BSkyB were significant partners with close relations to the YST, Sport England had a relatively weak connection to the YST. Moreover, their relationship (i.e. the YST and Sport England) was one of ambivalence because there were certain kinds of struggle between them in regard to managing youth sport policy. Baroness Campbell comments that 'the relationship with Sport England was not as warm and good as it ought to be.' In the next section I explore this issue in detail.

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*i) 'Marriage' between Youth Sport Trust and Sport England: under control or out of control?*

Although Sport England became marginalised in terms of its influence on policy for PESS throughout the period of the Labour government, in the beginning stage of the SSPs in the early 2000s, Sport England appeared to be an important representative organisation. Within the policy document, *A Sporting Future for All* (DCMS, 2000), Sport England took a responsibility for establishing school sport partnership programmes for wider participation and elite sport success. The YST were not even mentioned in that document with respect to the SSPs. In addition, at that time Baroness Campbell admitted Sport England was mainly involved in the strategic planning and funding of the SSPs while the YST was providing support for Sport England to implement the SSP programme (Taplin, 2001).

However since the YST had challenged Sport England's leadership through the success of TOP programmes (Houlihan & White, 2002), Sport England had inevitably been isolated from the emerging future policy-making and implementation around school-related sport policy. In addition, the YST had other good opportunities to enhance their power because Sport England had been criticised by top politicians such as Tessa Jowell (the Secretary of state DCMS) and Richard Caborn (Sport Minister) as it was claimed that Sport England got involved in too many sport initiatives (Bose, 2002, *The Telegraph*). In this sense, Houlihan and Green (2006) summarise the undermining over time of the role of Sport England in the construction of policy for PESS:

Although Sport England become standard-bearers for the delivery of education through sport in the UK, Sport England continued to be marginalised in policy debates concerning PESS and the extent of this marginalisation were only enhanced by the prominence of the YST (p.83).

As discussed in chapter 3.4.2, the social construction of policy for PESS

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inevitably generated power struggles among vying groups, in this case between the YST and Sport England within the ORF. Baroness Campbell highlighted the partnership with Sport England as a ‘marriage’ because:

The partnership (with Sport England) was like marriage, it has to be, it’s not that you think you’re the same as your partner but you have to respect who your partner is and it doesn’t matter who earns the money or who raises the children, it’s a relationship which has to be built on trust and a sense of common purpose that you want to build upon in the family together, it’s not who does what job more important than anyone else (Baroness Sue Campbell, YST, Chief Executive, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

However she noted that the partnership was not working well because the YST failed to build a relationship with Sport England based on a consensual view about the role of PESS within the wider sport policy arena. In a similar vein, Lucy comments on the struggles between the two agencies:

At my level, there wasn’t a lot of sort of conflict or power struggle, the people who worked for Youth Sport Trust and the people who worked for Sport England. But I am aware obviously that at CEO level, there were tensions and this is just, you need to understand the whole set up of sport development in England, it is a very competitive environment, which has undoubtedly impact on the relationship between the YST and Sport England (Lucy, Sport England, Development Manager, 8<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2011).

The outcome of the ‘uneasy marriage’ between Sport England and the YST was evident towards the end of the first decade of the 2000s. Specifically, eight years after the government publication *A Sporting Future for All* in 2000, in Labour’s final sport document *Playing to win* (DCMS, 2008a), the YST is clearly designated as the sole national organisation for PESS in terms of supporting the

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delivery of PESSYP, whilst Sport England is given the arguably lesser role of the development of recreational community sport.

### **6.5.2 Relationships between the ORF and PRF**

#### *i) The launch of AfPE for speaking with one single voice of physical education*

As stated earlier (see chapter 2.4.4), there had been two leading physical education associations until the launch of AfPE in 2006: BAALPE and PEAUK. Whilst BAALPE was a relatively small organisation with a lot of activity between members because they were mostly local authority advisors or consultants, PEAUK was predominantly serving teachers and lecturers nationally (DCSF, 2008). In March 2006, and after a prolonged process of negotiation, AfPE was set up as the single national subject organisation for physical education. Jeanette explained the process of integrating two associations:

the mission statement, the aims for both associations were very similar and so we decided to pull the two together into one because having one voice for physical education, we felt would be stronger when we were trying to influence government ministers and senior civil servants [...] That was quite a complicated, not at all straightforward process but we achieved it in 2006 (Jeanette, AfPE, Senior Manager, 17<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2012).

The launch of AfPE signalled a great chance for the development of physical education in terms of bringing together for the first time all those involved in delivering and supporting physical education in schools and the wider community (Griggs, 2007). In this sense, within *NC40: Memorandum submitted by Association for Physical Education* (DCSF, 2008), AfPE was manifestly the representative UK organisation for physical education.

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### *ii) AfPE is positioned in the PRF whereas the YST is in the ORF*

It is clear that both the YST and AfPE are independent organisations whilst Sport England is a governmental organisation. However as I have discussed earlier in chapter 6.3, the YST could reasonably be seen as an organisation increasingly located within the ORF while AfPE remained consistently in the PRF. In addition to the extent to which agency is closer to government, they are certainly different organisations in terms of structure and overall objectives for PESS.

First, AfPE is a membership organisation comprised of teachers, lecturers, advisors and consultants in physical education, in this sense, AfPE represents the interests of its members since the members supply the organisation's funding through their membership fees. In contrast, the YST is not a membership organisation; they need to contract with stakeholders for funding. There were then clear differences between these organisations in terms of 'how they come about and what they represent' (Jeanette, AfPE, Senior Manager).

Second, with respect to the objectives of each organisation, the YST was originally a youth sport development agency and so 'the whole of what they do is led by sport' (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager) whereas AfPE is concerned with school physical education and so with supporting the statutory part of the national curriculum for physical education (NCPE) (DCSF, 2008). Hence, the meaning of quality of learning and teaching is different between them because the meaning of 'quality' of PESS for the YST was:

about the number of children who did a certain number of hours. The YST talked about high quality of physical education and school sport but nobody ever applied any criteria. They were much easier to see for school sport but not so good for physical education and the OFSTED criteria were hardly ever used (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager, 20<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

Marie went on to stress that AfPE was informed by 'a range of pedagogies'

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focused on ‘actual quality of learning’ among young people whilst the YST is informed by sport development and in this sense the quality of education for the YST is ‘about output, not outcome.’ For example, regarding the perception of 10 outcomes of high quality PESS (DfES & DCMS, 2003), AfPE interviewee, Jeanette, criticised the lack of detail about ‘high quality’ that it is not about ‘the features of good learning but indicators’ whilst the YST respondent, Jane, highlighted that high quality depended on outcomes from PESS which the government pursued such as sport competition, health and citizenship. In this regard, the term ‘high quality physical education and school sport’ is a very problematic concept. Although the concept is supported by ten outcomes, these outcomes are also very ambiguous and unclear because a range of discourses (e.g. sport, health and lifelong participation) are articulated in complex configurations. This concept seems to represent the eye-catching benefits of PESS and, more importantly, government’s apparent fixation on measurable quantities through the focus on two hours of sport activities rather than the process of achieving ‘high quality’ in PESS. I will also discuss this issue in the next chapter in relation to evaluating official evaluation studies. It might be noted also that both organisations appear to occupy different ideological pedagogic positions in the recontextualising field which undoubtedly feeds the process of struggle for control of the construction and definition of PESS. I will also discuss pedagogic concerns from the PRF in relation to the exclusion of PRF’s voice in official evaluation studies (7.6.2).

However AfPE’s voice was too weak to influence the policy process because of the YST’s dominant position in the policy arena. In other words, although the physical education professional groups succeeded in having one voice, the single association was ‘too late because AfPE already had lost position’. For instance, AfPE took ‘only one of nine strands in PESSCL/PESSYP and the amount spent on it was really quite small compared to the rest of the budget’ (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager). Accordingly, AfPE was unable to be more deeply involved in

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PESSYP without supporting the YST because the influence of the YST as the dominant group in the ORF was already too strong. I will examine this control issue later in this chapter.

### ***iii) The partnership working and tensions between the ORF and PRF: A Cacophony of voices?***

The YST did work in partnership with AfPE in terms of shaping continuous professional development (CPD) for teachers (DCMS, 2000), in particular creating the learning resources for primary teachers. In this sense, the main role of AfPE in PESSCL/ PESSYP was:

In the CPD strand and to deliver CPD through the various agencies, area agencies, regional agencies and to develop resources and the budget was channelled through AfPE to do that because the YST could not have done it without AfPE (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager, 20<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

When the YST built the SSP infrastructure, there were no physical education specialists in primary schools, and for this reason, the YST had been reliant upon the partnership working with AfPE for primary school teacher development. However there seemed to be clear distinctions between the YST's role constructing and implementing PESSCL/PESSYP and the role of AfPE in shaping teacher training programmes as only one part of these strategies (Green, 2008; Hylton & Bramham, 2008). In other words, AfPE's role was undoubtedly limited because AfPE did not become involved in the strategy construction process of PESSCL/ PESSYP.

Despite AfPE's longevity as the leading organisation in physical education (by

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stint of its predecessor organisations BAALPE and PEAUK<sup>33</sup>) the YST came into physical education with a ‘new direction’ related to government policy. Accordingly, AfPE understandably could feel ‘quite threatened by the YST coming along and all the ideas that it was putting forward, the funding that it was receiving and the attention it was getting from the government’ (Lucy, Sport England, Development Manager). When the YST came into the PESS field in terms of creating the SSCs and SSPs, it generated a challenge and competition between PESS organisations. In this regard, we appear to have clear evidence of Goodson’s (1988) claim that various agents and agencies in the recontextualising field struggle over discursive and material resources. In addition, there existed another tension related to the YST’s role as a sport development agency in the ORF and its involvement in physical education. For instance, Jeanette describes how the YST managed and delivered the PESS initiatives:

It was done in a very businesslike way in which things had to be written by a certain date, very quick deadlines, and pushed out. It wasn’t something that we were particularly used to, we were used to a much slower evolution [...] suddenly this new organisation (the YST) came along in which it was bang, bang, bang, all these programmes are there, so it (culture) was quite a difference (Jeanette, AfPE, Senior Manager, 17<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2012).

The YST were working with commercial partners such as Nike where this business-like approach was required. In addition, since the YST functioned as the government’s lead youth sports organisation, they had to demonstrate the effects of PESS initiatives by means of the main official evaluation studies in a relatively short period of time (also see chapter 7). Finally, since the members of the YST came from mainly sports development backgrounds, they worked in quite different ways from the teachers in AfPE. Furthermore, there appeared to be the

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<sup>33</sup> PEAUK can trace its origin to the Ling Association which was formed in 1899 and PEAUK itself was formed in the mid to late 1950s (Kirk, 1992).



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lack of personal exchanges between the organisations. For example, regarding memberships, ‘most teachers were AfPE members but the teachers were never employed by the YST’ (Jeanette, AfPE, Senior Manager).

There appears, then, to have been a disconnection in communication between the YST and AfPE and thus between the ORF and PRF. Marie stresses this disconnection:

It was absolutely outrageous that the YST would not correspond, would not communicate with local authority advisors. The YST was critical of what was being asked of them, asked of the teachers (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager, 20<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

For instance, Marie emphasises that when PESSCL became PESSYP, there was no consultation with the YST’s partners such as Sport England, AfPE, Higher Education institutions and Local Authorities even though the strategy signalled an important new development. In a similar vein, the YST seemed to more tightly and explicitly position schools (and teachers), Local Authorities and physical education associations as passive receivers and supporters for the YST’s mission.

As the dominant sport discourse within the policy field was recontextualised by the powerful players such as the YST from within the ORF, the social and political role of school sport was much more focused than the education voice of PESS in relation to pedagogic (and sometimes critical) concerns from the PRF. In this sense, and as I will note below, particular voices from the PRF were excluded from the policy process, which may have set limits on what could be achieved in and through alternative forms of PESS. The next section examines this subordinated voice on education from the PRF.

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*iv) Subordinated voices on education from the PRF*

The pedagogic concerns expressed by agencies within the PRF are important to implement youth sport policy in school because there is no guaranteed policy that is capable of leading to the acquisition of broader social goals without well-conducted educational programmes including pedagogy processes (Siedentop, 2002; Whitehead, 2013). However, government had considered policy as of extrinsic or instrumental value (Coalter, 2007; Parry, 1998) in relation to achieving a wider social agenda, in contrast to pedagogic concerns centred on the processes of teaching and learning in PESS including content knowledge and knowledge of teachers and learners. In other words, it might be argued, PESSCL/PESSYP offered only a limited range of possibilities for PESS, centred on the contingent articulations of elements of the main physical cultural discourses and, in particular, the dominant sport discourse.

Although a language of ‘education’ was used in policy documents, the term ‘education’ most often implied academic achievement in terms of PESS enhancing performance in academic subjects, based on the argument that the development of young people’s qualities through PESS affects their attitudes to learning (DfES & DCMS, 2003, 2004). In a similar vein, returning to my discussion of the YST’s work on positioning PESS at the centre of the government’s education objectives (i.e. improving academic achievement) in chapter 6.3.1, it could be considered that the YST manipulated the concept of ‘education’ connected with sport-oriented development in order to secure funding from the Department for Education. In this context, there might be the danger of undermining a wide range of educational outcomes such as leaning skills and knowledge embedded within diverse physical activities. For these reasons, as I have noted, the relationship between the ORF and PRF may have been affected by a cacophony of sound in a crowded policy field, in which merging the aims of physical education and sport through PESSCL/PESSYP created the discursive and practical tensions related to the nature and purpose of physical education (Croston,

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2013; Kirk & Gorely, 2000). Related to this point, AfPE, Senior Manager Marie commented:

In terms of the general position of physical education and school sport, PESSCL and PESSYP brought PESS higher up the political agenda. However it was so sport-led and the irony was that it was nearly all paid for from the education budget, it was a sport programme paid for by education basically, because it was sport-led, it didn't align or increase physical education's visibility within education or policy. Physical education is necessary because of its distinctive contributions to education and to children's development, through physical learning, through physical literacy [...] I think that that (sport-led) was the biggest failure of the policy (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager, 20<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

Accordingly, PESSCL/PESSYP appears to fail to serve a range of wider educational interests including the processes of teaching and learning, positive learning environments, and effective teaching strategies to youth developmental and educational benefits (Arnold, 1979; Flintoff, et al., 2006; Siedentop, 2002; Whitehead, 2013).

One of the possibilities for PESS that was undermined or omitted entirely from PESSCL/PESSYP was moral development (Choi, 2010). Of course, as can be seen in chapter 5.5, the powerful rhetoric of linking sport and citizenship had been legitimated within policy documents. The documents indicated that PESS assists all young people to develop and demonstrate the personal qualities including high level of attendance in PESS and good levels of positive behaviour, as a part of whole school improvement (DfES & DCMS, 2003). In addition, the YST also used 'different language' to express PESS as 'learning through physical education and sport' which is the title of a government sport policy in 2003 (DfES & DCMS, 2003). Nevertheless, reference to the development of personal character and moral behaviour like teamwork, fair play, and sportsmanship had been relatively

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excluded to make way for wider concepts of social inclusion and citizenship related to reducing social crime and improving academic achievement (Bailey, 2005, 2008). Accordingly, again, arguably PESSCL /PESSYP did not inform the consideration which enables every young person to reach their potential with respect to moral development through a wide range of pedagogic practice.

All in all, the voice on education from the PRF centred on pedagogic and socially critical concerns was, for all intents and purposes, silent in PESSCL/PESSYP. The experience of young people in physical activities including moral development appeared to be at the margin, and regarding the dominant voices such as the YST and other powerful agents, it can be said that the educational contexts (e.g. the processes of teaching and learning) associated with diverse PESS activities were excluded or ignored by the ORF's power of symbolic control, the meaning-making processes of PESSCL/PESSYP, in terms of articulating selected appropriate discourse to construct and constitute policies and strategies for PESS. In addition, strong insulation between the ORF and PRF, in particular, the absence of an effective PRF, results in 'the limits of legitimate communicative potential' and a reduction in the relative autonomy of the educational system from political control (Bernstein, 1990, p.99).

### **6.5.3 Partnerships and government control**

Returning to my discussion on the partnership working between PESS organisations earlier, the Labour government had encouraged networking in the development of policy (DCMS, 2000; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002). However the process of constructing and implementing PESSCL/PESSYP had been more centrally controlled by the government. In considering my discussion on the dominant position of the YST in this process, PESSCL/PESSYP was created on behalf of PESS-related organisations whilst they had been regulated by the government through the distribution of power and funding. That is, on the surface,

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PESSCL/PESSYP appears to act on dispersing power and responsibility through partnership working (i.e. multi-agency delivery) but this actually provided government with ever more direct and tighter control over the structure and delivery of policy for PESS (also see Grix & Phillpots, 2011; Kirk, 2009; Phillpots et al., 2010). In this sense, the statements in *Game Plan* and *Playing to win*, ‘Government does not run sport’ (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.20) and ‘This is not a top down government agenda, offering sports more freedom and control’ (DCMS, 2008a, p.21) can be questioned. Correspondingly, the government central control over policy-making process adds weight to my claim that the autonomy of PRF had been weakening due to the YST’s dominant role in the ORF during the 2000s. Furthermore, this interpretation of the evidence is consistent with Bernstein’s argument that ‘the state is attempting to weaken the PRF through its ORF, and thus attempting to reduce relative autonomy over the construction of pedagogic discourse and over its social contexts’ (p.33).

Within the hierarchical power structure<sup>34</sup>, again, the YST appeared to have a high degree of control over the construction and implementation of PESSCL/PESSYP, with an asymmetrical power relationship with other partners. Grix and Phillpots (2011) suggest that the ideal type of partnership is that in which each partner can receive impartial information and resources corresponding to their value and goals. However there seems to rarely be interaction and communication for creating cooperation and consensus between the YST and other organisations. That is to say, ‘School Sport Partnership’ only sounds like an ideal-typical partnership in name. Therefore the SSP initiative, and more broadly PESSCL/PESSYP can be seen as a clear signal of the centre’s desire to confirm control over the policy process. Since policy for PESS was directed from the YST supported by the government department as ‘top-down’, there was little room to change their

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<sup>34</sup> One interesting point to note is that the Coalition government criticised SSPs (and previous government’s PE and school sport policy) for their bureaucratic approach so that teachers and school sport coordinators have been focused on top-down targets. They emphasised a decentralisation approach in order to give schools more freedom to organise more competitive school (BBC, 2010b; Kelly, 2010).

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already established agenda (Grix & Phillpots, 2011). Importantly, the YST did not work with other physical education and sport organisations in genuine partnership as I have shown earlier. Indeed, a consequence of focusing on the sport discourse, in particular elite sport development, led to a top down mode of governance, a large majority of time and resources being directed into the schools via the specialist sports colleges without consideration of local context (Griggs & Ward, 2012, p.215).

Furthermore, the way in which the YST used the policy evaluation process reinforced this mode of centralised governance. Ideally, the process of audit and feedback from relatively autonomous groups (e.g. in the PRF) is crucial for the development of policy (Grix & Phillpots, 2011). However Marie (AfPE, Senior Manager) strongly criticised the YST because criticism was never accepted and PESSCL had been tightly monitored by the YST (and government) without the PRF's voices. In other words, instead of listening to critical feedback from the PRF, the monitoring and evaluation work of PESSCL/PESSYP was tightly controlled. I will discuss this issue in detail in chapter 7. Indeed, with respect to the evaluation context, PESS initiatives existed in a strongly controlled sport policy environment by means of resource-dependent relationships through a range of government-imposed funding mechanisms including achievement of PSA targets (Phillpots et al., 2010).

### **6.6 What will be the next steps for the YST under new circumstances?: A return to the start line?**

In October 2010, the Education Secretary announced the decision to cut school sport funding including ring-fenced funding for the SSPs by the end of March 2011<sup>35</sup>. However as the YST was getting closer to government, especially being so

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<sup>35</sup> In December 2010, 'after some vociferous criticism from teachers, sportspersons and the Labour opposition, a revised DfE announcement stated that funding for SSPs is being extended until

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closely aligned with one particular government department (i.e. DfE), they had to take a risk and learn:

a very hard lesson with growing so quickly but being so closely aligned with one particular government, that when government changed, and it was tough for the organisation because we had to make the cuts (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

In this sense, it is worth noting that the YST's difficult dilemma as a 'para-statal' organisation might be that they can receive money from government as the biggest sponsor, but they have to work hard to keep good networks with government and/or rebuild relationships with every new government for obtaining sustainable funding support.

Michael Gove's approach to policy-making and delivery for PESS denied the co-operation work between government departments (Houlihan & Lindsey, 2012). In this regard, within Mr Gove's letter sent to Baroness Campbell (DfE, 2012), the Education Secretary highlighted that the Department's grant funding agreement with the YST (including SSCs) had expired. Furthermore, he noted that there would be no plans to continue to commission the YST. The interesting point here is that Mr Gove's decision might be coming from the close association of the YST with the previous government. Baroness Campbell also commented on the Coalition government's thoughts on the YST:

When this government came in, the new government saw us as the previous government. So you don't like the previous government, you're not going to like us so instead of separating those out and trying to understand who we were, they went "these people (the YST) are just Labour people" so we got put

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August 2011 at a cost of £47m and further a £65m is being provided until 2013 to fund one day a week of secondary school PE teachers' time to be spent out of the intra and inter school competition in primary schools' (Bardens, et al., 2012, p.8). Ironically, the SSPs expired to focus on more competitive sports even though the YST had been emphasising sport discourse centred on competition and elite sport through the SSPs for 12 years.

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over there [...] the lesson we have learned is never to get that close to government again (Baroness Sue Campbell, YST, Chief Executive, 9th Nov, 2012).

This was a disaster for the YST because of losing not only major funding resources, but also their political power in the PESS field. In this sense, the YST was actively excluded from the decision on the funding cut. In addition, Baroness Campbell stressed the tough time of the YST in relation to funding:

At the time two years ago (2010), we were £34m turnover business and overnight we were a £10m business, it was terrifying, so we had to let a lot of staff go and where we are now [...] I wasn't even sure we would survive (Baroness Sue Campbell, YST, Chief Executive, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

After funding was cut to the SSPs, the YST were moving forward again through establishing a membership scheme with schools in order to retain networks of schools across the country. Indeed, the YST tried to build new partnerships with both the DCMS and the Department of Health (DH) after separation from the Gove-led DfE. In other words, the YST changed the focus of policy, from articulation between school sport and elite sport development and citizenship to between school sport and health, in order to obtain funding from the DH. In the wake of their efforts, the YST had a responsibility for delivering 'the school games between 2012 and 2015 and that is about competitive sport and targeted club sport for young people' and they also expected to support a lot of investment from DH (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager).<sup>36</sup> In particular, after the great success of the Olympics and the Paralympics Games in London, the YST were more optimistic about their future because it was 'easier to sell the value of sport based on previous experiences of school sports partnerships' (Baroness Sue

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<sup>36</sup> Change4life Sports Club was launched in 2010. This programme is funded by the DH (investing £8.4 million over four years) and managed by the YST. Change4Life Sports Clubs are a new type of extracurricular sports club, designed to increase physical activity levels in less active children in primary and secondary schools (<http://www.nhs.uk/Change4Life/Pages/sports-clubs.aspx>. Last accessed 10th April, 2013).



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Campbell, YST, Chief Executive).

Nevertheless, the YST's influence on PESS may now be limited. Although they contracted sponsorship with the DH and DCMS in regard to improving health for young people by promoting competitive team games with relatively small amounts of money compared to previous SSPs programme, it appears that it will not be easy for them to connect with governments' support for sustainably in the future. Anne also explains a pessimistic future of the YST because:

I wouldn't see the Youth Sport Trust as being important, Sport England is an important and major player because of the level of funding they get, it is indicative that the YST in the decision to cut funding lost it all pretty much because they were dependent on government funding. Actually if Sport England decided to put a proper youth policy together, then there wouldn't be the need for the YST and if AfPE looked after curriculum PE, like it should do, and had some teeth, the YST isn't necessary. In this sense, DCMS and Sport England are definitely a main organisation for sport, but the YST is a player, not main. They play in the same field but it depends who gives them the ball (Anne, Sport England, Programme Manager, 9<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2011).

In essence, on the one hand, the YST may have less chance to become involved in physical education again due to the fact that they do not have any power for changing the NCPE because it is still mainly supported by AfPE and Higher Education institutions. On the other hand, unlike Sport England, they are not a government quango so all their intentions and even their future might be inevitably dependent on business stakeholders' support and a limited government sponsorship.

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### **6.7 Conclusion**

This chapter examined Baroness Campbell and the YST as the key recontextualising agent and agency of policy for PESS during the 2000s. Through the growing power and influence of the YST in setting and implementing the policy agenda since the mid-1990s, the YST became the leading voice of PESS in the 2000s (DCMS, 2008a; Sport England, 2008).

Drawing on the MS framework, three 'streams' influencing how the YST became a main organisation for PESS were investigated. First and foremost, the YST seized the PESS leadership opportunity created by the relative weakness of both Sport England and AfPE (agency factor). In addition, they positioned PESS at the centre of the government's wider agenda of social inclusion, citizenship, and academic achievement (crisis and value factor). Finally, it could be argued that it was the prominence of Baroness Campbell as the government advisor which allowed the YST to create and sustain a crucial relationship with powerful politicians (agent factor). In this sense, the YST became the main agency in the ORF and they played a role in recontextualising a range of physical cultural discourses which constructed and constituted PESSCL/ PESSYP which in turn created the range of possibilities for the form/s PESS might take in schools. This shaping of the universe of possibilities for PESS to introduce young people to the richness of current physical culture as well as moral development in schools was, arguably, limited due, in part, to the dominant sport discourse embedded within policies and strategies for PESS, and the subordination of education voices from the PRF.

This chapter also found that there existed particular tensions and struggles which arose within the ORF (between the YST and Sport England) and between the ORF and PRF (the YST and AfPE, among others). In particular, I argued following Bernstein that the autonomy of PRF has been manifestly weakening as the consequence of the power and influence of the ORF. Furthermore, agencies within

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the PRF have been excluded from the processes of constructing and implementing PESSCL/PESSYP whilst central government exerted more direct and tighter control over the structure of policy processes. However under the Coalition government's austerity regime, the golden age of the YST has for the moment been curtailed due to losing both huge funding sponsors (DfE) and power to construct and implement strategies such as PESSCL / PESSYP. This raises critical concerns for the sustainable development of policy for PESS in England. It could be asked who will sustain the positive legacy of PESSCL/PESSYP in order to improve PESS without funding support in the future.

In the next chapter I will examine the evaluation process of PESSCL /PESSYP in terms of investigating the main official evaluation studies and other academic research. I will examine 'How' the government monitored the realisation of the pedagogic discourse in school (i.e. the impact of PESSCL/PESSYP) and 'Which' contents of the official evaluation studies were prioritised with 'What' purposes. In addition, silent reflections and voices in the main official evaluation studies will be explored.

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### **EVALUATING THE MAIN OFFICIAL EVALUATION STUDIES:**

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#### **7.1 Introduction**

This final data chapter focuses on the evaluation process of PESSCL/PESSYP through examining evaluation research in view of Bernstein's 'evaluation rules' in the secondary field of the reproduction of knowledge (see 3.4.1). The evaluation rules are embedded in pedagogic practices and are concerned with what counts as a valid realisation of the knowledge on the part of teaching and learning (Bernstein, 1990). Although this study does not investigate the implementation of the instructional discourse (ID) of PESS in itself<sup>37</sup> the chapter does consider 'what counts' as valid 'evidence' of the implementation of PESS in the main official evaluation studies which reflects the social and political interests of powerful players in the recontextualising field, how major evaluation agencies evaluated the realisation of the pedagogic discourse and which voices were excluded in this evaluation process.

Returning to my discussion on the government's evaluation strategy, PESSCL/PESSYP has included monitoring and evaluation activities reflecting government's evidence-based policy making and practice strategy during the 2000s. Combined with the findings from three official evaluation studies (see

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<sup>37</sup> Helen Ives (University of Bedfordshire) is carrying out a companion study with a focus on the ID of PESS. The title of her PhD thesis is 'The Partnership Development Manager, PESSCL/PESSYP and the social construction of physical education'.

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2.5.2), it can be argued that PESSCL/PESSYP has largely been a success in that schools have provided improved opportunities for young people to engage in a wider range of activities within and beyond the curriculum. However the evaluation process and findings are problematic as serious issues can be raised in relation to the trustworthiness of collected data and the somewhat narrow use of evidence. In addition, challenging and critical voices were also excluded from the evaluation process.

It is important to acknowledge that evaluation is a significant part of a policy process which is occupied by ‘interests in social and political processes operating in particular organisational contexts’ (Sanderson, 2003, p. 342). The evaluation of PESSCL/PESSYP took place within the major official evaluation organisations mostly located within the ORF and accordingly, the main official evaluation studies tended to represent a huge ‘success’ of the new policy initiative (i.e. PESSCL and PESSYP) to government, in particular related to increased participation rates and talent development measures. Thus, the main official evaluation studies were inevitably focused on ‘numbers’ rather than practical and critical reflections from academic studies of PESSCL/PESSYP (e.g. see 2.5.3).

This chapter begins by examining the impact of the policy as it is represented in the main official evaluation studies by summarising both the quantitative and qualitative evidence (7.2). Following this, the remainder of this chapter will provide critical perspectives on the reasons these official evaluation studies failed to undertake systematic monitoring and evaluation in view of four factors supported by previous academic studies presented in chapter 2.5.3 (e.g. Edward, 2011; Flintoff, 2003, 2008a; Kirk, 2009; Smith & Leech, 2010): the use of implausible evidence and methodological weaknesses (7.3); absence of a ‘feedback loop’ (i.e. weak connections between evaluation studies and policy-making processes) (7.4); the process of chasing ‘numbers’ and ‘hitting targets’ to satisfy political interests in the ORF (7.5) and; the exclusion of pragmatic, critical and oppositional voices and pedagogical concerns from within the PRF (7.6).

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#### **7.2 The impact of PESSCL and PESSYP<sup>38</sup>**

Considering chapter 2.5.2, overall, three official evaluation studies<sup>39</sup> (i.e. TNS-BMRB, Loughborough Partnership and Ofsted) reported that there had been a positive change brought about in schools by PESSCL and PESSYP centred on the School Sport Partnerships, with pupils across the country benefiting from this. Specifically, the strategies were having a crucial effect on all aspects of provision for PESS, in particular in primary schools (e.g. Ofsted, 2004; 2009; LP, 2005; 2009). In the next section, I will discuss the impact of PESSCL/PESSYP in terms of providing quantitative and qualitative results that the main official evaluation studies reported.

##### **7.2.1 The impact of PESSCL and PESSYP: Quantitative results**

The biggest policy success during the 2000s was achieving the PSA target which indicated the increasing number of young people who spent a minimum of two hours each week participating in PESS. It was claimed that this percentage rose from 75 per cent in 2006 to 85 per cent by 2008. Table 12 is a summary of the seventh in the series of national school sport surveys (i.e. PESS surveys from 2008/09) undertaken by TNS-BMRB. Crucially, in line with increasing participation rates, almost all other measures show considerable progress year by year.

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<sup>38</sup> Since the school sport partnership was the core of the PESSCL and PESSYP strategies in terms of connecting other initiatives such as talent development and club links, evaluation research focused on assessing the impact of the SSPs.

<sup>39</sup> The annual school sport survey ('PE and school sport survey' from 2008/09, I used 'school sport survey' in this thesis) was undertaken by the TNS-BMRB (DfES, 2003, 2004; Quick, 2007; Quick et al., 2008, 2009, 2010). Loughborough Partnership (LP) commissioned the small case study by evaluating the key player of SSPs such as PDMs. Ofsted conducted the small and large scale-sample evaluation mainly by using qualitative methods such as observations and interviews. But the LP and Ofsted also used quantitative findings drawing on the annual PE and school sport survey.

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**Table 12 The main PESSCL and PESSYP findings from annual school sport surveys**

	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09	09/10
Participation in high-quality PESS (2hours)	62%	69%	80%	86%	90%	<sup>40</sup>	-
Curriculum time spent on PE (m)	103	107	111	115	118	121	123
Participation in intra-school competition	22%	25%	71%	58%	66%	69%	78%
Participation in inter-school competition	33%	35%	37%	35%	41%	44%	49%
Provision of sports and activities (n)	14.5	15	16	17	17.5	18.6	19
Club links (n)	5	5	6	7	7.6	8.2	9.1
Pupil participation in clubs (%)	19%	22%	27%	29%	32%	31%	33%
Gifted & Talented pupils	3%	5%	6%	7%	7%	7%	8%
Sports volunteering and leadership	10%	11%	13%	12%	16%	19%	24%

The percentage of youths participating in a minimum of two hours of PESS each week increased year on year from 62 per cent in 2003/04 to 90 per cent in 2007/08, which means the PSA target was exceeded by eleven percentage points in 2006/07 (86 per cent) and five percentage points in 2007/08. In particular, the participation levels in primary schools were where most progress was made. Here it was claimed the numbers increased from about 50 per cent in 2003/04 to 96 per cent in 2007/08. This would suggest that primary schools received particular benefits from the PESSCL/PESSYP, compared with secondary schools.<sup>41</sup> According to these figures the average amount of time given to the physical education curriculum was 103 minutes in 2003/04 and this increased to 213 minutes in

<sup>40</sup> As the launch of PESSYP, the 2008/09 and 2009/10 surveys assessed the percentage of pupils' participation in three hours of high quality PE and out of hours school sport (50 per cent in 2008/09 and 55 per cent 2009/10).

<sup>41</sup> In 2003/04, about 50 per cent of primary school achieved at least 2 hours of PESS whilst secondary schools were at 72 per cent. However, 64 per cent of primary schools achieved at least 3 hours of PESS compared with 46 per cent of secondary schools in 2009/10 (Quick *et al.*, 2010).

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2009/10. The percentage of intra-school competition rose threefold during 7 years. In addition, during the academic year 2009/10, 49 per cent of pupils regularly participated in inter-school competition, an increase of 16 per cent from 2003/04. The provision of sports and activities increased to 19 per cent in 2009/10. These increases supported the government claim that a major impact of the PESSCL/PESSYP was that this widened participation in PE and after-school sport activities (Ofsted, 2009).

In the first survey, regarding an average number of clubs to each school, fewer than 5 clubs were linked to schools in 2003/04, compared with 9.1 in 2009/10. In particular, the proportion of pupils involved in the Gifted and Talented programme increased and more than doubled (3 per cent in 2003/04 and 8 per cent 2009/10) during seven years. In secondary schools (especially, SSCs), talented students had opportunities to receive individual mentoring or additional coaching whilst primary schools provided Gifted and Talented young people with extension programmes such as multi-skills clubs (Ofsted, 2009). Lastly, 24 per cent of pupils participated in sport volunteering and leadership programmes during 2009/10, up from 10 per cent in 2003/04. Schools offered opportunities for young leaders to organise officiate and support sport festivals or out-of-hours clubs (Ofsted, 2005, 2011). In secondary schools, the most prominent outcome was the development of leadership and volunteering opportunities for pupils (e.g. Ofsted, 2006; Quick, et al., 2009, 2010).

#### **7.2.2 The impact of PESSCL and PESSYP: Qualitative results**

Generally, the qualitative results of both Ofsted and the LP's evaluations are positive regarding partnership management, teachers and students' benefits, and school-club linking. First and foremost, in the wake of benefits of the School Sport Partnerships, the profile of physical education as well as an awareness of the subject's value was raised (e.g. Ofsted, 2006, 2009). With respect to



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management and leadership in SSPs, partnerships benefited from enthusiastic and knowledgeable key staff (e.g. PDM, SSCo and PLT), and operated within supportive organisations with good communication (e.g. LP, 2004, 2005; Ofsted, 2005, 2006). The interpersonal relations between key staff were also reported to be broadly very supportive (LP, 2009). Schools and partnership priorities were found by Ofsted to be managed effectively (Ofsted, 2005).

The qualitative findings of the evaluations also presented the impact of PESSCL/PESSYP as generally positive in relation to students' social and personal skills such as behaviour changes, attainment, attendance, attitude and self-esteem. Teaching staff reported improved pupil behaviour and better attitudes towards school (LP, 2004), enhanced skills including study skills, leadership and communication skills (LP, 2008a), and increased attendance among young people (LP, 2009).<sup>42</sup> Moreover, individual schools reported that SSPs helped to motivate young people to engage in PESS and to contribute to their personal development and well-being (Ofsted, 2006). Those positive findings can be a promising sign of raising standards of young people and improving the quality of educational provision (Ofsted, 2004, 2009) although not all the schools provided programmes to suit 'all student's needs and abilities' (Ofsted, 2009, p.6).

The professional development and training opportunities for teachers are argued to have had a positive impact on improving standards of teaching. A wide range of CPD activities promoted collaborative learning among teachers (Armour & Makopoulou, 2008). In addition, there was increased numbers of qualified and active coaches, leaders and officials for high-quality teaching in PESS (LP, 2009). The SSPs had allowed 'subject leaders to impact their colleagues teaching' (Ofsted, 2006, p.3), in particular the quality of teaching in primary schools was said to demonstrate the greatest progress because of considerable support from the School Sport Coordinators (Ofsted, 2004). Furthermore, Primary Link Teachers

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<sup>42</sup> The findings of LP evaluation are based on the self-evaluation of teaching staff. For example, 'over 40 per cent of head teachers believed that SSPs had had a positive impact on school attendance' (LP, 2008a, p.3).

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(PLTs) had a substantial influence in enhancing confidence, knowledge and skills of other primary teachers (LP, 2005).

The links between schools and clubs were pro-active and continued to improve within SSPs, which were reported to be able to offer good quality curricular and extra-curricular provision to young people. Many schools had already developed a substantial connection with local sports clubs as well as sports coaches in the community (Ofsted, 2004, 2005) and SSPs encouraged young people to engage in diverse sports outside of school by improving club links and providing sports experts or coaches (LP, 2009). In addition, links between primary and secondary schools showed improvement, which was facilitated by regular staff meetings for sharing resources and expertise (Ofsted, 2005).

In sum, the TNS-BMRB evaluation centred on quantitative results showed evidence of growth in the proportions of pupils' participation and the expansion of sports offered and school-club links assisted with the development of community sports. Furthermore, bringing the quantitative and qualitative results together, the (positive) key outcomes of PESSCL/PESSYP can be summarised as: increased participation and standards of performance by young people; enhanced out of school hours learning (OSHL), and competition and performance; increased numbers of qualified teachers and coaches; improved motivation of young people; strengthened school-club links; and improvements in attitude, behaviour and attendance in PESS.

Ofsted (2009, p.51) proposed that although the overall impact of the SSPs had been positive, there were 'still challenges' and areas for improvement. One major challenge was the process of evaluation and the findings claimed from these official evaluation studies. First and foremost, the evaluation process and outcomes seemed to be very problematic because the evaluation studies had little plausible evidence and methodological weaknesses.

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#### **7.3 Implausible evidence and methodological weaknesses**

As pointed out previously in chapter 2.5, evidence-based policy making centred on sophisticated and systematic evaluation processes producing robust evidence have been emphasised in sport development policy in the UK because this promotes the government as effective in addressing social problems and achieving the desired outcomes (Bloyce & Smith, 2010; Sanderson, 2003). In addition, the government believed that the ‘evidence base needs to be strengthened to enable policy-makers to make construct and target effective interventions’ by means of using the best available evidence from research (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, p.79). However evidence-based policy-making and implications for PESSCL/PESSYP was viewed as problematic due to the lack of credible evidence and methodological weaknesses (Smith & Leech, 2010), and the weakness of the ‘feedback loop’, that is, the main official evaluation studies were rarely used to inform policy development and implementation (Davies, 1999). Furthermore, the government (and media) reported data relating to more politically interesting targets, e.g. the percentage of participation rates (PSA), to demonstrate their success without seeking any other considerations and critical or practical advice.

Coalter (2007) claimed that there were clear ‘methodological and conceptual weaknesses’ in the evaluation studies. First of all, both TNS-BMRB and LP evaluation studies centred on the school sport survey largely depended on self-report questionnaires completed by major partnership players such as PDMs. These surveys relied on recollection of data in a short space of time without offering relevant empirical evidence and any further investigation or monitoring to support the survey’s findings (Bloyce & Smith, 2010). In a similar vein, Smith and Leech (2010) criticised the evaluation of the PESSCL strategy:

They (partnership workers) had never been asked to provide further evidence in support of the responses they gave to the survey. Thus, despite the emphasis government placed on evidence-based policy, our interviewees did not feel constrained to routinely collect systematic and

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robust evidence of the effectiveness of the programme in individual schools and across the Partnership (p.341).

Hence, partnership agents reporting evaluation findings to an evaluation study were not required to provide any information in detail to clarify the findings or their activities. In addition, Smith and Leech (2010) noted that most partnership workers rarely had the time or capacity to evaluate the quality of PESS initiatives.

Moreover, serious questions were raised about the evaluation questionnaires using ambiguous terms such as ‘high quality physical education and school sport’ (annual school sport survey, TNS-BMRB), ‘attainment’<sup>43</sup> and ‘confidence’ (case studies, LP). For instance, the second question of the national school sport survey was ‘what is the total number of pupils in each year group who participate in at least two hours of high quality of PE and out of hours school sport in a typical week?’ (Quick et al., 2008, p.78). There are no further explanations about the ‘high quality of PE’. It does not seem to be possible to evaluate ‘high quality of PE’ in terms of a quantitative-based survey. Ofsted (2003, p.3) already noted that the quality of provision was ‘often defined in terms of increasing the range of opportunities for teacher and pupils rather than the quality of their experiences’. More importantly, regarding accuracy and credibility of the quantitative survey, there was no further investigation to check the validity of each school response. In this context, there can be some possibility that some schools may use flawed data to increase the perception of their achievement (Edward, 2011).

In the case of the Ofsted evaluation, whilst they focused on representing good practices along with some critical comments, there were inadequate considerations for providing greater understanding of policy intentions and initiatives, for instance, which aspects of PESSCL/PESSYP led to positive outcomes in a particular environment. In addition, they appeared to lack inter-

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<sup>43</sup> LP had used the term ‘attainment’ in order to assess an academic effect of PESS but they revealed a perceived distinction between ‘attainment’ and ‘academic achievement’ (much focus on improved exam results) (LP, 2008a).

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school analysis through a comparison between the activities of individual clusters of schools (Edward, 2011, Flintoff, 2008b).

For these reasons, and notwithstanding the positive findings from evaluation studies, there are some different results from the scholarly research. For instance, some schools had difficulties forming partnerships with other schools (e.g. a particular conflict between school sports coordinator and secondary heads of subject) or just worked in cooperation for inter-school competition (Flintoff, 2003, 2008b). Moreover, talent development initiatives were not provided in some primary schools (Edwards, 2011). In particular, Flintoff et al. (2011) argued that although the PSA target (i.e. 2 hours of PESS) was reported to be successfully achieved in many schools, the targets often restricted school sport coordinators' efforts to 'widen pedagogic practice and introduce a greater range of activities beyond competitive team sports' (p. 348).

Most notably, it may be possible that all three evaluations simply assumed the implicit commonsense logic that increased provision of PESS will inevitably lead to positive social goods, including especially increased self-esteem, the enhancement of educational achievement and decreased anti-social behaviour, since they did not collect credible evidence of these relationships (Coalter, 2007). According to Coalter (2007), this assumption appears to be supported by a government belief that sport is inherently a social good, and as such, a relatively inexpensive way to solve wider social problems. In this sense, evaluation studies needed to provide more plausible evidence beyond a simple linear relationship between policy and strategies and their effects (The World Bank, 2004). Ofsted (2005, p.16) admitted these weakness and they suggested that 'further work was needed' to evaluate the impact of PESSCL on the quality of provision, and pupil standards and their achievement, beyond the assumption that student participation automatically leads to enhancement of their personal and social skills.

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Furthermore, concepts such as ‘attainment’ and ‘confidence’ are not only very complex, but also problematic in terms of collecting meaningful data in relation to the outcomes of PESSCL/PESSYP. LP (2008b) also noted that it is difficult to evaluate a causal relationship between PESS interventions and positive changes in pupil behaviour and attainment including confidence, communication skills and academic effects on other subjects. However despite these warnings from independent academic research and some parts of the official evaluation studies (e.g. Ofsted 2006<sup>44</sup>; LP 2008b, 2008c), the evaluation studies reported that SSPs had had a positive impact on improving students’ behaviour or other positive psychological aspects such as self-esteem and self-confidence.

There was also the lack of connections between evaluation and policy-making through a feedback loop. For the most part, the main official evaluation studies did not appear to inform policy-making, and vice versa, the evaluation studies did not cover the aims of PESSCL/PESSYP especially in relation to youth health promotion. The following section examines the weakness of a ‘feedback loop’ in evaluation processes.

#### **7.4 Absence of a ‘feedback loop’**

Another problematic aspect of the evaluation process is that there was a weak ‘feedback loop’ between the main official evaluation studies and PESSCL/PESSYP (Pawson, 2006). Although *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2000) strongly emphasised the use of robust evidence for further policy development and implementation, the evaluation findings do not seem to have influenced further policy-making. Whilst some evaluation studies such as the evaluations of *Step into Sport* (Kay & Bradbury, 2009), *Gifted and Talented*

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<sup>44</sup> Ofsted (2006, p.18) raised critical questions to seek to answer like ‘how well do learners achieve?’ ‘How good is the overall personal development and well-being of learner?’ ‘How effective is the PESSCL at raising standards and improving the quality of provision in the PESS?’

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(Bailey et al., 2009), and CPD (e.g., Armour & Makopoulou, 2006, 2007, 2008) provided some pragmatic and critical reflections such as uneven distribution of resources in schools and influence of complex social context, however, these evaluation studies did not appear to explicitly or visibly inform policies and strategies for PESS. Regarding this apparent absence of a feedback loop, Dan, LP evaluation researcher, noted that:

I'm not quite sure about it (evidence-based policy) from the YST's perspective (and government) because some of the evaluations that we did for them, I was never convinced that they actually used them particularly much. It sometimes felt to me and other staff who were doing these evaluations with the YST, it felt as though they actually understood it was a requirement to do evaluations but then they didn't feel the evaluations were useful for influencing policy or they just didn't know how to use those evaluation findings (Dan, Institute of Youth Sport, Researcher, 4<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2012).

Accordingly, even some valuable comments in the main official evaluation reports (e.g. Ofsted, 2006) do not appear to have influenced further policy-making. There were no references to the evaluation studies in PESSCL/PESSYP documents. In addition, since the main evaluation studies were mainly centred on quantitative data produced by the school sport survey, perhaps there was no room to utilise this evidence effectively to develop policy. Even though some policy documents made selective use of the positive findings of some evaluation reports, as I note below, what is very clear here is that the policy-making process itself was not evidence-based.

Likewise, the main official evaluation studies were inadequate to cover the major purpose of the policy for PESS (e.g. *Game Plan* (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002) and *Learning through PE and Sport* (DfES & DCMS, 2003)). For example, health enhancement of young people had been one of the main government aims informing these policies but this aim was never systematically evaluated.

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Although Ofsted (2004, p.5) recommended that schools should ‘increase the amount of time given to improving health and fitness’ in their PESS development plan, 2009, this was the first time Ofsted (2009) raised the youth health issue specifically. The LP (2009) also reported that tackling overweight and obesity became one of crucial objectives in the majority of schools. However there was a lack of specific evaluations of the health benefits of PESSCL/PESSYP. For instance, LP (2009, p.3) only reported on the proportion of youth health concerns in the SSP’s objectives, for example: “tackling obesity was a partnership objective in 48 per cent of primary schools” in the School Sport Coordinator survey.

Only some quantitative findings centred on PESS participation rates from the main official evaluation studies were used by some policy documents including *Playing to win* (DCMS, 2008) and *The PE and Sport Strategy for Young People* (Sport England & YST, 2009). Furthermore, alongside the government, the media commentaries also completely focused on achievement of the ‘minimum of two hours (or three hours from 2009)’ as an important ‘target hitting’ policy goal.

### **7.5 Chasing ‘numbers’ and ‘hitting targets’ for political interests in the ORF**

Findings in evaluation reports are not the outcome of ‘a neutral recording function’ according to Rose & Millier (1992, p.185). The evaluation of the PESSYP and its predecessor, the PESSCL strategy, can be characterised by quantitative outcomes. Certainly, as I have already noted, the centralised PSA target setting for PESS was centred on the processes of national monitoring and evaluation in terms of ‘numbers’ such as the percentage of young people participating in two hours of PESS along with a number of activities or the length of time they are taking part in PESS. In this sense, the main official evaluation studies focused more on ‘summative evaluation’ for policy-makers and stakeholders in terms of quantitative data collection for outcome measurement in order to ‘prove’ the benefits of PESS, rather than ‘formative evaluation’ centred on understanding the



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processes of policy practice to improve policy-making (Herman et al., 1987, cited in Houlihan, 2011, p.557).

The ‘numbers’ were used by the official policy documents in order to provide the evidence of ongoing progress as well as successful delivery of government sport policy goals to schools. For example, *Playing to win* (DCMS, 2008a, p.4) demonstrated pervasive evidence of continuing progress from 1997 to 2007 by means of showing an ongoing expansion of provision such as the proportion of young people engaged in 2 hours of PESS (i.e. 86 per cent in 2007) and a number of partnerships/key organisers (i.e. 3000 coaches, 450 SSPs, 90 competitive managers, over 3200 Co-ordinators and over 18,000 primary link teachers). *The PE and Sport Strategy for Young People: A Guide to Delivering the Five Hour Offer* (Sport England & YST, 2009, p.5) also noted that ‘a growing evidence base’ demonstrates the impact of the PESSCL strategy largely because of an increase in the percentage of young people participating in at least two hours of high quality of PESS, rising from 25% in 2002 to 90% in 2008. However, there were no other references within these policy documents to the independent academic research that had addressed PESSCL/PESSYP. Therefore, we might argue that academic studies from the PRF were hardly influencing the policy-making process and indeed may have been ignored by the key recontextualising agencies such as the YST.

Many of the comments in the media also provide some evidence in support of ‘chasing numbers’ in evaluation processes. In *The Telegraph*, the ‘quiet revolution’ was highlighted of the achievement of School Sport Partnerships in aggregated participation data and the number of pupils registered on Gifted and Talented programmes by reference to the findings of the national school sport survey (Davies, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a). *The Guardian* also reported that:

Over the past five years, schools have substantially upped their game. "In 2002, less than 25% of schoolchildren aged between five and 16 were getting two hours of exercise a week," says Sue Campbell, chairperson of

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the Youth Sport Trust (YST). "That figure has now risen to 85% and we're hopeful it will increase still further in the next few years." (Crace, 2008).

Crucially, in the media, these numbers were drawn on by Baroness Campbell and various politicians such as Tessa Jowell in order to present the 'success' of policy for PESS particularly related to young people's health<sup>45</sup> (e.g. Crace, 2008; Davies, 2003, *The Telegraph*) and the successful delivery of the London Games legacy<sup>46</sup> (BBC, 2008a).

Since the main official evaluation studies primarily focused on the PSA target, key partnership players such as PDM, SSCo and PLT were constrained to provide quantitative evidence that showed they were meeting the 'two hours' target (Smith & Leech, 2010, p.343). In this context, the YST's interviewee, Jane stressed the importance of using the quantitative data rather than qualitative data:

When I came into the world of school sport and physical education, we were very good at telling the story of how valuable it is but we never really had any tangible facts, figures and data to show [...] government was not able to see tangible statistics and stories that demonstrate or show the difference that the investment has made, that the programme has made so those evaluation studies are really important to us (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager, 7<sup>th</sup> Nov, 2012).

As a result, the YST demonstrated to government that PESSCL/PESSYP could make a great contribution to its policy agenda (e.g. Sport England & YST, 2009).

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<sup>45</sup> 'In 2002, less than 25 per cent of schoolchildren getting two hours of exercise a week. That figure has now risen to 85 per cent in 2008' says Sue Campbell (Crace, 2008). She used the term 'two hours exercise' instead of 'two hours PESS' in order to demonstrate health benefits from increased participation rates.

<sup>46</sup> "Nine out of 10 children now do at least two hours of PE and sport a week, according to figures being released. The figures are also expected to show a rise in schools' competitive sport, which Children's Secretary Ed Balls hope will form a permanent legacy of the 2012 Olympics." (BBC, 2008a)

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By crunching the politically salient ‘numbers’ from evaluation reports, the YST was able to give the impression that the policy goals were being met and the strategies were working (Houlihan & Green, 2006; Scott, 2000). In other words, as I have shown in chapter 6, the YST needed to be able to demonstrate progress to satisfy stakeholders. The accumulated evidence was vital to secure continuing future investment from government. Correspondingly, partnership schools also were under particular pressure of having to hit targets to receive the ‘next cycle of funding’ (Flintoff et al., 2011, p.345).

Furthermore, the evaluation organisations located within the ORF funded by government were unavoidably under much pressure to meet the needs and demands of policy stakeholders because government wanted to see findings that could be used to display their success within timescales dictated by the political process (Sanderson, 2003; Weiss, 1997). In this regard, it is not surprising the TNS-BMRB and LP were particularly attentive to increased youth participation numbers, in particular, around assessing the extent to which schools achieved the PSA target (Bloyce & Smith, 2010). Kirk (2009, 2010) also raises considerable concerns over the evaluations conducted by TNS-BMRB, LP, Ofsted and YST in the ORF. These evaluation organisations cannot be seen as ‘independent’ evaluation agencies. Rather, they may be under political pressure with respect to supporting particular objectives and interests of the government (Bloyce & Smith, 2010). LP evaluation researcher (i.e. IYS), Dan explained this pressure:

I think any organisation like the Institute of Youth Sport [part of LP] who is doing contract research work, contract evaluations, is under political pressure. There was a feeling, we didn’t or we were not instructed but there was an ethos of we don’t want to make our key funder, our key partner unhappy with what we produced [...] There was always that kind of, some of that was underpinning that relationship between the YST and the IYS while I was there (Dan, Institute of Youth Sport, Researcher, 4<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2012).

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Again, the point of this is clear that there were strong financial links between the government and evaluation organisations, accordingly, the evaluation studies were inevitably focused on ‘eye-catching’ numbers rather than evidence generated about educational benefits and experiences. Accordingly, the main official evaluation studies focused on quantitative measures of improvement rather than ‘the nature and quality of learning experiences being created by the new infrastructure’ (Flintoff, et al., 2011, p. 343).

Hence, the politically favoured ‘numbers’ might mask real, good and bad effects of PESSCL/PESSYP in schools because there may be a danger of missing authentic local voices, especially relating to the social and cultural context of students and schools and pedagogic concerns such as student knowledge, in the evaluation processes. For instance, Flintoff (2008b) argued that while the PESSCL strategy had provided more sporting opportunities for young people according to the official evaluation studies, competitive sport discourse, centred on a narrow range of traditional sports, discouraged ‘a vast majority of girls and those who have been not interested in sport’, to engage in physical activities (p.407).

Again, the main official evaluation studies within the ORF were so closely focused on government’s PSA target. There was very little feasibility of producing meaningful evidence that could facilitate critical reflections and deep insight into the policy process. Moreover, as we noted previously, although there was some independent academic research from the PRF available, these studies were not used in the main official evaluation process. The next section examines the exclusion of PRF’s voices centred on two critical reflections: socio-economic contexts (7.6.1) and pedagogic concerns (7.6.2), which came from the independent academic research in relation to policy for PESS and its evaluation (e.g. Flintoff, 2003, 2008b; Flintoff et al., 2011; Edwards, 2011; Kirk, 2009; Smith & Leech, 2010).

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#### **7.6 The exclusion of pragmatic and critical reflections**

We have noted that the main official evaluation studies showed PESSCL/PESSYP centred on the SSPs had been successful in increasing opportunities for young people to participate in a range of sport and physical activity, and to be more physically active, within and beyond the curriculum (e.g. LP, 2008a; Ofsted, 2011; Quick et al., 2010). However it is important to acknowledge what evaluation studies have excluded, in order to fully understand these government-funded studies (Scott, 2000). Moreover, since the development of policy for PESS is very complicated, unexpected and undesirable findings inevitably occurred (Bloyce & Smith, 2010). In this respect, sport is not '*a priori*' good or bad, but potentially generative of both positive and negative consequences (Bailey, 2005, p.85). Accordingly, evaluation studies needed to consider the implementation processes and policy contexts fully and openly.

Interestingly, in peer reviewed published journal papers, some researchers who were commissioned to undertake the official evaluation studies with the Loughborough Partnership have reported on pragmatic and critical reflections such as the influence of specific social contexts and teachers' learning development. These academic papers were published based on data collected as part of the official evaluation studies. For example, the *Step into Sport* evaluation reported the positive outcomes of developing youth leadership and volunteering in the evaluation report, and also reported this programme may have 'limited capacity to include young people from black and ethnic minorities or from disabled groups and young people from economically disadvantaged backgrounds' (Kay & Bradbury, 2009, p.138). In addition, although a national continuing professional development (CPD) programme was seen as successful by teachers in that it promoted enthusiasm for learning through a broad range of learning activities, Armour & Makopoulou (2012) argued that the CPD programme failed to encourage teachers to develop their learning in practice. It may be that, in contrast to the main evaluation studies, these studies were smaller scale, received

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less funding, were not made publically available, and received little media reporting, thus possibly reducing their impact. Moreover, the main official evaluation studies appear to focus more on a narrow range of objectives by demonstrating ‘best practice’ stories and dramatic progress condensed into a simplified numerical form centred on justifying government investment in PESSCL/PESSYP. That is to say, except for the few evaluation studies mentioned above, the main official evaluation studies did not report plausible outcomes especially in relation to pedagogic concerns such as teachers’ and students’ experiences, and diverse perspectives like unintended outcomes under a range of socio-economic contexts because ‘numbers’ cannot represent differences in the impact across a number of different schools involved in the diverse sport initiatives in various contexts. This omission of explicit concern for pedagogy is significant when we recall that the process of recontextualisation is at root a process of pedagogisation. In other words, we might argue that issues of pedagogy, of curriculum, teaching and learning, were not explicitly articulated by the main recontextualising agents, a matter that is confirmed by their narrow focus on participation rates of pupils and the absence of clear definitions of high quality PESS. Moreover, we might also observe the omission of any theorisation of pedagogy or the use of the substantial body of physical education and sport pedagogy research knowledge that was available to the recontextualising agents in this process of pedagogising physical cultural discourses at the core of policy-making for PESS.

The following sections examine the socio-economic contexts and pedagogic concerns which were mainly absent in the main official evaluation studies largely because the independent academic research that has addressed PESS initiatives did not inform the evaluation studies<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> Although LP (2007, 2008, 2009) used a small number of studies reported in academic journals, these are used to provide evaluation contexts for pupil’s attendance, behaviour and attainment evaluation.

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#### **7.6.1 Socio-economic contexts of students and schools**

Arguably, the main official evaluation studies failed to monitor the important role of socio-economic contexts in influencing educational outcomes. It is significant to acknowledge that sport participation is not an homogeneous experience, but on the contrary different and complex in terms of socio-economic contexts such as gender, family background, locality and social class of students (and teachers and schools) (Bailey, 2005; Harvey et al., 2013; Kirk, 2009). These contexts are crucial in determining the possibility of youth participation in sports and physical activities in and out of school (Kirk, 2009). Accordingly, the main official evaluation studies should be concerned with these socio-economic contexts, for example, considering any significant difference of SSPs impacts between rural schools and urban areas (e.g. Edwards, 2011) and any differences in sport experiences between boys and girls. However the evaluation studies were silent on these contexts.

Although the opening sentence of policy document, *Learning through PE and Sport* noted that ‘all children, whatever their circumstances or abilities, should be able to participate in physical education and sport’ (DfES & DCMS, 2003, p.1), these circumstances were never evaluated through the three official evaluation studies. Moreover, unlike the focus on disadvantaged groups such as girls, disabled pupils and ethnic minorities within the policy documents (DCMS, 2000; DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002), the main official evaluation studies were not very much concerned with the social inclusion issue. For instance, between 2003/04 and 2004/05 the school sport survey included targeting of school-sport opportunities in terms of gender, Gifted and Talented, ethnicity, and special educational needs. However these criteria disappeared in the following years. Furthermore, in consideration of gender concerns, for the first time in 2009/10, the school sport survey collected information separately for males and females although Flintoff (2003, 2008b) already warned there was a significant difference between boys’ and girls’ PESS participation because SSPs did not cater for a

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majority of girls because of competitive sports-oriented provision in schools.<sup>48</sup> Ofsted (2005) also reported that some schools used data effectively for specific groups such as talented pupils or disaffected girls without any further explanations.

With respect to schools' localities, Ofsted (2009) reported the impact of SSCs was varied in terms of a school's size and location. In addition, the annual school sport survey (e.g. Quick et al., 2007) offered the difference of the percentage of participation between urban and rural. However this missed the crucial evidence of the mechanism underlying these differences and any difficulties, challenges and changes of rural/urban schools by means of the introduction of PESSCL/PESSYP. Rather, the evaluation studies only compared participation rates between urban and rural areas with their own definition of towns in term of population; urban areas were settlements with a population of 10,000 or more while rural were smaller settlements (e.g. Quick et al., 2009, 2010).

All in all, attending to and providing detailed analyses of the socio-economic context in evaluation reports would have provided opportunities to consider the particular conditions for PESSCL/PESSYP, which is essential to figuring out the policy effects through PESS. In this regard, Coalter (2007) also gave us a valuable insight into the importance of understanding these contexts for developing policy evaluation:

If research is to inform policy, then it is essential to seek to explore the question of sufficient conditions- which sports, in which conditions, have what effects for which participations. That is, 'What conditions are necessary for sport to have beneficial outcome?' (p.7).

Hence, information on socio-economic contexts is crucial for evidence-based policy making because it provides better understanding of conditions for policy

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<sup>48</sup> TNS-BMRB reported 'differences in participation levels between girls and boys shows that overall boys (58%) are more likely than girls (52%) to take part in at least three hours of PE and school sport. There are small differences in participation levels between girls and boys in Years 1 – 7. However, after Year 7 the gap grows bigger' (Quick et al., 2010, p.2).



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development in the future, which will provide young people from less privileged backgrounds such as working class, ethnic minorities and less physically able pupils with more chances to access the educational benefits of physical activity and sport. From this perspective, theory-based evaluation is needed in that it ‘aims to surface the theoretical underpinnings of the program in advance and use the theories to help structure the evaluation’ (Weiss, 1997, p.510). Theory-based evaluation seeks to describe critical success factors in relation to mechanisms of policy effects through step-by-step and formative evaluation, which allows an understanding of the relationship between socio-economic aspects of PESS in schools (i.e. sequence of causes) and presumed effects of policy (Pawson, 2006; The World Bank, 2004).

There was, then, little consideration of sufficient conditions in the main official evaluation studies, i.e. there was a lack of relevant evaluation about the socio-economic processes and experience in relation to the increased participation of young people. It can be argued that the main official evaluation studies failed to provide any necessary conditions to lead to the development of certain dispositions such as improved educational performance. Along with the exclusion of socio-economic contexts, pedagogic concerns were also absent from the evaluation processes.

#### **7.6.2 Pedagogic concerns from the PRF**

In such instances as the excluded and subordinated ‘voices’ noted in chapter 6, diverse critical considerations are excluded in the evaluation process. Specifically, as I already mentioned, academic research (see 2.5.3) produced in the PRF had little influence on both policy-making and evaluation (Kirk, 2009). There was little possibility of generating valuable evidence through critical reflections and practical advice from the PRF since relevant academic published research was ignored. For example, in policy documents, there were no explicit references,

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particularly in relation to academic research, which examines the PESS initiatives such as School Sport Partnerships. Instead, as we have seen, the politically favoured evidence centred on quantitative measures was dominant. Even the main official evaluation studies were barely acknowledged in policy documents except for the reporting of some key numbers related to the PSA target. Furthermore, we can recall from the discussions on partnerships and government control of PESSCL/PESSYP in chapter 6.5.3, the hierarchical power structure in terms of ‘top down’ mode of governance resulted in a high level of control over the evaluation of PESSCL/PESSYP. In this context, it inevitably led to the use of politically persuasive evidence such as increased participation numbers because this was the best way of presenting their success.

Arguably, except for a few evaluation studies I mentioned above, such as Kay and Bradbury (2009), and Armour and Makopoulou (2008), the main evaluation studies failed to accurately monitor pedagogic concerns and practices, even though the process of recontextualisation is centrally concerned with the pedagogisation of physical cultural discourse. Consequently, independent academic research from the PRF found different results to those reported in some of the main official evaluation studies. For instance, although Ofsted (2006, p.5) reported ‘all the children talked to said they enjoyed physical education and sports, and welcomed the opportunities to take part in inter-school competitions’, the competitive-sport-based form of PESS was dominant in schools which presents a risk of damaging motivation and preventing many young people (especially a majority of girls) from engaging in physical education (Edward, 2011; Flintoff, 2003, 2008b). Furthermore, Flintoff et al. (2011) argued that the ‘two hour target’ may have deterred PE teachers from considering the possibility of developing pedagogical practice that would promote the quality of pupil’s experience, and introducing a wider range of activities beyond competitive team sports (Flintoff et al., 2011). In primary schools, physical education sometimes takes a narrow form

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based on competitive game-oriented lessons run by sport coaches with inadequate subject and personal knowledge (Griggs, 2007; Ward, 2012)<sup>49</sup>.

Nevertheless, these pedagogical reflections centred on teachers' and pupils' experiences through PESSCL/PESSYP did not appear to be deeply considered in the evaluation process. Although Ofsted evaluated the quality of teaching and learning and reported SSPs helped schools improve teaching and learning in physical education, they did not provide information on any pedagogical outcomes. In other words, they did not provide insights into the pedagogical effects of PESSCL/PESSYP in terms of how the strategies (and its strands) had impacted on the quality of teaching including the change in teaching conditions (e.g. opportunities and challenges for their everyday practice) and teaching methods through new PESS provision. In consideration of teaching activities, Ofsted only described good teaching as a clear focus on learning objectives, well-planned use of resources and using Information and Communications Technology (ICT), and they particularly emphasised that teachers had benefited from professional development associated with the PESSCL strategy such as the improvement of primary teacher's subject knowledge in dance and gymnastics.

With respect to pupil learning, the main official evaluation studies reported SSPs made a positive contribution to pupil learning including improving personal development, attainment and positive behaviour (e.g. Ofsted, 2009; LP, 2008a, 2009). However arguably, the evaluation studies viewed pupil achievement and learning as a by-product of increased sporting opportunities centred on the achievement of the 2 hours PESS target and the provision of sport activities (i.e. the quantity of experience). They did not focus on pedagogical issues such as any changes in the quality of pupil experience and learning including their perceptions of new sports provisions through the new structure created by PESSCL/PESSYP. LP (2008b) also proposed that more detailed (evaluation) research was needed to

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<sup>49</sup> Ofsted (2009, p.14) also reported coaches' pedagogical skills tend to be weaker and they do not always teach the full breadth of the physical education National Curriculum.

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find out the nature of the relationships between PESS programmes and changes in pupils' learning experiences.

Thus, the main official evaluation studies, which were conceived and constructed in the recontextualising field and determined the ways in which Bernstein's evaluative rules would be operationalised, tended to regard 'quality' of PESS in terms of 'quantity' of teachers' and students' progress. In a similar vein, interestingly, as I have shown in chapter 6.5.2, there were different interpretations of the meaning of 'quality' between the main official evaluation studies within the ORF and the physical education agencies within the PRF. The AfPE senior manager highlighted these differences:

Quality means inclusion first and foremost but it also means quality of learning and quality of teaching and the difference with the government objectives, that it was nearly all about throughput, it was about the number of children who did a certain number of hours and they talked about 'high quality of physical education and school sport' but nobody ever applied any criteria and whatever criteria were put forward by the Curriculum Development Council and those were still unworked through really, for physical education (Jeanette, AfPE, Senior Manager, 17<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2012).

We might reasonably argue then that the main official evaluation studies were conducted by collecting mostly quantitative data collected through the annual school sport survey without considering pedagogical issues which, we can argue, *should* have been explicit considerations within the recontextualisation process, as the ID was being embedded in the RD. Instead, they understood 'high quality as the increased participation rate' (Marie, AfPE, Senior Manager). Furthermore, the main official evaluation studies were limited in the extent to which these numerical data such as participation figures can help physical education teachers consider the quality of their provision (Flintoff et al., 2011). In line with this, there is a crucial danger of dismissing authentic voices from the teachers as well as

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students regarding youth experience which may be key to determine the quality of PESS (Levermore, 2011). Here Jeanette, AfPE senior manager, summarised the pedagogical concerns on social inclusion and socio-economic contexts such as family background:

Our particular interest though is focusing on the children who are not particularly active, so even if 85 per cent were doing that, our interest is the other 15 per cent, do we know who they are, what are we putting in place, are we working with them and their parents and their family? Are we trying to understand why they're not active? What are we doing for those particular children? (Jeanette, AfPE, Senior Manager, 17<sup>th</sup> Dec, 2012).

In sum, the evidence collected by the main official evaluation studies was limited due to the lack of socio-economic and pedagogical concerns. Accordingly, I suggest that in order to fully understand the impact of PESSCL/PESSYP, the underlying socio-economic context of the school, teachers and students, and the teaching and learning process must be considered.

### **7.7 Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the main official evaluation studies drawing on evaluation rules which are concerned with providing the knowledge to be transmitted and acquired in the school setting. The main official evaluations of PESSCL/PESSYP accordingly played a crucial part in the realisation of pedagogic discourse in schools (Bernstein, 1990).

The main official evaluation studies reported that PESSCL/PESSYP had a substantial positive impact on the range and quality of opportunities for participation by young people, particularly in the primary school. However despite the positive evaluation of the impact of these strategies, the evidence in

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evaluation studies needs to be questioned due to methodological and conceptual weaknesses. Moreover, there was a weak feedback loop between the main official evaluation studies and the policy-making process.

Policy documents and media commentaries selectively used the number-centred evidence without any reference to the independent academic studies or even to the main official evaluation studies. In other words, since the evaluation rules have a strong link with the evaluation organisations positioned within the ORF, since they were constructed by the main recontextualising agents for operationalisation within the secondary context, the main official evaluation had an overwhelming focus on explicit and specific criteria in terms of numbers of youth sport participants in order to meet government's intended outcomes (i.e. the PSA target). In this context, the PRF's voices, including the nature and quality of the educational environment and socio-economic factors which may be the key to achieve policy goals, were excluded and did not inform the evaluation process. Most importantly, this study found that the PRF's voices were mostly excluded from policy documents (see 7.4.2) as well as the main official evaluation studies. On the basis of the evidence available to us, it would appear that the main recontextualising agents, identified and discussed in detail in chapter 6, chose not to make use of the extensive published research literature in physical education and sport pedagogy available to them in the process of pedagogising physical cultural discourse to the effect that pedagogical concerns for teaching, learning and curriculum and their assessment were not explicitly articulated in policy and strategy.

Hence, this chapter would seem to offer evidence that 'recent government head-nodding to evidence-based policy (making and practice) is mere lip service' (Pawson, 2006, p.175). For the sustainable evaluation and monitoring of government policies and strategies for PESS, I suggest that the main official evaluation studies needed to have a capacity for critical reflections from the PRF, beyond simple definitions of outcome by numbers, in order to identify the

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transmission of PESSCL/PESSYP under proper contexts in schools. Singularly, the marginalised concerns of these evaluation studies, such as collecting credible evidence and considering socio-economical contexts and pedagogic concerns will be able to provide plausible mechanisms underpinning the success or failure of educational innovations. Furthermore, these concerns will be able to allow teachers and students to meaningfully interpret PESSCL/PESSYP.

I discussed three data chapters in detail: chapter 5: Five physical cultural discourses constructing and constituting policies and strategies for PESS; chapter 6: Agents and agencies in the recontextualising field: Baroness Sue Campbell and Youth Sport Trust; and chapter 7: Evaluating the main official evaluation studies: inclusion and exclusion of evidences. Building on these findings, I now turn to my conclusion chapter.

# CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

### 8.1 Introduction

Applying a theoretical framework adapted from Basil Bernstein's work on the social construction of pedagogic discourse, the core focus of this thesis has been to examine the social construction of policy for PESS during a decade of change, between 2000 and 2010, which allows us to better understand the complexities and inequalities of policy-making, implementation and evaluation. Particularly, this thesis sought to show research on policy for PESS needs to take account not only of the complex phenomena of physical cultural discourses that construct and constitute policies and strategies, but also of the underlying power relations between agents operating in the ORF and PRF in the field of physical education.

Since this study has been concerned with the construction of policy for PESS rather than PESS itself, it is not possible to say to what extent the universe of possibilities created in policy documents and by PESCCCL/ PESSYP were realised in the practice of PESS in schools. My focus instead has been to examine what that universe of possibilities might be. In this respect, I have highlighted the various physical cultural discourses that have framed these possibilities. In this policy context, within the recontextualising field, I have tried to show how ways of thinking about what PESS might be were constructed and constituted by a limited number of discourses. Arguably, and to give just one example, the discourses of sport, lifelong participation, health and citizenship did little to create the possibility for forms of PESS that were child-centred and concerned principally with creativity in movement. In other words, the policy process created the possibility of some forms of PESS while making other (arguably



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equally legitimate) forms of PESS unthinkable and therefore impossible to implement in practice. Inevitably, at the policy level, even on the rare occasions when pedagogical issues of curriculum, teaching and learning were raised, these could only be expressed in a general way and in abstract rather than concrete terms. Since the recontextualising process, as we have noted elsewhere in this thesis, is at root a process of pedagogisation of non-pedagogic discourses, this absence of explicit concern for pedagogical matters is an issue of major importance. These features of the work done in the recontextualising field delimit what is thinkable and thus possible for PESS. At the same time, we might note that the level of generality characteristic of these documents also leave spaces for agents and agencies to pursue their own agendas. The evaluation studies suggest that schools' exploitation of these gaps varied, particularly in relation to possibilities for PESS that were not explicitly articulated by the dominant physical cultural discourses that constructed and constituted policy and strategy.

This chapter begins by reflecting on the previous chapters of this thesis and specifically addresses the main issues of the study in relation to understanding the social construction of policy for PESS (8.2), in order to discuss the theoretical and empirical contributions of this thesis. Building on this overview of the thesis, my purpose is to consider how the findings discussed have the capacity to inform practice and a future agenda for policy-makers, educators, researchers and teachers. To do this, I will discuss the following issues and questions: what does this study of PESSCL/PESSYP tell us for improving PESS including enhancing health, lifelong participation, and educational benefits for *all* students?; and what are the implications of the asymmetric relationship between agencies within the ORF and PRF for the development of policy and strategies for PESS? Following that, I move on to offer some critical reflections on my research process in terms of methodological issues (8.5), before finally making closing remarks for future research (8.6).

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### **8.2 Social construction of pedagogic discourse in policy for PESS**

Chapter 2 provided an overview of sport policy development in the UK between 1960 and 1997 in terms of examining social and political contexts, overall sport and physical education policy development, and the main organisations contributing to these processes, including the media. In addition, I provided a detailed overview of PESSCL/PESSYP, the two major strategies deriving from policy-development, and evaluation issues associated with the concept of evidence-based policy-making. Chapter 2 suggested that the development of policy for PESS is socially constructed and constituted by a range of discourses within specific social and political contexts and through the struggles between vying groups. This led to questioning ‘what’ physical cultural discourses had informed PESSCL/PESSYP, ‘who’ recontextualised these discourses, ‘how’ these discourses were recontextualised to legitimate particular possibilities for PESS in school settings, and ‘what counts’ as valid evidence of the realisation of policy in the main official evaluation studies.

The theoretical framework used to examine my research questions is Basil Bernstein’s theory of the social construction of pedagogic discourse which I employed in order to better understand the complex processes of policy development (chapter 3). Bernstein’s work enables me to gain an understanding of what kind of physical cultural discourses form the conditions for the production and reproduction of school knowledge, and asks how these discourses are de-located by agencies/agents from the primary field and then re-located for use in the secondary field as versions of PESS. In particular, my focus on the interface between the primary and recontextualising fields, with particular emphasis on the recontextualising process, is a key to illustrating how discourses were reworked and articulated with other discourses within policy documents and media forms such as news reports. The methodology chapter also suggested that the notions of ‘articulation’ (Hall, 1985) and ‘webs of signification’ (Geertz, 1973) are of central importance since the articulation of linguistic elements into a connotative chain within the web-like structure is one of the crucial parts of the recontextualising

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process which provides insights into the complexities of physical cultural discourses constructing and constituting policy for PESS.

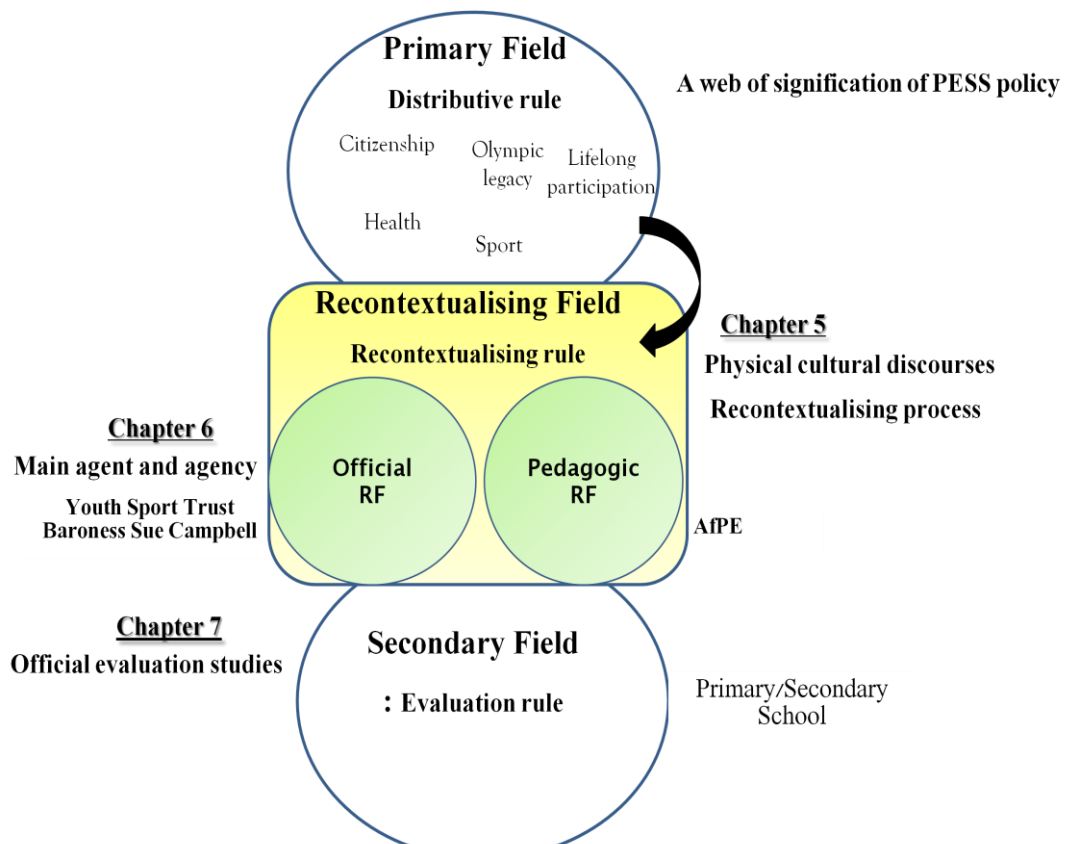
Chapter 4 detailed the qualitative research design (Maxwell, 2005) and research methods. This thesis employed a grounded theory (GT) approach to look at patterns of data from policy documents, newspapers, the main official evaluation studies and interviews. Building on the literature review and consistent with the methodology and method, Figure 15 outlines key structures of findings from the three data-based chapters, all in relation to Bernstein's work on the social construction of pedagogic discourse centred on physical cultural discourses, recontextualising agent/agency, recontextualising process and evaluation of PESSCL/PESSYP. Chapters of 5, 6, and 7 are data-based findings (see Figure 15 below).

Chapter 5 examined the first research question by using policy and media document analysis:

‘A) What are the major physical cultural discourses within the Primary Field of knowledge production that informed policy for PESS between 2000 and 2010? B) And how are the physical cultural discourses reconfigured to construct and constitute policies relating to PESS?’

It was noted in chapter 5 that physical culture is a major aspect of the regulative discourse which constructs and constitutes policy for PESS, which includes discourses of sport, health, citizenship, lifelong participation and Olympic/Paralympic legacy. Chapter 5 showed that PESSCL/PESSYP was complicated since webs of significations were formed by diverse articulations, diverse discourses were informed within policy and media in an irregular way, intertwining and overlapping each other, constructing and constituting PESSCL/PESSYP as a structure-in-dominance.

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**Figure 15** The social construction of pedagogic discourse in the PESSCL and PESSYP

Chapter 5 also argued that a sport discourse centred on competitive sport and talent development was the dominant discourse informing PESSCL/PESSYP, a finding which is consistent with what we already know about sport development in the UK (Croston, 2013; Kirk, 2004). A health discourse was present but relatively marginalised in policy documents while, in contrast, it was most frequently reported in the media. A discourse of citizenship emerged to influence and shapes the PESSCL strategy in the early 2000s. In addition, I argued that as a structure-in-dominance, PESSCL/PESSYP reinforced competitive sport-based conceptions of physical education and created a limited universe of possibilities for PESS, in the process failing to introduce young people to the richness of current physical culture as well as moral development.

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Based on semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis, chapter 6 examined the second research question:

‘Who are the main agents/ agencies within the Recontextualising Field (RF) and what are their roles and interrelationships, including their positionalities in relation to government, i.e. their positioning in the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF) and Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF)?’

This second findings chapter focused on Baroness Sue Campbell and the YST because they have been the most influential recontextualising agent and agency respectively for policy development for PESS during the 2000s. Drawing on the framework of multiple streams (MS), three factors or ‘streams’ were proposed to explain how the YST became the leading voice of PESS: the relative weakness of both Sport England and AfPE (agency factor); the positioning of PESS in the government’s wider agenda (crisis and value factor); and the prominence of Baroness Campbell as the government advisor (agent factor). Moreover, the particular struggles and tensions between the YST and other organisations including Sport England and AfPE were found, and the relative autonomy of the PRF weakened as the power of the ORF increased.

Centred on analysing the main official evaluation reporting along with semi-structured interviews, chapter 7 reported on my investigation of the final research question:

‘How do the main official evaluation studies of these programmes prioritise and legitimise particular aspects of policy and possible forms of physical education and school sport knowledge?’

By evaluating the main official evaluation studies, chapter 7 reported that despite the positive accounts of the implementation of PESSCL/PESSYP, these evaluation studies appeared to be problematic because of the use of implausible evidence and methodological weaknesses, the absence of a feedback loop, the process of

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chasing numbers to hit targets for political interests in the ORF, and the exclusion of critical reflections including socio-economic contexts of students/schools and pedagogical concerns from the PRF. Furthermore, the connection between policy-making and evaluation was arguably weak. In this regard, I concluded that the main official evaluation process seems far from evidence-based policy making.

The following sections (8.3 and 8.4) discuss some implications of these main findings of this thesis.

### **8.3 What does this study of PESSCL/PESSYP tell us for improving PESS including enhancing health, lifelong participation, and educational benefits for *all* students?**

As discussed in chapter 2, with the increasing salience of youth sport policy for government in the 2000s, PESSCL/PESSYP emerged as significant youth sport strategies in England in terms of government investment and political involvement in PESS. On the one hand, PESSCL/PESSYP had a positive impact on increasing the quantity of pupils' participation and the expansion of sports offered in schools as I have shown in chapter 8.2. However, on the other hand, as discussed in chapter 5, PESSCL/PESSYP appeared to reinforce competitive sports-oriented practices in schools while education voices from the PRF which offered alternative practices, were marginalised.

Hence, a crucial question for physical educators to consider, beyond the increased quantity of participation reported by official evaluation studies, is 'what does PESSCL/PESSYP tell us for improving PESS including enhancing health, lifelong participation, and educational benefits for *all* students?' In the following sections, I will try to answer this question by reviewing key findings of this thesis: the dominant sport discourse centred on competitive (team) sport and talent development embedded within PESSCL/PESSYP (chapter 5); and the activities of YST as the main recontextualising agency from within the ORF in chapter 6.

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### **8.3.1 The influence of dominant sport discourse in school physical education**

It has been argued that sport can serve a range of worthwhile educational purposes such as learning team work and improving movement competence (Bailey, 2005). In this context, sport has been a prominent feature of the historical evolution of physical education curricula in terms of extending the boundary of physical education and achieving curricular objectives (Kirk, 2010). However a problem lies in over-emphasis on competitive sport in schools. Some researchers have claimed that physical education has failed to serve as adequate preparation for young people to pursue a healthy lifestyle because of the repetitive learning of sport techniques associated with dominant traditional team games that are not reflective of their needs of the wider forms of activities for lifelong participation (Kirk & Macdonald, 1999; Kirk, 1992b, 2010). In line with this point, it can be argued that PESSCL/PESSYP do not compensate for competitive sport-oriented physical education because sport discourse centred on competitive sport and talent development is, as I showed in chapter 5, still the most dominant and pervasive discourse informing PESSCL/ PESSYP, albeit articulated in complex ways with other subordinate discourses of health, citizenship, and lifelong participation.

Crucially, as discussed in chapter 5, the intention of this sport discourse-oriented policy for PESS is arguably incompatible with other possibilities for PESS. Siedentop (2002) claimed that there has been an inevitable tension between three goals of youth sport policy in terms of financial resources and political support; public health goals; educational goals; and, elite-development goals. Over-emphasis of the elite development goal for sport necessarily means relatively decreased support for the other goals. In other words, the privileging of sport discourse inevitably reduces the possibilities of PESS to realise health improvement, social inclusion (e.g. girls' participation in PESS, see Oliver et al. 2009), and citizenship in schools. As the obvious evidence for this claim, I argued that health discourse was often marginalised or subsumed into other competitive activities within PESSCL/PESSYP. Both strategies did not suggest any specific programme in relation to health promotion, despite the prominence of a health

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discourse in the media. In addition, recreational activities also appear to have suffered marginalisation throughout the strategies although these activities have the potential to promote health enhancement for young people. Furthermore, the overemphasis on competitive sport detracts from the goal of lifelong participation because the vast majority of adults do not take part regularly in competitive team sports (i.e. disconnection between school sport experience and adults' physical activities) and more importantly, empirical research on these strategies reported that the form of sport-based practice deprives many children, especially girls and low ability-level boys, of opportunities to be physically active (Edwards, 2011; Flintoff, 2003, 2008a, 2008b; Griggs, 2007; Ward, 2007). In this sense, although contemporary physical culture discourses have constructed and constituted PESSCL/PESSYP, the possibilities for PESS to introduce young people to the richness of current physical culture appears, as I have already suggested, to be limited.

As the dominant sport discourse was constructed and constituted within policy by the powerful agencies from within the ORF, in particular the YST, the social and political role of school sport was much more prominent and increasingly so as the decade from 2000 advanced, than the education voice of PESS in relation to curriculum and pedagogical concerns from the PRF.

### **8.3.2 A new era for 'Sport' not for 'Education'**

Returning to my discussion in chapter 6.3.2, the YST positioned itself to fit the government agenda. While early in the decade the agenda included a range of social goods such as social inclusion, the measure of 'success' of PESSCL and increasingly with PESSYP, became the achievement of the PSA and the percentage of young people participating in 'high quality' PESS. Academic research also reported the majority of activities offered by the SSPs were inter-school events and coaching schemes largely including competitive sporting team games (Edwards, 2011; Flintoff, 2008b). In this way, the YST strengthened the



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dominance of sport as a means for defining PESS. In other words, it can be argued that the YST led policy toward a new era for ‘sport’ not for ‘education’ in schools.

The educational effects and benefits set out in policy documents and expressed in the PESSCL/PESSYP strategies were ambivalent. It is not clear, for example, *how* young people learn through sport. The policy documents appear to be silent on this point, possibly due to the lack of consideration of what conditions related to the teaching and learning process are necessary for PESS to have the social and educational benefits that the government claimed it wanted to achieve (Bailey, 2008; Coalter, 2007). Likewise, the YST drew on many of sport’s benefits such as reducing crime and raising educational standards in order to persuade civil servants and ministers and to ‘sell sport to schools’ (Jane, YST, Senior Development Manager), while appearing to pay less attention to pedagogic concerns including student learning and teachers’ PESS content knowledge. In this sense, it can be argued that the YST (and government) seems to have held a belief in sport, as an act of faith, that these positive outcomes would be generated *naturally* from increased participation in PESS (Bailey, 2005; Coalter, 2007; Kirk, 1992b). In addition, on the side of government, sport had been regarded as offering potentially relatively cheap solutions to the problems that were identified by wider agendas, such as social inequality and exclusion (Coalter, 2007).

In this context, the YST seems to have focused on demonstrating the benefits of school sport (competitive sport) rather than the educational value and teaching-learning process of physical education. In this vein, AfPE, Senior Manager Marie emphasised that ‘the sport-led youth policy was the biggest failure of PESSCL/PESSYP’ as I showed in chapter 6. Accordingly, PESSCL/PESSYP appeared to be seriously limited to achieve broader physical educational aims such as students’ learning including physical literacy, knowledge and understanding of health, and learning to value the physically active life (Haerens et al., 2011).

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All in all, the YST placed PESS in a particular relationship to sport, that is, they selected and organised sport discourse connected to government's wider goals in the recontextualising field, which had an influence on shaping the construction of knowledge in PESS, at least in terms of what might be possible in PESS (Bernstein, 1990, 1996). However although the emphasis on sport discourse within PESSCL/PESSYP explicitly expressed by terminology change (from 'physical education' to 'physical education and school sport' (see chapter 7.4.1) increased the profile of physical education as well as awareness of the subject's value (Ofsted, 2006, 2009), it appeared that the YST ultimately failed to exert sufficient influence to realise a range of educational benefits in relation to the processes of teaching and learning, positive learning environments, and effective teaching strategies to achieve youth educational outcomes (Flintoff, et al., 2006; Siedentop, 2002; Whitehead, 2013).

### **8.4 What are the implications of the asymmetric relationship between agencies within the ORF and PRF for the development of policy and strategies for PESS?**

This thesis has discussed PESSCL/PESSYP and the main agents/agencies who made and delivered these strategies during the 2000s. In particular, chapter 6 demonstrated that there were particular tensions and struggles between vying groups, in the case of this study, within the ORF (e.g. the YST and Sport England) and between the ORF and PRF (e.g. the YST and AfPE). In the next sections I discuss the relative autonomy of the PRF (8.4.1) and communication between the ORF and PRF in the process of policy-making and evaluation (8.4.2) to explore the implications for improving policy processes for PESS in the future.

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### 8.4.1 The ORF rises while the PRF shrinks: reducing the relative autonomy of the PRF and marginalising critical voices

It is crucial to comprehend the power balance between the ORF and PRF to understand the relative autonomy of the PRF which generates greater space for recontextualising processes (Morais & Neves, 2001). The extent of autonomy of the PRF makes a contribution to achieve educational reform and improvement because the PRF groups, in particular the teacher's authoritative voice where it is represented in the recontextualising field, is connected with the local context of implementation and specialised knowledge of teachers, students, and schools (Kirk & Macdonald, 1999).

Apple (2002) suggested that the existence of a PRF as well as the unofficial elements within the ORF means that the state can never completely monopolise the policy production process, and that it provides the relative autonomy necessary for schools "to create a new social order" (p.613). However Bernstein warned about the asymmetric relationship in terms of reducing autonomy of the PRF in the UK as I showed in chapter 6:

If the PRF can have an effect on pedagogic discourse independently of the ORF, then there is both some autonomy and struggle over pedagogic discourse and its practices. But if there is only the ORF, then there is no autonomy. Today, the state is attempting to weaken the PRF through its ORF, and thus attempting to reduce relative autonomy over the construction of pedagogic discourse and over its social contexts (Bernstein, 1990, p.33).

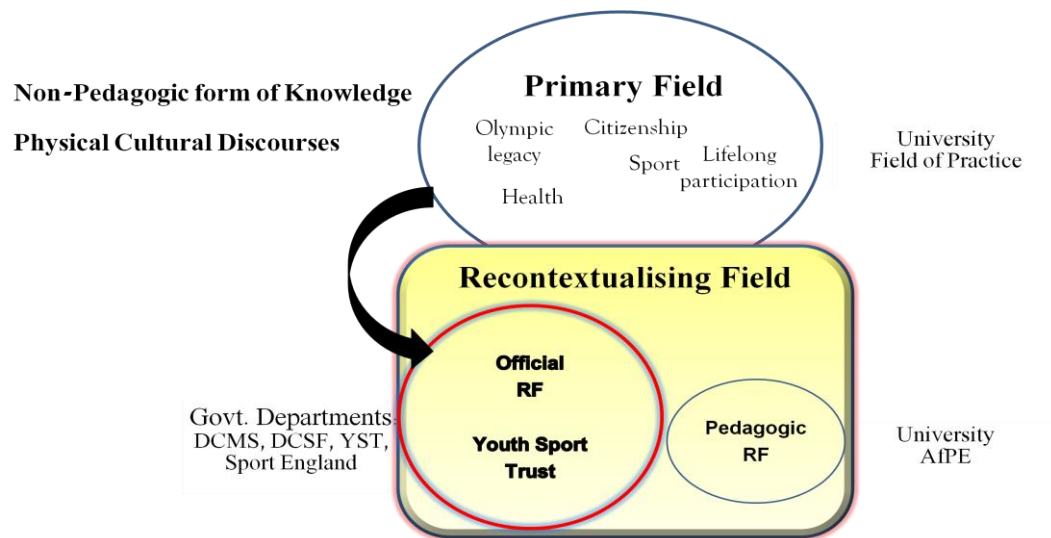
In a situation where the ORF is the only recontextualising field, the PRF and its agencies such as teacher professional associations and universities will be tightly controlled by the government (MacPhail, 2001). I have shown that voices from the PRF were excluded from policy-making (see 6.4 and 7.4.2) and evaluation (see 8.6.2). Moreover, regarding the construction of the School Sports Alliance<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The School Sport Alliance, comprising the DfE, DCMS, the YST and Sport England and the

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in 2000, the PRF groups including physical education departments in universities and physical education professional organisations such as PEAUK and BAALPE remained marginal to policymaking for PESS.



**Figure 16 The ORF rises while the PRF shrinks: weakening the relative autonomy of universities and teacher professional association from within the PRF**

Penny and Evans (1999) criticised the marginalised role of educators in the process of creating the NCPE. Once again, in the case of PESSCL/PESSYP, agents from universities and schools, located within the PRF, were by and large excluded from creating and implementing policy for PESS. For example, AfPE, Senior Manager Marie emphasised that ‘the biggest failure of AfPE is that it was coming from a relatively powerless position, right from the start and it is a huge regret.’

As can be seen in Figure 16, the autonomy of the physical education professional associations was weakened by reducing their significance and political interests (e.g. achieving the government agenda by using ‘sport’), while the ORF was more directly focused on the discourses of sport during the 2000s. Organisations such

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distribution board for the New Opportunities Fund, was established in November 2000 to bring together the key stakeholders for the development of partnerships, the encouragement to seek community benefit of school-based projects and the establishment of pathway for talent development at the centre of the implementation PESS strategy (DCMS, 2000, p.11).

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as AfPE effectively marginalised themselves in this process by their continuing insistence that ‘physical education’ and ‘sport’ were incompatible and that their only concern was with physical education. Agencies within the ORF such as the YST connected directly with the government’s political aims, whereas agencies in the PRF such as AfPE were slow to recognise that they needed to also do this if they were to influence the policy process. As discussed in chapter 7.4.2, diverse oppositional and critical voices, particularly emanating from the PRF, to the dominant articulation of policy such as pyramid sport development and healthism, were silent due to the ORF’s control of PESSCL/PESSYP, which limited the achievement of other possibilities for PESS. In this regard, physical education professional groups maintained their autonomy from policy in order to promote alternative forms of physical education that could support all pupils in fulfilling educational objectives, but at a cost. Crucially, there is the need for forms of communication between the ORF and PRF, which allows agencies within the PRF to be involved in policy-making and evaluation and express critical and pedagogical concerns without losing their autonomy.

### **8.4.2 Communication between the ORF and PRF in the process of policy-making and evaluation**

There is an urgent need for promoting communication between policy makers (normally from within the ORF) and agents and agencies within the PRF, in order to achieve effective policy implementation in all stages of the ‘policy cycle-in-shaping agendas, in defining issues, in identifying options, in making choices of action, in delivering them and in monitoring their impact and outcome’ (Solesbury, 2001, p.8). To build a strong policy cycle through communication, policy-makers would need to be prepared to accept criticism of policy intentions and strategies just as agencies in the PRF would need to be prepared to work within government agendas. This thesis has already argued that there are different meanings and purposes of PESS between the ORF and PRF, that is, the YST in the former is

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concerned with the role of sport for meeting government goals by articulating aspects of sport within diverse agendas whilst the AfPE in the latter is concerned with the process of learning and teaching centred on pedagogic practice and broad educational benefits. However, where policy and media has brought the aims of physical education and sport together, a merging of aims can add to the practical tensions about the status of the two in schools (Kirk, 2004; Evan, 2004). Policy slippage is inevitable due to the mixed messages that policy-makers send through policy for PESS which leads to confusion in schools (Griggs, 2007; Penney & Evans, 1999). Accordingly, policy-makers need to take an approach that acknowledges the inevitability of slippage, and to build this into their strategies, including acknowledging the importance of the local context of implementation (Kirk and Macdonald, 2001). Moreover, while sport covers a range of physical activities in a competitive setting, physical education is more concerned with the process of learning and teaching in relation to understanding sport skills required for lifelong participation, knowledge of pupil's own body and valuable education benefits including moral value, social skills and aesthetic judgement (Bailey, 2005; Whitehead, 2013). Of course, competitive sport can provide the foundation both for lifelong participation and education benefits, but it appeals to only a limited number of students. Furthermore, sport itself cannot achieve other possibilities of physical culture including health and citizenship automatically without specific programmes in relation to integrating sport and education contexts (Coalter, 2007; Kirk, 2010). In this sense, for sustainable policy development, policy for the physical education field should focus on how to build robust communities of practice where critique is viewed as constructive and evidence is used respectfully to inform policy debate.

With respect to evaluation studies, the process of audit and feedback from relatively autonomous agencies is crucial for the development of policy for PESS (Grix & Phillpots, 2011). However as discussed in chapter 7, since PESS initiatives existed in a strongly controlled sport policy environment by means of resource-dependent relationships through a range of government-imposed funding

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mechanisms, there was no place to share ideas and inform further policy development under open circumstances, accepting the PRF voices and other critical considerations such as socio-economic factors. Accordingly, the main official evaluation studies were limited in the extent to which they might show how quantitative data can help physical education teachers consider the quality of their provision, since policy evaluation deprioritised authentic voices from the teachers as well as students regarding youth experience (Flintoff et al., 2011; Levermore, 2011).

In consideration of improving policy evaluation processes, Weiss (1997) and Pawson (2006) proposed theory-based evaluation which provides the possibilities for a partnership between policy-makers and researchers to examine the logic of policy and consider more deeply the programmes they provide. Theory-based evaluation offers an in-depth understanding of policy through providing a framework for thinking about how the policy is working, beyond 'data extraction and number crunching' (Pawson, 2006, p.78). According to Coalter (2007), a theory-based approach to evaluation offers an opportunity to 'close the distance between academic research and policy-makers' (p.168) and an 'open-door policy on evidence' (p.176). To do this, the PRF needs to continue to build and develop practical and pedagogical knowledge in order to offer theory for the development of policy-making and its evaluation, such as for example a models-based approach to physical education (e.g., Siedentop, 1994; Haerens et al., 2011). All in all, the theory for monitoring and evaluation provides not only the improved coherence in policy but also the chance to better communicate between the ORF and PRF. Related to the 'theory-based' approach, I will discuss the PRF's knowledge for the next part of my research in section 8.6.

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### **8.5 Reflections on the research process**

In this section, I wish to reflect on my doctoral journey centred on the research process and a number of challenges which were of major significance in this thesis.

Prior to beginning my doctoral study I was working on studying physical education and teacher education. My Masters' research explored a physical education teacher's behaviours through participant observation in one secondary school in Korea. I was interested in exploring physical education teachers' pedagogical practices based on educational and philosophical approaches to physical education. In other words, I focused on specific teaching strategies and learning processes within local contexts for improving physical education in schools. In this sense, the biggest challenge in this doctoral study was that I had to understand my academic transition from philosophy (and education) theory to sociology (and policy) theory and from micro to macro approaches to physical education.

The other challenge in this project was obtaining permission from the core interviewees for my research. Of course, even though I already expected that it would be difficult to interview them, I was surprised at just how difficult it was for me to gain access to them. Although some of my interviewees participated in my research through my supervisors' individual connections, I had to ask others several times. The majority of them did not reply or ignored my interview proposal.

As I have previously explained in chapter 1, throughout this thesis, I had a desire to see the complexities of policy and power relation between agents/agencies in the PESS policy arena drawing on Basil Bernstein's work on the social construction of pedagogic discourse. My focus on the interface between the primary and recontextualising fields provided a framework for better analysis of the social construction of policy for PESS in terms of framing of the examination of the development and mediation of PESSCL/PESSYP in view of physical



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culture discourses reworked by agents /agencies. However, there are certain limits to explore the complicated relation between discourses and within discourse because the structure of physical culture discourses is arguably much more complex than other school subjects (e.g. Math) knowledge. Accordingly, I drew on the notion of ‘webs of signification’ (Geertz, 1973) and ‘articulation’ (Hall, 1985) to describe the complex interactions of discourses constructing and constituting PESSCL/PESSYP and to examine the dominant articulations of elements of discourses. In addition, in consideration of the work of the ORF and PRF, it can be argued that this thesis raises questions around the indisputable boundary between the ORF and PRF because the Youth Sport Trust as an independent organisation made the transition between these two sub-fields as I have shown in chapter 6.

Looking back upon my journey, it has been a very rough adventure for me due to numerous challenges particularly from language skills and cultural differences. Moreover, huge amounts of data from policy documents, media reports, evaluation reports, and interviews were big challenges as I grappled with improving my knowledge and understanding of different resources. However thanks to my two supervisors and critical friends, I could work through all difficulties on my journey. I regard my doctoral journey as having added strength and diversity of my future research in physical education and school sport.

### **8.6 Closing remarks and recommendations for the future research**

There is no essence of policy for PESS in the sense of something immutable and relatively timeless. Policy is socially constructed and as such it has constantly evolved and developed over time by political, commercial and strategic forces (Kirk, 2010). We have witnessed that although the interest and investment in policy has never been so strong in relation to a range of government agendas such as citizenship, health enhancement and elite sport success, PESSCL/PESSYP nevertheless and arguably failed to improve the quality of PESS for many young

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people in the UK during the 2000s. In addition, PESSCL/PESSYP was informed by a dominant sport discourse while a range of educational voices were marginalised, in this sense, the policy failed to reform multi-sport activity-oriented physical education practice in order to meet the imperative of current physical culture. It is a matter of serious concern that there was an opportunity for innovation through the huge investment in public money, while arguably there has been no change day-to-day practice of physical education and sport in schools. The matter of major concern is that if government finds cheaper and more effective ways to enhance health and citizenship, they will not want to invest funding in PESS anymore, exactly as the Coalition government has done by cutting funding PESS initiatives in 2010. Accordingly, we must not lose sight of the powerful discourses produced in the primary field that will continue to be appropriated by agents/agencies in the recontextualising field, which have an impact on shaping forms of policy and practice in physical education and sport.

Furthermore, we need to explore in detail forms of PESS in schools in order to achieve alignment in the school practices with current forms of physical culture beyond sport (Kirk, 2010; Griggs & Ward, 2012), which can be a foundation for physical educators to clarify the contribution of PESS to the educational goals of schools and to other social goals. In this regard, for the next study, I need to explore in further depth the processes of how to maximise the possibilities of realising quality PESS in order for young people to learn citizenship, fostering health improvement and facilitating lifelong participation in physical activities. Moreover, building on the findings of this thesis, the next stage of my future research will focus on the interface between the recontextualising field and secondary field in order to integrate three fields of knowledge production, recontextualising and reproduction for better understanding of the effects of policy on improving the quality of PESS in schools.

In consideration of the PRF's knowledge, it can be argued that there are two important issues in my future research. First, the PRF needs to develop knowledge in particular ways to realise specific outcomes including enhancing health and

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facilitating lifelong participation in physical activities for young people. For instance, researchers would investigate and develop a health-related model explicitly to facilitate youth health beyond healthism through the purposeful content of activities in terms of specific teaching strategies with alignment of subject matter and its learning outcomes. Specifically, pedagogical models such as Sport Education<sup>51</sup>, Teaching Games For Understanding (Bunker & Thorpe, 1982) and Hanaro Teaching (Choi, 2010) can clarify a set of unique learning outcomes in relation to educational and cultural values with appropriate subject matter and teaching strategies to form the basis of programmes in schools (Kirk, 2010). The pedagogical knowledge also can inform the evaluation process particularly in relation to theory-based evaluation and practice. Accordingly, I will be concerned with how the PRF's knowledge develops in the context of the development of policy in relation to models-based physical education.

In line with this above point, diverse forms of teacher learning communities are needed for exploration to understand the role of the PRF in relation to policy-making and evaluation through developing PESS knowledge and theory as well as promoting effective communication with the ORF. In this sense, I will examine a range of types of learning community supported through inter/intra professional collaboration, especially provided by universities, and the power of communities for legitimating of the PRF's voices within policy making and practice. Last but not least, we need to focus more on the process of transforming and reconstructing pedagogic knowledge through teachers' adaptation of physical cultural discourses embedded in policy to their local contexts of everyday practice. Moreover, alongside urging realistic ways to promote communication within the PRF, there is an urgent need for understating of the possibilities of teachers to be involved in policy-making process, and realising innovative pedagogic knowledge in schools, which contribute to building the PRF's voice stronger.

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<sup>51</sup>Siedontop (1994, 2002) has developed Sport Education as a pedagogical model of realising both the educative and health aims of PESS while pursuing the elite development goal constructively.

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## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX 1. Sample Invitation Letter



**Hyun-woo Jung**

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11<sup>th</sup> October 2012

Dear

I am a third year PhD student studying physical education and sport pedagogy at the University of Bedfordshire. I am writing to invite you to participate in my PhD study provisionally titled 'The Social Construction of Sport Policy in Physical Education and School Sport: PESSCL and PESSYP'. I am very interested in the work of agencies involved in the development of physical education and school sport policy and would appreciate any experience and thoughts you could share with me on this important process.

I hope you might be willing to participate in an interview of no more than 1 hour's duration, at a time and location that is convenient for you.

If you are willing to participate in an interview I will send you my questions in advance. The interview would be recorded and transcribed. The transcription will be returned to you for correction and approval. The data you provide will of course be treated as highly confidential and will be seen only by myself and my supervisors, Professor David Kirk and Dr Stacey Pope. (You are welcome to



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contact my Director of Studies, Professor Kirk, if you require any further information about your participation in the study, at David.Kirk@beds.ac.uk and 07545423409). The transcript will be stored securely in accordance with standard ethical requirements of the University of Bedfordshire.

I do hope very much that you will agree to be interviewed and you can suggest a time and location that suits you. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

Yours Sincerely,  
Hyun-woo Jung

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### APPENDIX 2. Informed Consent



#### **The social construction of pedagogic discourse in physical education and school sport policy during a decade of change, 2000-2010**

##### **CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS**

**Principal investigator:** Hyun-woo Jung

**Research Group:** Prof David Kirk, Dr Stacey Pope

**Interview Date:**

**Research Institution:** Institute for Sport and Physical Activity Research, University of Bedfordshire

**Email:** hyunwoo.jung@beds.ac.uk, c14365@hotmail.com

**Telephone:** 07863 870329

You are being invited to take part in a doctoral research. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being conducted and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for taking the time to read this information letter.

##### **What is the purpose of the study?**

The primary aim of this study is, focusing on the decade from 2000 to 2010 in particular, to search for evidence of public discourse from documents, identify key agencies in the recontextualising field and investigate programmes and the main official evaluation studies within physical education and school sport context.

##### **Why have I been chosen?**

You have been chosen to participate in this research as you are one of members who involved agencies such as Youth Sport Trust, DCMS, and Sport England or its programmes after 2000 in the UK.

##### **What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

Research about what you gave the information, its interpretation would assist in understanding not only the past England sport policy linked to physical education and school sport, but also the future of physical education strategies such as

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PESSCL/PESSYP in terms of identifying main discourses embodying in school sport policy with documentary analysis. In addition, your comments will be great helpful to figure out the struggle, conflict, and contestation among vying group in sport policy-making and delivery.

### **Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?**

All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Any information about you will have your name removed so that you cannot be recognized from it. The recording of interview will be stored electronically on a secure university computer and you will be check the qualitative data, discuss with our research group to use your data in my Ph.D thesis.

### **What will happen to the results of the research study?**

Data will be presented in Hyunwoo Jung doctoral dissertation or at conference and you will be asked to attend a conference or be provided with a short report detailing the main finding of the study. To reiterate, you will not be identified in any report/publication.

### **Who do I contact in case I have any questions or require further information about the research?**

If you have any questions of require further information please contact the Principal Investigator, Hyunwoo Jung, who details were provided at the top of this information letter.

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Signature of Participant

Date

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### APPENDIX 3. Sample Interview Questions

**The main focus of the interview is the role of the Youth Sport Trust in the development of the SSCs and SSPs, PESSCL and PESSYP.**

*Can you tell me the development of YST (or SE, AfPE) and your role within YST (or SE, AfPE)?*

**The Youth Sport Trust (YST) has played a leading role in the development of Specialist Sports Colleges and then the School Sport Partnerships.**

*Can you tell me how the YST originally became involved in these developments (SSC and SSP)?*

*How did the YST's role change over time?*

*What challenges did the YST face, initially and then over time?*

*What was the YST's role in the development of PESSCL and PESSYP?*

**The YST has always worked in and valued partnerships.**

*Who have been the YST's key partners?*

*How have these partnerships changed over time?*

*Besides the YST, who have been the key players (people, organisations) in the development of the SSPs?*

**PESSCL & PESSYP had been evaluated and monitored by several organizations including TNS-BMRB, Ofsted and Loughborough Partnership.**

*How these evaluation researches had effect on the sport policy development?*

*What future do you see for physical education and school sport?*

*What future do you see for physical education and school sport?*

*And what future do you see the role of YST for the development of youth sport?*

*Is there anything you want to talk?*

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### APPENDIX 4. Dominant Discourses embedded within main sport policy documents

- Appendix 4-1 A Sporting Future for All (DCMS, 2000)

Discourse	Data (Samples)	Contents
Sport: talent development	<p>It is in school where most of us get our first chance to try sport. It is here that children <b>discover their talent and their potential</b>. They need the chance to try a variety of sports, to see which they enjoy most. They need high quality teaching of basic skills. They need opportunities to compete at a level in line with where <b>their ability has developed</b>. They need clear pathways into taking part at club and national levels, with the right coaching and the right support at every stage (p.2).</p> <p>We set out here our plans to create sporting opportunities for all - to create pathways of success for those who have the <b>talent and the desire to rise to the top</b> (p.3).</p>	Forward by the Prime Minister (Tony Blair)
Sport: talent development	<b>2.3</b> We will create a network based on Specialist Sports Colleges, which will have an explicit <b>focus on elite sport</b> (p.8).	Sport in Education
Sport: talent development	<b>4.3</b> Too often these individuals have thrived despite of the system or relied on a chance encounter with an exceptional coach. We need to learn the lessons of our competitor nations and <b>have the most professional system for talent development and support of excellence</b> (p.15).	Sporting Excellence
Sport: Participation and talent development	<b>12.2</b> We have always believed that the drive to encourage wide participation in sport and the drive to achieve excellence at the highest levels are necessarily part of the same package. Without a broad base of participation we will not draw out the most talented stars of the future (p.55).	Conclusion
Sport: talent development  Social Inclusion	<p><b>1</b> The Government has the highest aspirations for sport in this country. Our aims are clear. We want to see:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-more <b>people of all ages and all social groups taking part</b> in sport</li> <li>-more success for our <b>top competitors and teams in international competition</b> (p.5)</li> </ul>	Introduction
Citizenship: Personal and social development and academic achievement	<p><b>2.1</b> Physical education and sport are a fundamental part of the education of all young people. Participation is important in itself, but it can also help to <b>develop important values like discipline, team work, creativity and responsibility</b> (p.7).</p> <p><b>2.4</b> We know that excellent physical education and school sport are a key part of an effective school. <b>Sporting achievement and academic standards go hand in hand</b>. We aim to reverse the decline of physical education and sport in schools and improve the quality of provision to all young people (p.8)</p>	Sport in Education
Social Inclusion	<b>3</b> We will work to extend opportunities beyond the school day by encouraging schools to provide a range of after school activities for <b>all pupils whatever their age or ability</b> (p.31).	Sport in Education

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<b>Social Inclusion</b>	<b>8.16</b> Sport can make a unique contribution to tackling <b>social exclusion</b> in our society (p.39).	Sport in the Community
<b>Lifelong participation</b>	<b>3.1</b> Sport does <b>not stop at the school gate</b> . It's our most <b>popular leisure activity</b> - with almost half of all adults taking part every week in a huge range of activities, from walking to hockey, football to swimming (p.11).	Sport in the Community

- **Appendix 4-2 Game Plan (DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002)**

Discourse	Data (Samples)	Contents
<b>Sport:</b> talent development	<p><b>5.30</b> Logically, the first step to increasing the quantity of high performance athletes is to <b>widen the base of participation</b>. It proposes an integrated approach with sports governing bodies leading talent development efforts, but in a much more systematic way, with greater co-ordination between clubs and schools (p 123).</p> <p><b>5.33</b> A number of NGBs and sports council programmes are taking steps to address this, and in <b>particular an aim of the Physical Education School Sport and Clubs link strategy</b> is to build school-club links (p.124).</p>	Enhancing international success
<b>Sport:</b> competition	We've already <b>put hundreds of school sport co-ordinators in place up and down the country to rebuild our shattered structure of competitive school sport</b> (p.8).	Forward by Tessa Jowell (DCMS)
<b>Health</b>	<p>This report focus on the importance of increasing grassroots participation for health benefits, estimating that physical inactivity currently costs the nation at least £2bn a year (or 54,000 lives lost prematurely).</p> <p>Sport and physical activity can help the Government achieve key objectives. Crucially, it can help us tackle serious health issues (p.6).</p> <p><b>2.155</b> Therefore, government would most benefit from focusing on increasing levels of physical activity across the population to improve health. In addition, sport and physical activity in schools should remain a priority to improve health and physical literacy and engender lifelong participation (p.79).</p> <p><b>4.5</b> The Government's overall objective is to increase the participation levels of <i>all</i> people, to ensure that society generally achieves <b>the minimum levels of physical activity necessary for maintaining health</b> (p.89).</p>	<p>Forward by the Prime Minister (Tony Blair)</p> <p>Forward by Tessa Jowell</p> <p>Why do we care: benefits and the role of government</p> <p>Where do we want to be: a vision for sport and physical activity in 2020</p>
<b>Sport:</b> talent development <b>Health</b>	<p><b>2.</b> We conclude that government should set itself two overarching objectives</p> <p>- a major increase in participation in sport and physical activity, primarily because of the <b>significant health benefits and to</b></p>	Executive Summary

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	<p><b>reduce the growing costs of inactivity.</b></p> <p>-a sustainable improvement in success in <b>international competition</b>, particularly in the sports which matter most to the public, primarily because of the “<b>feelgood factor</b>” associated with winning (p.12, p.82).</p> <p><b>3.7</b> Within this overall vision, the long-term goals of creating a sport and physical activity culture, and <b>winning on the international stage</b>, should be the main priorities (p.83).</p>	<p>Where do we want to be: a vision for sport and physical activity in 2020</p>
<p><b>Sport:</b> talent development</p> <p><b>Social Inclusion</b></p>	<p>Given this justification of government’s role, our long term vision for sport and physical activity by 2020 is: “<i>to increase significantly levels of sport and physical activity, particularly among disadvantaged groups; and to achieve sustained levels of success in international competition</i>”. The message is simple: get <b>more people doing more and increase our success rate in top level</b> competition (15).</p>	<p>Executive Summary</p>
<p><b>Olympic Legacy</b></p>	<p>2.104 There are, of course, other potential sporting effects of hosting mega events related to their effect on mass participation and international success (p.69).</p> <p>2.129 There is <b>little evidence that hosting events</b> has a significant influence on participation (p.75).</p> <p>6.1 <b>Major events</b> have recently been an area of concern for the Government (p.149).</p>	<p>Forward by Tessa Jowell (DCMS)</p> <p>Improving the approach to mega events and major facilities</p>
<p><b>Citizenship:</b> Personal and social development</p>	<p>Sport helps to improve all round educational performance, to build confidence, leadership and teamwork in our young people, to combat social exclusion, reduce crime and build stronger communities (p.7).</p>	<p>Why do we care: benefits and the role of government</p>
<p><b>Lifelong participation</b></p>	<p>We have to tackle the large drop-off in the numbers of people playing sport once they leave full-time education. Young people find it hard to continue their interests. That is why forging links between schools and local clubs is a central responsibility of School Sport Co-ordinators (p.8).</p> <p><b>Inadequate school-sports club links.</b> This is particularly important for the problem of post school drop-out from sports participation (p.77).</p> <p><b>4.28</b> Sport and physical activity for young people is not simply the domain of schools. Clearly clubs, governing bodies and local authorities, as well as peers, parents and health professionals play a critical role in reaching into educational establishments to encourage and offer the structures for <b>continued participation</b> (p.95)</p>	<p>Forward by Tessa Jowell (DCMS)</p> <p>Why do we care: benefits and the role of government</p> <p>Developing our sports and physical activity culture</p>

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- **Appendix 4-3 Learning through PE and Sport (DfES & DCMS ,2003)**

Discourse	Data (Samples)	Contents
<p><b>Citizenship:</b> Personal development and academic achievement</p> <p><b>Health</b></p> <p><b>Sport:</b> talent development</p>	<p>2. PE and sport in schools, both within and beyond the curriculum, can improve:</p> <p>- <b>Pupil concentration, commitment and self-esteem</b>; leading to higher attendance and better behaviour and attainment;</p> <p>-fitness levels; active children are <b>less likely to be obese and more likely to pursue sporting activities</b> as adults, thereby reducing the likelihood of coronary heart disease, diabetes and some forms of cancer;</p> <p>- success in international competition by ensuring talented young sports people have a <b>clear pathway to elite sport and competition</b> whatever their circumstances (p.1).</p>	Introduction
<p><b>Citizenship:</b> Personal and social development and academic achievement</p>	<p><b>11.</b> When PE and school sport provision is of the highest quality, all young people will, to the best of their abilities, develop and demonstrate the following <b>personal qualities</b>:</p> <p>-High levels of dedication, attendance and involvement in PE and school sport</p> <p>-High levels of commitment to PE and school sport</p> <p>- Good levels of positive behaviour such as politeness, fair play and helpfulness (p.4)</p> <p><b>12.</b> Developing these personal qualities affects young people's attitudes to school and learning. This has a positive impact on the whole school and can lead to <b>whole school improvement</b> (p.4).</p> <p><b>27.</b> Step into Sport will ensure that local clubs are geared up to receive, develop and deploy a steady supply of new volunteers. <b>The programme has clear links to citizenship</b> (p.11).</p> <p><b>30. PE and school sport can be used as a tool for whole school improvement, particularly in terms of attendance, behaviour management and attainment</b> enhance cross-phase continuity to improve pupils' progress in order to support a whole school approach to <b>improvement and raising standards</b> (p.12).</p>	<p>What is high quality PE and school sport?</p> <p>Step into Sport</p> <p>Professional Development</p>



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- **Appendix 4.4 Playing to Win (DCMS, 2008)**

Discourse	Data (Samples)	Contents
<p><b>Sport:</b> talent development and competition</p>	<p>It sets out a vision for sport to 2012 and beyond. It suggests a shared goal to unite around <b>-maximising English sporting success</b> by expanding the pool of talent in all sports. In short, more coaching and more competitive sport for all young people (p.1).</p> <p>Sport's power to captivate is unlocked in the thrill and drama of competition. I want people of all backgrounds and ability levels to experience the joy and friendship that competitive sport brings. My aim is clear and simple - to create a healthy 'playing to win' culture in English sport by <b>creating competitive opportunities for all</b> (p.2).</p> <p>Our ambition is simple – we want to become a truly world leading sporting nation. Our vision is to give more people of all ages the opportunity to participate in high quality competitive sport (p.3).</p>	<p>Forward by Andy Burnham (DCMS)</p>
<p><b>Olympic Legacy</b></p>	<p>Everyone involved in the running of sport in this country has a responsibility to translate our Olympic host nation status into a legacy for generations to come (p.3).</p> <p>This (the three bodies lead on their respective areas, new delivery plan and PESSYP) is all part of increasing the pool of talent to ensure we have the very best athletes coming through across all our major sports who can <b>inspire a next generation of talent</b> through success <b>at the 2012 Olympic Games and Paralympic Games</b> (p.6).</p>	<p>Forward by Andy Burnham (DCMS) Where are we now? The Sporting landscape</p>

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### APPENDIX 5. High Quality PE and Sport (DfES & DCMS, 2004)

When schools and sports clubs are providing high quality PE and sport, they see young people who:

1. Are committed to PE and sport and make them a central part of their lives both in and out of school.

2. Know and understand what they are trying to achieve and how to go about doing it.

**3. Understand that PE and sport are an important part of a healthy, active lifestyle.**

4. Have the confidence to get involved in PE and sport.

5. Have the skills and control that they need to take part in PE and sport.

6. Willingly take part in a range of competitive, creative and challenge-type activities, both as individuals and as part of a team or group.

7. Think about what they are doing and make appropriate decisions for themselves.

8. Show a desire to improve and achieve in relation to their own abilities.

9. Have the stamina, suppleness and strength to keep going.

10. Enjoy PE, school and community sport.

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### APPENDIX 6. Coding in the policy documents and media in relation to main discourses

Discourse	Policy (reference)	Media (reference)
Sport	88	544
Health	64	719
Citizenship	43	127
Olympic Legacy	19	130
Lifelong Participation	17	23

- Policy coding

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Sport(D)	11	88	07/06/2012 11:54	HW,J	20/06/2012 13:34	HW,J
Health (D)	13	64	07/06/2012 11:54	HW,J	20/06/2012 13:34	HW,J
Citizenship (D)	10	43	07/06/2012 11:54	HW,J	20/06/2012 12:37	HW,J
ETC(D)	7	32	07/06/2012 11:54	HW,J	20/06/2012 12:37	HW,J
Olympic Legacy (D)	5	19	07/06/2012 11:54	HW,J	20/06/2012 13:30	HW,J
Lifelong Participat & Leisure (D)	5	17	07/06/2012 11:54	HW,J	19/06/2012 17:32	HW,J

- Media coding

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Health	302	719	22/03/2012 19:42	HW,J	14/06/2012 16:35	HW,J
Sport	269	544	22/03/2012 19:42	HW,J	14/06/2012 16:35	HW,J
Olympic Legacy	71	130	22/03/2012 19:42	HW,J	14/06/2012 16:35	HW,J
Citizenship	85	127	23/03/2012 20:26	HW,J	20/07/2013 18:42	HW,J
Lifelong Participation & Leisure	20	23	22/03/2012 19:43	HW,J	11/06/2012 16:23	HW,J

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### APPENDIX 7. Dominant Discourses embedded within media

- Appendix 7 -1. Sport Discourse

Theme	Content (samples)	Media (year)
<b>School sport (PE) crisis</b>	School sport a ' <b>top priority</b> ' "Sports bodies, schools and local authorities must do more to encourage children to get into sport. "We should be aiming to provide youngsters with at least two hours or more of sport a week."	BBC (1999)
	<b>Fewer young people are taking part in sport</b> despite millions of pounds spent on sports programmes and facilities and attempts by the government to make it part of the school curriculum.	The Guardian (2003)
	Almost half of Britain's schoolchildren do <b>not play competitive sport against other children</b> in their school, say Government researchers. Only 58 per cent of schools organise competitive matches for youngsters, while just over a third of pupils play competitively against other schools.	The Telegraph (2007)
<b>Competition (benefits)</b>	<b>Goal for competitive school sports:</b> Earlier this year, the government announced that 600 co-ordinators would be appointed to revive the tradition of inter-school matches.	BBC (1999)
	EVERY school in the country is to be encouraged to hold a <b>Sports Day in a dramatic attempt to reverse the decline in competitive sports</b> . Culture and Sport Secretary Tessa Jowell is to mobilise up to 1,000 co-ordinators across the country to re-establish Sports Day as a fixture of every state school calendar.	Daily Mail (2002)
	Competitive sport is a "good thing" for pupils because it teaches teamwork and commitment, Education Secretary Charles Clarke has said. ' <b>Competition is essential</b> '.	BBC (2003)
	Ms Jowell has said that Labour's next election manifesto should include a commitment to make all state schools offer team sports, partly because she believes that <b>children should learn how to win and lose in competitive games</b> .	The Telegraph (2004)
<b>Talent development (elite sport)</b>	The Government wants to see a <b>renaissance in competitive sport</b> at school to help us spot the <b>talent of the future</b> . The new network of sports co-ordinators will help make that happen.	Daily Mail (1999)
	Beyond school, we need to invest in our clubs and coaches to ensure that gifted young people know exactly what they have to do to get to the very top. <b>Talent development is a key</b> .	The Telegraph (2000)
	Getting children interested in sports early on is vital if we are to nurture the <b>future Olympic champions</b> of tomorrow.	The Guardian (2004)
	I think there will be a renewal but it may well be true that the lack of investment in school sport has decreased the numbers. If you've got fewer ten-year-olds actually doing sport then <b>your talent pool is smaller</b> .	Daily Mail (2004)
	Mr Hunt said: 'I want to give a real boost to <b>competitive sport in schools using the power of hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games to encourage young people</b> - whatever age or ability - to take part in this new competition.'	Daily Mail (2010)

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### • Appendix 7 - 2. Health Discourse

Theme	Content (samples)	Media (year)
<b>Physical Inactivity and Obesity</b>	A primary school teacher did a survey of her pupils and discovered that were it not for the sport undertaken at school, a number of the children would receive <b>no exercise</b> at all. They don't even walk to school.	The Telegraph (2001)
	Children lead <b>more sedentary lifestyles</b> because they are less likely to walk to school than in the past. They do less sport at school and are more likely to come home and play with a computer or watch TV than be told to play outside.	Daily Mail (2002)
	Mr Almond said there <b>could be a link between rising childhood obesity and cuts in PE at school</b> in England.	BBC (2003)
<b>Obesity Epidemic</b> (Health crisis)	Two statistics stood out: <b>the rate of obesity is rising faster in the United Kingdom than in the rest of Western Europe</b> and the average primary school commitment to physical education is less than 90 minutes per week.	The Telegraph (2002)
	<b>Obesity</b> , is serious. It kills 34,000 people a year in Britain and costs the economy in England pounds 2.6 billion a year, estimated to rise to pounds 3.6 billion by 2010.	The Telegraph (2003)
	The number of obese children in this country has grown with frightening speed - it has trebled over the past 20 years. There has been speculation that this will be the <b>first generation to die before their parents</b> , because of childhood obesity.	The Guardian (2005)
	BRITAIN is in the grip of an <b>obesity epidemic</b> . The number of overweight youngsters has doubled in ten years. /Scientists claim there is an epidemic of 'mini-couch potatoes' at risk of <b>chronic health problems</b> in later life. /The Foresight report calculated that the <b>health time-bomb</b> will cost the country an <b>extra GBP45 billion</b> a year by 2050 -related healthcare problems is added to the cost of treating them.	Daily Mail (2007)
<b>Government intervention and Active lifestyle</b>	School sport scheme could <b>make fat boys slim</b> . Some partnerships were also starting to address concerns about pupil fitness by offering daily "huff and puff" activity sessions before classes each day. / The government's plan for addressing public health calls for more action to combat child obesity.	BBC (2004)
	Schools involved in the <b>school sport partnership programme</b> , launched in 2000 and billed as a key element in government <b>efforts to tackle childhood obesity</b> . /The government has promised a £1.5bn investment to improve PE and school sport over the next five years in a bid to <b>cut child obesity levels</b> , which have risen steadily over the past 20 years.	The Guardian (2004)
	The primary role of school sport is to <b>encourage children to adopt a healthy and active lifestyle beyond the school gates</b> .	BBC (2005)
	Olympic champions such as Denise Lewis, javelin thrower Tessa Sanderson and cyclist Jason Queally are among 75 athletes who have written to the prime minister demanding a rethink of an "ill-conceived" policy they claim will <b>damage children's health</b> .	The Guardian (2010)

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### • Appendix 7 - 3. Citizenship Discourse

Theme	Content (samples)	Media (year)
<b>Personal and social development</b>	We will pass on <b>leadership skills through sport</b> , develop <b>confidence-building</b> and give practical advice on nutrition, child protection and how to run sports events and festivals.	The Telegraph (2001)
	I am adamant that what counts more than anything in sport is good <b>behaviour and attitude</b> . That to us is an integral part of our ethos. There is no doubt the powers schools had, rightly or wrongly, to install discipline, have been taken away, emasculating educationalists. Everything comes down to the character and personality of teachers today.	The Telegraph (2005)
	It's about the fact that everyday participation in <b>sport</b> gives children <b>self-esteem raises confidence levels</b> and <b>reduces anti-social behaviour</b> . It provides them with grounding in leadership, teamwork, or the simple benefits of working up a sweat. Not that Gove looks like he knows anything about that.	Daily Mail (2010)
<b>Crime reduction</b>	Sport is also a key weapon in our fight against <b>school exclusion, crime and drugs</b> . In providing many more people, particularly in disadvantaged areas, with the opportunity to engage in a range of physical activities, we can help build a <b>more inclusive</b> and healthier society. / High participation in sports tended to have lower truancy rates and less bad behaviour.	BBC (2001)
	Tony Blair's Downing Street crime seminar reiterated that <b>sport</b> was one of the <b>important ways of helping young people to break the cycle of crime</b> .	The Guardian (2002)
	There is mounting evidence that targeted community <b>sports programmes can cut crime</b> and, equally important, provide potential offenders with stronger motivation and more positive things to do with their time.	The Telegraph (2003)
	The research, examining sports specialist colleges, suggests that there could be a positive impact on <b>self-esteem and behaviour</b> . There is a logical link between pupils having better feelings about themselves that may well <b>translate into less anti-social behaviour</b> . / Sport 'improves boys' behaviour'. Specialist sports colleges could help <b>tackle anti-social behaviour among teenage boys</b> , a report suggests.	BBC (2004)
<b>Academic achievement</b>	There is a link between physical activity and <b>improved learning</b> - youngsters who take part in sport perform better academically, as highlighted in the Ofsted report, Specialist Sports Colleges.	The Guardian (2000)
	It's so important to find something that develops self-esteem. <b>Competitive sport teaches teamwork</b> ; it also teaches self-discipline. They have to learn to structure their day, and the experience of coping with a heavy sporting commitment <b>helps them manage their studies</b> .	The Telegraph (2002)

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### • Appendix 7 - 4. Olympic Legacy Discourse

Theme	Content (samples)	Media (year)
<b>PESS (initiatives) leading to Olympic legacy</b>	The government's PE strategy, launched in 2002, aims to boost sport for young people through a variety of schemes, including more training for teachers and "School sport partnership", where 450 partnerships have been set up linking specialist sports colleges with secondary, primary and special schools. Children's Secretary Ed Balls said: "We have made massive progress in the last few years and laid a firm foundation for a <b>permanent 2012 Olympic legacy</b> ."	BBC (2008)
	In the build-up to the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, the UK School Games <b>offer a fantastic opportunity for our leading school-aged athletes to compete</b> against the very best in their sport and to get vital early experience of an elite multi-sport event environment	BBC (2009)
<b>Olympic legacy Inspire young people</b>	Ministers and head teachers are hoping the run-up to the games in 2012 and the new facilities built for them will be <b>an inspiration to youngsters</b> . London's bid for the games had emphasised that they would leave a <b>lasting legacy for young people</b> .	BBC (2005)
	Lord Coe has said " <b>Legacy</b> is central to 2012" and that "increased participation in <b>sport</b> and improved public facilities are at the heart of the <b>Olympic</b> project"	The Telegraph (2006)
	Of all the grand ambitions attached to the 2012 Olympics, the worthiest is the commitment to <b>inspire future generations</b> of children into sport and an indolent nation into activity.	The Guardian (2008)
	The Government made five key pledges for the <b>legacy of the 2012 Olympic Games</b> . One of those, in the Games blueprint, was a long-term aim " <b>to inspire a generation of young people</b> ". / The key pledge that won London the right to host the 2012 Olympics was our commitment to use the Games to <b>inspire a generation of young people through sport</b>	The Telegraph (2009)
<b>Olympic legacy effects (PESS, elite sport, health and citizenship)</b>	<b>London 2012 is a benchmark for a lot of people to achieve sporting success</b> , and there are many junior international sports people now who will be household names in 2012. Besides those individuals, we need to inspire the rest of that generation to be the best they can, carrying the Olympic spirit on to 2016 and 2020.	The telegraph (2006)
	Our Olympic and Paralympic heroes in Beijing were an inspiration to millions of young people. We now have the structure in place so that those who want to get into competitive sport can. As we look to London 2012 we want to get even more children playing sport and <b>uncover more talent to become our Olympians and Paralympians of tomorrow</b> .	The Guardian (2008)
	British sprinter is hopeful that the <b>London Olympics will inspire youngsters to overcome obesity epidemic</b> .	The Telegraph (2008)
	Mr Hunt said: 'I want to give a real boost to competitive sport in schools using the power of <b>hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games to encourage young people</b> - whatever age or ability - to take part in this new competition. ' Sport - whether you win or lose - teaches young people great lessons for life.	Daily Mail (2010)

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- **Appendix 7 - 5. Lifelong Participation Discourse**

Theme	Content (samples)	Media (year)
<b>Lifelong participation</b>	That's why we given a commitment of two hours quality PE or sport for every child from five to 16 every week. We are also looking at the other serious part, which is 70% of our young people when they leave school <b>don't continue in active sport.</b>	BBC (2002)
	Giving children the chance to try out <b>different sports</b> which they enjoy is the only way to allow sport to <b>become a habit for life.</b>	The Guardian (2004)
	These results confirm that we are well on our way to creating and maintaining a sustainable pathway for all children and young people - no matter what sport they enjoy - to guide them from primary school into <b>a lifetime of involvement in sport.</b>	The Guardian (2005)
	In fact, we have one of the sharpest <b>drop-off rates</b> between the ages of 6-11 and 20-24, and one of the lowest adult sporting participation rates, in Europe. Don Foster, the Liberal Democrat spokesman for culture, media and sport, added: "The evidence is that whatever we are doing in school, it is not turning enough youngsters onto sport so that they grow up to be active adults."	BBC (2005)
<b>Lifelong participation and health</b>	Now promoting health is becoming a big priority for the government again, <b>which can only be a good thing, but we do need more time and more money if pupils are going to have the opportunity to leave school with the interest that they should.</b>	The Guardian (2003)
	Our model is not necessarily about producing elite sportsmen and women. It is more about encouraging <b>a lifelong interest in sport, promoting a healthy lifestyle and raising achievement.</b>	Daily Mail (2004)



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### APPENDIX 8. The key recontextualising agents (and agencies) within PESSCL/PESSYP and Media, and examples of their comments

- **Appendix 8-1. The Primary Ministers (Tony Blair and Gordon Brown)**

#### **Tony Blair (1997-2007)**

8.1.1 Sport matter [...] it is in school where most of us get our first chance to try sport. It is here that children discover their talent and their potential. They need the chance to try a variety of sports, to see which they enjoy most [...] they need clear pathways into taking part at club and national levels, with the right coaching and the right support every stage [...] we need to see new thinking and new action about ways to improve sport in our country. We want to see everyone given a better sporting future [...] sport matter (**A *Sporting Future for All*, DCMS, 2000, Foreword by the Prime Minister**).

8.1.2 There are millions of people in this country who are passionate about sport- I am one of them, both as a player and as a fan. But the value of sport goes beyond personal enjoyment and fulfillment. Sport is a powerful and often under-used tool that can help Government to achieve a number of ambitious goals. [...] the future is bright [...] we have prioritized young people, and committed ourselves to ensuring that, by 2005, at least 75% of children will have to chance to participate in two hours of high quality sport and PE every week (***Game Plan*, DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, Foreword by the Prime Minister**).

8.1.3 Tony Blair say that ‘sport is also a key weapon in our fight against school exclusion, crime and drugs, giving thousands of young people the chance to choose a positive, healthy lifestyle (BBC, 2001).

8.1.4 Tony Blair set out a new sports initiative at Labour’s annual party conference in 2000 with the resounding declaration that it was not only a sports policy, but “a health policy, an education policy, a crime policy, an anti-drugs policy” as well (The Guardian, 2002).

8.1.5 Tony Blair said last March “It is important that we give this (PESSCL) encouragement to sport, not only for its own sake but because, as many people new recognize, it is one of the best anti-crime policies that we could have. It is also as good a health and education policy as any other.” (Trelford, The Telegraph, 2003).

8.1.6 Tony Blair said “this investment will give today’s children new opportunities to take part in sport inside and outside the school gates and before, during and after the school day. Sport is not only important in its own right, teaching kid how to win, lose and be part of a team, it is also important in tackling obesity in young people and can act as an

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antidote to the antisocial behaviour of a minority by channeling their energies.” (Kelso & Smithers, The Guardian, 2004).

8.1.7 The London Olympics appear to be very good news for young people in particular. Tony Blair made it clear that the 2012 Olympics would be a legacy to young people: “Our vision is to see millions more young people- in Britain and across the world- participating in sport, and improving their lives as a result of that participation.” (The Guardian, 2005).

### **Gordon Brown (2007-2010)**

8.1.8 Gordon Brown, today unveiled the government’s strategy for both tackling childhood obesity and bagging medals at the 2012 Olympics: “competitive managers” for schools (The Guardian, 2005b).

8.1.9 Mr Brown’s call for more sport as part of a campaign to prevent an epidemic of obesity among children is the latest stage in his efforts to set out an agenda for No 10 when, as Labour MPs expect, he succeeds Tony Blair next year (Jones & Davies, The Telegraph, 2006).

8.1.10 Brown told the Guardian his own formative experiences had convinced him that competitive sport and PE should be a central part of the curriculum. “You can’t beat the joy of participating in sport.” Yesterday Brown announced the establishment of a national school sports week to promote competition. Brown said “The Olympic will inspire fitness and help tackle obesity. The Olympic can inspire people. More people will give up smoking; less people will be become obese.” (Summers, The Guardian, 2008).

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- **Appendix 8-2. Secretaries of State for DCMS (Tessa Jowell and Andy Burnham)**

### **Tessa Jowell (2001-2007) (Olympic Minister: 2005-2010)**

8-2-1 Sport defines us as a nation. It teaches us about life. We learn self discipline and teamwork from it. We learn how to win with grace and lose with dignity. It gets us fit. It keeps us healthy. It forms a central part of the cultural and recreational parts of our lives [...] the whole Government knows the value of sport. Value in improving health and tackling obesity. Value in giving young people confidence and purpose, to divert them from drugs and crime. And value in the lessons of life that sport teaches us. My ambition for sport in the UK is to start a twenty year process of re-establishing this country as a powerhouse in the sporting world. A country that can look at the playground or the podium and feel a sense of pride. A country with the constant desire for improvement and the unshakable will to provide sport for all (*Game Plan, DCMS & Strategy Unit, 2002, Foreword by Secretary of DCMS*).

8-2-2 Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell said she wanted to see more competitive school sport to encourage children to take exercise and discover sporting talent (BBC, 2000c).

8-2-3 Every school in the country is to be encouraged to hold a Sports Day in an dramatic attempt to reverse the decline in competitive sports. Tessa jowell is to mobilize up to 1,000 co-ordinators across the country to re-establish Sports Day as a fixture of every state school calendar (Hughes, Daily Mail, 2002).

8-2-4 introducing more competitive school sport could be a key part of plans for a Labour third term, Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell has suggested. The minister said competition taught children “What competing in sport in childhood does is to teach children how to win and lose which is not only good for them when they’re at school but stands them in good stead for the rest of their live (BBC, 2004g, The Telegraph, 2004).

8-2-5 Tessa Jowell blamed obesity as much on the decline in physical activity by children as on an increase in calorie intake. What has received less attention is the fact that activity levels have substantially reduced, including a decline in the number of children walking to school (Wintour, 2004b, The Guardian, 2004).

8-2-6 Jowell Believes the legacy of the Olympic is as important as winning medals on home soil. She said: “I think there is a situation with the 2012 Olympics that we need to win medals, but by improving sport and activity in schools we may be bringing children in who could end up on the wrong side of the tracks, in prison or on drugs. This is why role models like Darren Campbell, who grew up on Moss side, but who is a beacon for young people, are so important (Davies, 2005b, The Telegraph, 2006).

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### Andy Burnham (2008-2009)

8-2-7 When you play sport, you play to win. That is my philosophy. It is also at the heart of this plan that, over time, seeks to change the culture of sport in England. It is a plan to get more people taking up sport simply for the love of sport; to expand the pool of talented English sportsmen and women; and to break records, win medals and win tournaments for this country [...] I believe in sport for sport's sake. We should value sport because it is a good thing in and of itself [...] my aim is clear and simple- to create a healthy 'playing to win' culture in English sport by creating competitive opportunities for all (*Playing to Win, DCMS, 2008, Foreword by Secretary of DCMS*).

8-2-8 Andy Burnham, one of the backbenchers who have pushed for a manifesto pledge that all schools should be compelled to offer competitive sport. "We can't celebrate an Olympic gold and yet agonise over whether competitive school sport is right or not. School sport cannot be about egg and spoon races with prizes for everyone." (Hall, 2004, *The Guardian, 2004*).

8-2-9 Andy Burnham said school sport was in a stronger position than it had been for decades. "Our Olympic and Paralympic heroes in Beijing were an inspiration to millions of young people. We now have the structure in place so that those who want to get into competitive sport can (Summers, *The Guardian, 2008*).

8-2-10 In his speech, Burnham said: "For many people, myself included, sport was the best bit about school. I saw after-school sport fade away in the Eighties, and as a politician I have always been determined to do something about it. I can clearly remember working with the first generation of specialist sports colleges, and the work being done in them is tremendous." Burnham talked of discipline, teamwork, obligations to others, backing up your team-mates. He wants to see "skills in action in a competitive environment - and competition being revitalised and sustained" (Davies, 2008b, *The telegraph, 2008*).

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- **Appendix 8-3. Secretary of State for Education (and Skills) (Charles Clarke)**

### **Charles Clarke (2002-2004)**

8-3-1 Competitive sport is essential and motivates children and is a source of great enjoyment. Competitive sport is a 'good thing' for pupils because it teaches teamwork and commitment, Education Secretary Charles Clarke said (BBC, 2003b).

8-3-2 Charles Clarke yesterday urged every school in the country to state a traditional sports day in an attempt to reverse the decline in competitive sports. The Education Secretary said the cut and thrust of competition was essential to teach children teamwork and commitment (Clark, Daily Mail, 2003).

8-3-3 Education Secretary Charles Clarke said "The Olympic Games and Paralympic Games would be a massive boost to sport in schools." (BBC, 2004e).

8-3-4 Charles Clarke said "Waverley has placed PE and sport at the very heart of what it does, with impressive new facilities. Many of its pupils actually do more than two hours sport each week in school time and teachers have seen how it has improved their school and boosted the young people's self-esteem and behaviour." (Curtis, The Guardian, 2004).

- **Appendix 8-4. Sport minister (Richard Caborn)**

### **Richard Caborn (2001-2007)**

8-4-1 The Government believes that everyone should have the opportunity to participate in sport. Getting school children into sport- and keeping them involved-is especially vital as regular participation can reduce obesity, improve fitness levels and by improving concentration and self-esteem, can help attendance, behaviour and attainment (**High Quality PE and Sport for Young People, DCMS & DfES, 2004, Foreword by Minister of State for Sport (and Tourism)**)

8-4-2 Sports minister Richard Caborn also contributed to the book, financed by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and published by the Smith Institute, a public policy think-tank. He said: "We are facing a timebomb in the state of our health. A recent National Audit Office report suggests that obesity costs the UK economy £2 billion each year and the NHS £500m (BBC, 2003d).

8-4-3 Sport Minister said "Every of these grants, whether large or small, has an important part to play in driving up participation in sports and activity, to help achieve both a fitter nation and world class success." (BBC, 2004b).

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- **Appendix 8-5. YST (Baroness Sue Campbell)**

### **Youth Sport Trust**

8-5-1 Ms Campbell says everyone in sport recognises what the problems are- the real challenge is to produce a formula for ensuring talent is not overlooked or poorly trained at any level (BBC, 2000b).

8-5-2 Sue Campbell, the Government's highly respected adviser on school sport and physical education, brought in by Kate Hoey during her tenure as sports minister, said yesterday: "I would not be surprised if we were close to that figure of 80 per cent in this country." (Davies, **The Telegraph, 2003**).

8-5-3 The Youth Sport Trust has also worked with the Institute of Youth Sport at Loughborough University to sponsor research to back up long-held beliefs about the links between PE, sport and academic achievement (The Guardian, 2004a).

8-5-4 CASE studies carried out by the Youth Sport Trust on the first 11 schools chosen to become specialist sports colleges in 1997 have shown the change has had a positive impact on both the pupils and the schools at large (Davies, **The Telegraph, 2005a**).

8-5-5 I (Sue Campbell) built two companies, National Coaching Foundation and Youth Sport Trust, with two people and no budget, into reasonably successful organisations. I have worked in partnership with a wide range of people, in physical education and on governing bodies. I don't think I would have been as successful as I have been if I had not been able to listen and taken on board people's comments (Bose, **The Telegraph, 2006**).

8-5-6 creating a coherent framework for both inclusive and competitive sport and physical education in schools has been on the Government agenda since Sue Campbell, formerly head of the Youth Sport Trust, was appointed as the first Government advisor on school sport by the then sports minister Kate Hoey five years ago (Davies, **The Telegraph, 2006c**).

8-5-7 Most were less disruptive after a year on the programme, according to a review of the scheme by the Institute of Youth Sport at Loughborough University. The charity behind the project, the Youth Sport Trust, said it helped to teach children the importance of discipline while building their resilience, team-working and leadership skills (Clark, Daily Mail, 2007).

8-5-8 The Youth Sport Trust, an organisation which over the years has done much to help improve standards of PE and school sport (Hoey, **The Telegraph, 2006**).

8-5-9 Steve Grainger, YST's chief executive, said the schools had already made great strides in motivating young people to take up sport, and that Dame Kelly's visit would help them continue to "reap the benefits" (BBC, 2007b).

8-5-10 Steve Grainger, the chief executive of the YST said "within England the UK School Games forms the apex of a pyramid of competitive sporting opportunities being promoted through school sport. The government announcement of July 13 committed

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additional funds to complete the roll-out of competition managers across all school sport partnerships from 2008 (Davies, **The Telegraph**, 2007c).

8-5-11 “In 2002, less than 25% of school children aged between five and 16 were getting two hours of exercise a week.” Says Sue Campbell. “That figure has now risen to 85% and we’re hopeful it will increase still further in the next few years.” (Crace, *The Guardian*, 2008).

8-5-12 Since being appointed as the Government’s adviser on PE and sports strategy, Sue Campbell, now with the UK sport, has often spoken of addressing the decline of sport and PE in schools as akin to “turning around a super-tanker” (Davies, **The Telegraph**, 2009).

8-5-13 The Conservative Party will restore Lottery funding and use it to concentrate on schools and communities. It will build on the work by the Youth Sport Trust to reinvigorate competitive sport and examine the successful School Games to see if this can be rolled out as a National Schools competition (Robertson, **The Telegraph**, 2009).

8-5-14 As a volunteer coach, referee and welfare officer in fencing, I’ve been hugely impressed by the flood of new participants who’ve discovered our sport through the efforts of the Youth Sport Trust and SSP. The scheme has attracted a whole new generation of children to sport by providing a much wider range of activities than my own school days and will have saved far more money for the NHS than it cost (*The Guardian*, 2010).

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- **Appendix 8-6. Olympic Stars (e.g. Dame Kelly Holmes)**

### **Dame Kelly Holmes**

8-6-1 She (Holmes) added: "I would like to play my part in inspiring a generation to develop a sporting culture. London 2012 is a benchmark for a lot of people to achieve sporting success, and there are many junior international sports people now who will be household names in 2012. Besides those individuals, we need to inspire the rest of that generation to be the best they can, carrying the Olympic spirit on to 2016 and 2020. We are a sports-mad nation, and once we start getting people moving, I think it will grow and grow." (Davies, The Telegraph, 2006a).

8-6-2 Finally, from Holmes, who knows a thing or two about competition: "It will enable more schools to offer more competitive sport to their pupils, helping more of them to achieve their potential." (Selvey, The Guardian, 2007).

8-6-3 Double Olympic gold medallist Kelly Holmes is backing a scheme which links schools and fitness clubs in an effort to boost interest in sport. Lack of exercise is being blamed for rapidly increasing rates of childhood obesity (BBC, 2004h).

8-6-4 The retired British record breaking athlete, who won two gold medals at the 2004 Athens Olympics, called for competitive sport to play a much larger part in the school curriculum. Dame Kelly, who was awarded an honorary degree from Brunel University this week, told Heat magazine: 'Competitive sport can increase a child's confidence, develop their social skills and get them fit into the bargain.' (Schlesinger, Daily Mail, 2009).

8-6-5 Double Olympic gold medallist Dame Kelly Holmes said: "We need to find out ways to encourage girls to do exercise with their friends, to go to the gym, go out for walks, go on bike rides - things that you can find that are fun." (BBC, 2009).

### **Other Sport Stars**

8-6-6 Sports stars, health experts and education leaders gave their backing to a major new Observer campaign to ensure that pupils get more physical exercise. With obesity rapidly overtaking smoking as Britain's single biggest cause of disease and premature death, experts say the need for children to remain active and energetic has never been greater. Although the Government recommends that every pupil does at least two hours of sport at school per week, barely a third do so (Campbell et al., The Guardian, 2003).

8-6-7 Redgrave, the five-time Olympic gold medallist at rowing, emphasised the importance of participating in physical exercise in the fight against obesity when he spoke at a launch event for the scheme at Woolwich Polytechnic School (Davies, The Telegraph, 2007d)

8-6-8 In a letter to David Cameron, organised by Olympic badminton silver medallist Gail Emms, the elite athletes warned that the move could have serious long-term



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implications in the fight against child obesity and illness."We cannot stand by and watch as your government threatens to destroy any hopes this country has of delivering a genuine London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic legacy." (BBC, 2010b).

8-6-9 More than 70 top British athletes, including Olympic champion Tom Daley and Jason Queally are among those to have expressed their concerns about the plans, saying they endangered the prospects of a "genuine legacy" from the 2012 Olympics in terms of widening sports participation and encouraging greater physical exercise. Pressure on ministers grew after 75 top British athletes wrote to Mr Cameron to argue the changes were "ill-conceived" and put the fight against childhood obesity and other illnesses at risk (BBC, 2010c).

8-6-10 Olympic champions such as Denise Lewis, javelin thrower Tessa Sanderson and cyclist Jason Queally are among 75 athletes who have written to the prime minister demanding a rethink of an "ill-conceived" policy they claim will damage children's health (Campbell, The Guardian, 2010).

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- **Appendix 8-7. Health-related agents/agencies (Doctor, National Obesity Forum, Health Secretary)**

8-7-1 Health experts warn this culture of inertia is putting whole generations at risk of obesity, heart disease and weight-related diabetes (Daily Mail, 2002).

8-7-2 'Kids should be doing 60 minutes a day of moderate to vigorous exercise to be truly healthy and ensure their bones and cardio-vascular systems develop properly,' Professor Chris Riddoch, head of the London Sports Institute at Middlesex University, who led the research, said (BBC, 2005b).

8-7-3 Leading doctors yesterday called for a national strategy to halt the obesity epidemic which threatens to hit one in three adults within 15 years Doctors say that being obese when you are 40 knocks up to seven years off your life. Obese people who smoke will die more than 13 years before their time. Doctors are unsure why France should come out with the lowest rate of deaths due to excess weight. The French do not eat less saturated fat than the British and have similar cholesterol levels (Daily, 2004).

8-7-4 It's headline grabbing-stuff. The obesity epidemic in Britain is now a crisis on a scale with climate change, says Health Secretary Alan Johnson (BBC, 2007c).

8-7-5 Tam Fry, spokesman for the national obesity Forum, says: 'Serious obesity is a child protection issue. Stuffing a child with food leads to grave physical and emotional problems, obesity in a child is as serious as malnourishment.' (Childs, Daily Mail, 2010).

8-7-6 The public health threat posed by obesity in the UK is a "potential crisis on the scale of climate change", the health secretary has warned. Ofsted said "creative approaches" to PE were paying off but the Government needed to be more ambitious to improve "worrying" levels of health and fitness."The rate of obesity in young people continues to rise - projections are frightening, for example, that nine in 10 adults and two thirds of children will be obese by 2050," said the report (Paton, The Telegraph, 2009).

8-7-7 According to a recent Sport England survey, they were reminded, 16% of six to 16-year-olds are clinically obese. This generation of schoolchildren will be the first to have a life expectancy shorter than that of their parents (Bee, The Guardian, 2005).

8-7-8 Nearly a quarter (22.9%) of four-or five-year-olds in England are deemed either obese or overweight, with the figure rising to 31.6% by the time they are aged 10 to 11, according to a health department survey. Dr David Haslam, Clinical director of the National Obesity Forum, called for children to do more PE and be made to play outside during breaks after data showed (Batty, The Guardian, 2008).

8-7-9 According to World Health Organisation statistics, there is alarming increase in the number of children and adolescents developing Type-2 Diabetes due to being overweight (Henry, Daily Mail, 2010).