

Loughborough University
Institutional Repository

*Competing agendas: an
ecological analysis of jointly
constructed task systems in
physical education and sport
education*

This item was submitted to Loughborough University's Institutional Repository by the/an author.

Additional Information:


- Doctoral Thesis. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University.

Metadata Record: <https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/2134/7709>

Publisher: © Toni M. O'Donovan

Please cite the published version.

This item is held in Loughborough University's Institutional Repository (<https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/>) and was harvested from the British Library's EThOS service (<http://www.ethos.bl.uk/>). It is made available under the following Creative Commons Licence conditions.




creative
commons
C O M M O N S D E E D


Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.5

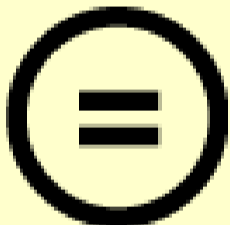
You are free:

- to copy, distribute, display, and perform the work

Under the following conditions:

 **BY:** **Attribution.** You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author or licensor.


 **Noncommercial.** You may not use this work for commercial purposes.

 **No Derivative Works.** You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

- For any reuse or distribution, you must make clear to others the license terms of this work.
- Any of these conditions can be waived if you get permission from the copyright holder.

Your fair use and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

This is a human-readable summary of the [Legal Code \(the full license\)](#).

[Disclaimer](#) 

For the full text of this licence, please go to:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.5/>

**Competing Agendas:
An ecological analysis of jointly constructed task systems in
physical education and Sport Education**

by
Toni M. O'Donovan

A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

April 2005

© by Toni M. O'Donovan (2005)

Abstract

This thesis addresses how teachers and pupils jointly constructed a physical education classroom ecology in one case study school. Taking into account the persuasive influences facing young people in contemporary society, this research addresses the complexity of young people's agendas in physical education from a socio-cultural perspective. Situating this study in a physical education class meant that I needed to explore, not only how young people's agendas influenced the classroom ecology, but also how the classroom structure influenced the agendas the young people pursued and how these were manifested during the lesson. This study is concerned primarily with describing and explaining a case of pupil engagement in physical education and to generate at a substantive level (Glaser and Strauss, 1978) theory which can make sense of the events in the one case study school. The aim is to provide some insights into why things happened the way they did and attempt to explain these happenings.

Within this thesis the three main analysis chapters focus on an examination of young people's agendas in physical education and the range of factors that influence them, followed by a consideration of *how* student agendas impinge on the ecology of the physical education class and an exploration of how the implementation of Sport Education modified the agendas pursued by the young people and thus the classroom ecology. By grounding the ecological analysis in an integrated theoretical perspective of achievement goal theory and an analysis of socio-cultural influences I hope to have gained the subtlety, ambiguity and complexity of the students' agendas and how they influence young people's engagement with the teacher led task system, thus utilising the original achievement goal theory advocated by Maehr and Nicholls (1980) and also integrating recent approach-avoidance frameworks advocated by Elliot and Harackiewicz (1996). Through examination of the most commonplace activities of physical education lessons, the analysis portrays how teachers and students continually negotiate with the task system as they pursue numerous and often disparate agendas.

The obvious rationale for doing research on teacher effectiveness in physical education is to improve the quality of learning and following on from the analysis of the classroom ecology the thesis turns to examine how the implementation of Sport

Education impacted on the student social task system and the young people's behaviour in physical education lessons. The data presented in this study endorse to some extent the values claimed for the implementation of Sport Education. However, the implementation of Sport Education did not lead to all its' advocates claim for it and, although its implementation highlighted that it is possible to modify some of the agendas young people pursue during physical education lessons, I became particularly interested in the circumstances where sport education failed to hold the many benefits it purports to.

Having presented these key findings, this thesis concludes with a discussion of the implications for those working with and for young people, and for the design and implementation of policies and practice in relation to physical education. Although I outline the implications of the issues emerging from this study for future practice which, at the very least, we need to consider, this study has made particularly clear the complexities of introducing change in schools.

Material Published and Presented from the PhD

O'Donovan, T.M. (2003) 'A changing Culture? Interrogating the dynamics of peer affiliations over the course of a sport education season' European Physical Education Review 9(3) 237-251

O'Donovan, T. M.(2003) 'Negotiating popularity: an ethnographic exploration of social motivation in physical education' Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Conference, Edinburgh University, September 2003.

O'Donovan, T.M. (2002) 'Being the 'other' in Sport Education: the effects of team affiliation on socially excluded youth' Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Conference, Exeter, September 2002.

O'Donovan, T.M. (2002) 'Working with Young People in Physical Education: methodological considerations of doing research in schools' Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Student Conference, Exeter, September 2002.

O'Donovan, T.M. (2002) 'Being 'normal' and included: group membership and social motivation influences on the physical education class culture' Paper Presented at Young People 2002: Research, Policy and Practice Conference. Keele University, July 2002.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, my thanks to the teachers and pupils in the case study school who so kindly and openly welcomed me into their classroom for six months. Without their willingness to be involved in this study it would not have been possible.

I also wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Gary Kinchin for his expert help and advice in relation to the Sport Education CPD.

During my four years at Loughborough I have received excellent academic advice from a number of individuals. A special thanks to Prof. David Kirk who, in his role as supervisor, challenged me to make the very difficult intellectual re-orientation that I went through in the final years of my study. Thanks also to Dr. Chris Spray, who co-supervised my studies during my first year in Loughborough, and to Dr. Kathy Armour who acted as my Director of Research. I am very grateful for the friendly and supportive advice they both offered at various stages.

Thanks to Jacinta O'Brien for the passion and enthusiasm she infused into my undergraduate studies. The encouragement, direction and support she gave me when I initially suggested pursuing additional study provided the inspiration for this PhD study. She will be fondly remembered and sadly missed.

For making the PhD office such an enjoyable place to work I owe Becky, Em, Harls, Rach (and Karen in the last few months) a lot of gratitude.

Many thanks to Andy for his support and patience during the apparently endless write-up phase.

Finally I cannot begin to express my thanks to my dad and mom for pushing me to follow my dreams and supporting me through them all. They have helped me more than they can imagine at every stage of my development.

Table of Contents

Thesis Access Form.....	i
Title Page.....	ii
Certificate of Originality	iii
Abstract	iv
Material Published from the PhD.....	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Contents	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The research questions	4
1.3 Structure of the Thesis.....	6
Chapter 2: An introduction to the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Classroom Ecology Research.....	12
2.3 The intensity of student agendas	22
2.4 Reconceptualising the student agenda: an examination of what attributes are socially valued by young people in contemporary society.....	34
2.4.1 Gender appropriate student agendas	36
2.5 Achievement goal theory and implications for teaching.....	44
2.6 Translating theory into practice.....	50
2.6.1 Motivational Climate	50
2.6.2 Sport Education	54
2.7 Conclusion.....	65
Chapter 3: Methodological issues and considerations.....	66
3.1 Introduction	66
3.2 Subjects	71
3.3 Methods of Data Collection	82
3.3.1 Questionnaire	83
3.3.2 Participant observation	84
3.3.3 Interviewing	86
3.3.4 Research tasks – posters and portfolios	90
3.3.5 Teacher Interview	92
3.4 Analysis.....	93
3.5 The existing curriculum.....	97
3.6 The Intervention	99
3.7 Conclusion.....	102
Chapter 4: What motivates young people in school physical education	103
4.1 Introduction	103
4.2 If you're not very good then it doesn't really matter	105
4.3 'People are watching you...looking at you and staring at you' : the preoccupation with social approval in PE	107
4.4 'I mean like doing PE at school it's like... it is like fun it's not for real'	110
4.5 'You just lowered my place' : Friendships, popularity and social hierarchies ..	111

4.6	Reproducing the social hierarchies through talk	116
4.7	Conclusion.....	131
Chapter 5: An ecological analysis of physical education.....		132
5.1	Introduction	132
5.2	Managerial episodes and student negotiation.....	133
5.2.1	<i>“We’re onto a loser in so much as we are on at them as soon as they come in”</i>	133
5.2.2	<i>‘Do I look ok?’: student concerns about their appearance and the impact on the changing room climate</i>	138
5.2.3	<i>‘We waste 15 to 20 minutes by the time we get there’</i>	143
5.2.4	Summary	144
5.3	The main body of the class.....	145
5.3.1	<i>The complainers</i>	148
5.3.2	<i>The competent bystanders</i>	153
5.3.3	<i>The disruptors</i>	157
5.3.4	<i>The participants</i>	162
5.4	<i>‘It’s different with the boys, they just laugh at us’</i>	164
5.5	Accountability	166
5.6	Conclusion.....	168
Chapter 6: Sport Education and the changing face of student agendas.....		170
6.1	Introduction	170
6.2	The Introductory Lesson	171
6.2.1	The Teams	172
6.2.2	The Assignment of Roles	176
6.3	The Points System	180
6.4	Instructional accountability	184
6.5	The impact of Sport Education on the adoption of student agendas	190
6.6	Team Friction	195
6.7	Conclusion.....	201
Chapter 7: In-conclusion		204
7.1	Introduction	204
7.2	Conceptualising the classroom ecology as a set of interrelated vectors.....	206
7.3	Student agendas in physical education.....	208
7.4	Agendas of value	212
7.5	Plotting Student Agendas on the classroom ecology graph	214
7.6	Negotiated Agendas	216
7.7	Regulation of the body	218
7.8	What does this study tell us for improving practice in schools?	222
7.9	Professional Learning.....	226
7.10	Critical Self Reflection.....	231
References:		233
Appendix A:		256
Appendix B:		257

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In this first chapter of the thesis, I introduce the readers to my background in order to situate myself in the research. In many theses the reader may not understand where certain preoccupations began and this chapter examines how I came to study physical education at Loughborough University. Chapter one also outlines the research questions and traces their development throughout the PhD study. Finally the chapter outlines the structure of the thesis in this section. The overriding concern throughout this introductory chapter is to make as explicit as possible the personal factors that resulted in this doctoral study as they have inevitably influenced the cast of the study.

My personal experiences of physical education in Ireland were particularly privileged. I attended a school with physical education teachers who were enthusiastic, energetic and passionate about the subject. The school was involved in many new initiatives as the staff were active in the Physical Education Association of Ireland and I undoubtedly benefited from this. My family also encouraged physical activity from a young age and I was involved in a wide variety of individual and team sports at both a competitive and non competitive level. As such I felt well prepared when I began a teacher education degree in 1996 in the University of Limerick. I thrived during my degree getting involved in many aspects of university life and receiving recognition from the university on a number of occasions for my academic results. Possibly as a result of this my first experience of teaching in a school for a prolonged time, six weeks, came as a bit of a shock.

Both my first and second teaching experiences were in typical Irish secondary schools, that is single sex denominational schools. The facilities and equipment were adequate and comparable with those of other schools in the city. I entered my teaching practices with significant optimism and embraced the idea that I could play a transformative role in the lives of the young people with whom I would work. I was totally unprepared for the challenge of school life and was frightened by how easily my idealism was deconstructed over a few short months in each school during my second and fourth year

teaching experiences. Although I relished the opportunities to work with young people in a physical education context I found school life exhausting and disillusioning. Although I am confident that many of the young people with whom I engaged during teaching practice had very positive experiences and although I received excellent grades, I finished my teacher training feeling completely unprepared to enter the profession. The structure of my undergraduate degree facilitated good relationship with many staff in the department and on the advice of Jacinta O'Brien, my undergraduate project supervisor, I made the decision to pursue further study at Loughborough University.

Thus, I came to Loughborough in an attempt to answer many questions that puzzled me during my teaching experiences. In many ways I failed to harness these during the early phases of my research and in my haste to define my research questions I began working with quite limited aims and objectives that were both decontextualised and reductionist. My reading during the early phases of my PhD studies focused on motivational research and more specifically on achievement goal theory. The conclusions drawn from achievement goal theory ride on the powerful back of scientific truth, which made them difficult for me to critique in the early phases of my doctoral studies. However, a critical overview of the positivist approach used to construct achievement goal theory revealed problems particularly as I began to select appropriate methodologies for my study. As a qualified maths teacher, a positivist rather than interpretivist approach may have been less challenging; however my review of literature during the first year highlighted the inadequacies of the quantitative tools for assessing goal orientations and motivational climate. It was apparent that this theory had been developed by requiring individuals to respond to a limited number of questions, selectively restricted to the theorized constructs of task and ego goal orientations. Thus I chose to utilise qualitative methods during my field work, spending a significant length of time in the chosen school and began my field work with research questions and a qualitative methodology for exploring these limited issues.

The field work was conducted during the spring and summer terms in 2002 with three teachers and a group of year seven students. Returning to a school on a regular basis led me to reflect on my own experiences and I began to realise that the research questions I had identified for study would not answer the many issues I wanted to

interrogate. Thus my fieldwork was rather confused and exploratory over the first month. As I had planned to spend the spring and summer terms in the school this was not a problematic issue and in many ways facilitated the grounded approach I took to the analysis. As I have outlined the study was an 'evolving process' (Peshkin, 2000) the research questions were adapted and developed throughout the period of research. It was certainly found to be a learning process in which the preconceptions I had developed as a student teacher about teaching and learning were challenged. I regularly went back to the literature during the field work months to examine my research questions and the direction of the research, which was often taken in quite unexpected ways. The critique of achievement goal theory that its limited focus disregards the respondents' culture, history and the social context of the achievement environment, all of which are important variables for attempting to understand how students think and behave in physical education settings (Pringle, 2000) was one with which I engaged. My diaries throughout this time reflect the personal struggle I experienced between trying to 'tie down' my research and my attempts to let the data emerge from the setting. As such, this research represented an interesting methodological challenge and called for a reflexive, innovative and eclectic research design, an approach which proved to be both enabling and effective. The outward spiral of research that emerged made connections with varied literature and led me to a range of theories I may otherwise have overlooked and in many ways I feel lucky to have stumbled into a study that has renewed my enthusiasm and commitment to teaching, although it has obviously raised as many questions as it has answered. I also feel fortunate to have completed fieldwork that not only allowed me to explore my questions in a traditional environment but also allowed me the opportunity to explore an innovative approach to teaching which I had not previously experienced and for this I am in complete gratitude to the teachers with whom I worked.

Although I ultimately moved away from the reductionist approach I initially worked with, I believe that I benefited from it during my first year of study as it focused my reading and helped me identify inadequacies in previous research. The extent to which I was preoccupied by my own experiences when I initially came to Loughborough would have undoubtedly clouded my approach to this study without my first year of focused reading in a narrow field. The potential for being overwhelmed by such a variety of perspectives that I had not previously encountered could have reduced my

studies to an incoherent jumble. Although it was possibly not ideal that I struggled with these issues while beginning my fieldwork, I cannot see how this could have been avoided. Thus in many ways I see the beginning of my fieldwork as a watershed in this PhD process.

1.2 The research questions

My aim thus far has been to identify how the research questions came into being. At this stage it would be useful to outline what the aims and objectives were. Although I describe the fieldwork as a watershed, the questions I had when I entered the field did not disappear completely but took a back seat in the study. These questions were fundamentally related to what motivates young people to engage in physical education and secondly whether this could be changed.

At the beginning of the field work stage I had three main questions:

1. What achievement goal orientations do young people hold in physical education lessons?
2. What is the relationship between participation in physical education lessons and the achievement goal orientations held by young people?
3. Will children adopt different achievement goal orientations when participating in a unit of Sport Education?

What is evident in these questions is my search for what teachers' could do to make pupils' engage in the lesson content. Pringle (2000) argued that this approach to research treats the physical education student as the problem, the teacher as the solution, and the social context of physical education and sport as nonproblematic. Placek and Locke (1986) acknowledged that until the early 1980s much of the research identifying appropriate teaching strategies to facilitate adaptive learning behaviours had been experimentally induced by creating a situational goal structure and dominated by the process-product research paradigm. Within this paradigm of teaching research the teacher was very much the centre of classroom life, the source or starting point for teaching research: thus changing teacher behaviour would result in a change in pupil behaviour. My early recognition that this research did not reflect my own experiences of teaching physical education and my subsequent questioning of what I hoped to find out during this study led to a review of my approach and questions.

Doyle (1977) contended that too much attention was placed on the teacher as a causal effect in classrooms and that in much existing work young people are constructed as the passive recipients in the classroom, their agency is denied and there is no acknowledgement of how young people actively generate, draw upon, or negotiate their own classroom experiences. He argued that students could affect classroom actions almost as much as the teacher and that an oversimplified picture of causality in the classroom had been painted. He conceptualised life in classrooms as a function, not only of the jointly produced local meanings of the particular classroom group, but also as influenced by the larger contexts in which the class is embedded. Thus the ecosystem of the learner, classroom, teacher, schools and community became the theoretical unit of inquiry for my study and the questions reflected this reorientation.

In discussions with the young people I began to explore what goals and agendas they had in their physical education lessons. The next question was concerned with how these goals and agendas might be linked with what they chose to do in their physical education lessons. Situating this study in a physical education class meant that I needed to explore how the context of the lesson impinged on how the young people manifested their goals and agendas during the lesson. In particular I had the opportunity to look at how the girls' agendas were manifested differently in single sex and co-educational classes.

I also wanted to conduct research in physical education to discover whether its practice could be improved. Prior to this study I had not seen Sport Education in action and was deeply sceptical of the far reaching claims that had been reported in the literature. As I have already mentioned I am indebted to the teachers who were willing to try Sport Education without much knowledge of what it entailed in order to allow me to explore what impact, if any, this model had on what goals and agendas were salient during the season and whether this, in turn, had an impact on the way in which the young people engaged with the content of the lesson.

Undoubtedly I ran the risk of lumping together what many view as distinct research enterprises but as Shulman (1986) argued the danger for any field lies in its potential corruption (or worse, trivialisation) by a single paradigmatic view. This study drew on fields with disciplinary roots much older than, and certainly independent of, physical

education pedagogy. The merging of psychological and educational disciplines was not unproblematic. Nevertheless, within recent history of research on teaching physical education, they have each played a critical role and jointly they gave me the opportunity to raise questions about the findings and assumptions of the dominant tradition.

The extent to which I brought my own experience to the selection of questions as the fieldwork progressed assisted in the research as my interest in exploring these issues was undoubtedly evident. The energy and enthusiasm I had for this study helped ease my relationship with the young people and neutralise the power relations that may have existed had I adopted a more distanced approach. At times my training as a teacher may also have restricted my relationship with the young people as I maintained a firm belief in my responsibility for the young people's well-being. I found that this conviction meant that I could not take the stance that what went in the balance against potential harms was the value of the study. Many other researchers, such as Fielding (1993) have reported similar difficulties with maintaining a neutral observer stance when conducting research with young people and my training as a teacher may have exacerbated this. Although I attempted to identify and account for such issues before the study began as advocated by researchers such as Woodhead and Faulkner (2000), schools are unpredictable places and I could not have been prepared for the instant decisions which I was required to make which at times benefited this study but at other times risked my relationship with the key participants.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter this thesis is presented in six chapters. This section outlines the content of each chapter to allow the reader an initial insight into the structure of the thesis.

The review of literature, chapter two, is presented in three main sections examining literature from both psychological and educational perspective to achieve a comprehensive understanding of behaviour in PE. Firstly I examine physical education research from an ecological perspective before moving to review the psychological research to unpack what motivates student agendas in physical education. Although substantial work has been done in the field of sport pedagogy it is limited by the

partitions that dominate sport pedagogy research. The extensive knowledge that has been developed is framed by boundaries between disciplines rather than by an integrated research agenda. Although the field of research on physical education teaching has produced substantial literature I acknowledge the difficulties in bringing this review together in a way that crosses between educational and psychological approaches. In chapter two I briefly overview the research to date analysing the effects of adopting various achievement goal orientations since it is the application of this theory to teaching situations that is of most interest to this study. A whole industry of research has developed analysing motivation in the hope that once the antecedents of adaptive and maladaptive behaviour were understood they could be changed. Although I have outlined the way in which achievement goal theory has been applied to teaching effectiveness research I also acknowledge the failings of this research. This is followed by a review of motivational climate literature and examines the recommendations for how teachers can influence the adoption of certain goal orientations to facilitate adaptive behaviour. Although the TARGET structures (Ames, 1992a) were of limited use in the planning of the intervention for this study, it was necessary to review the application of achievement goal theory to the teacher effectiveness research. Throughout I draw on links between the ecosystem of the classroom and psychological research although these were scarce in the existing body of literature. The review of literature attempts to trace the research that informed the methodologies and intervention used in this thesis. The chapter concludes by identifying current inadequacies in the literature.

While chapter two outlined the theoretical framework of this study and in doing so it has highlighted the complex process of positioning a study that draws on parent disciplines with allegedly opposing methodological approaches, chapter three addresses the methodological concerns of the study. It was first necessary to consider the complexity of the research position before moving on to examine the research design, data collection techniques, analysis and introducing the reader to the school context and research participants. Daryl Siedentop completed a broad ranging review of physical education teaching effectiveness research from an ecological perspective in 2002(a) and outlined the history of advances within the field. He argued that the realignment of sport pedagogy research with the discipline of education rather than motor learning and psychology in the mid-1960s led researchers to also realign their research models and

methods. Given that I have chosen to draw on both the disciplines of education and psychology to position my research, considering the particular paradigms and social perspectives that underpin my research has proved to be a complex and difficult challenge. This chapter makes reference to the problematic nature of a study that attempts to draw on disciplines that have traditionally been epistemologically and methodologically opposed. The debate surrounding this issue, which commenced in chapter two, continues at the beginning of chapter three in an attempt to circumvent the traditional objectivist-subjectivist divide before moving on to indicate how this underpinned my choice of research techniques. I delve into the epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies outlining the struggle inherent in drawing on disciplines that have historically been aligned with research methods that are not comfortable bedfellows. In addition to an outline of the methods used, this chapter has also provided a personal account of my experiences of the fieldwork phase of the study. My overriding concern throughout chapter three, and elsewhere in this thesis, was to make as explicit as possible my own assumptions and preconceptions which have inevitably influenced the cast of the study. This is in recognition of the reflexive role of the researcher in conducting the research act. A consideration of the theoretical and ethical issues is also discussed, in addition to the specific research questions underpinning this study which necessarily influenced the methods that were selected in order to generate the data for analysis. Chapter three also begins to elaborate on the research design for this study and discusses a number of methodological issues exploring the complexities of the process, outlining the techniques and analysis, and introducing the subjects and site.

Having been introduced to the research techniques I move my attention to an exploration of the data that emanated from these techniques. The next three chapters outline the main findings of the research and broadly answer the research questions, focusing in turn on motivation, on how student agendas impinge on classroom life and on the possibilities for teachers and pupils to have better experiences of and in physical education. Chapters four and five are organised in an outward spiral firstly examining *what* drives the student social task system and then at *how* student agendas impinge on the ecology of the physical education class. Chapter six then looks at how the sport education intervention impacted on the student social task system and the young people's behaviour in physical education lessons.

Chapter four explores the young people's motivation in physical education, focusing specifically on the factors that were socially valued by the young people at that time and in that place. The chapter makes few attempts to locate student agendas within the teaching and learning context and merely provides a rather descriptive account of their goals in physical education. It may be surprising that I chose to provide an account that does not situate the goal orientations in the first instance, particularly in light of my critique of other research that fails to do this. My choice to present the motivation data separately in the first instance was made in light of the difficulties of presenting a substantial volume of data in a coherent manner. However although I chose to present the data in this manner based on practical issues, I also believe that this highlights the value I place on research that does exclusively focus on a restricted area of physical education research, such as achievement goal theory. It is evident that time pressures often do not allow academics to pursue research agendas in equal depth to a doctoral study and my assertion throughout that achievement goal theory is limited by the limited focus is negated by my belief that specialising in particular fields is also beneficial to physical education research provided that sports pedagogy researchers from psychological and educational disciplines engage with the data in an integrated way that has not previously been evident in many studies.

Chapter five examines how the social goal orientations adopted by the young people impinge on the ecology of the PE class and in particular on the pursuit of social agendas. The chapter emphasises the dynamic interrelationship between motivational and ecological theories and provides more detailed and specific examples of how the young people chose to pursue certain agendas in their physical education class. This chapter attempts to locate the student agenda within the ecosystem of the physical education class, exploring how the agendas or goal orientations identified in chapter four impinge on the identities the young people created for themselves, the roles they adopted and the way in which the young people engaged in their physical education lessons, thus locating the issues raised in chapter four within the teaching and learning context. I also argue that if engagement in an activity is unlikely to result in the accumulation of socially valued resources then adaptive motivational patterns may not be evidenced for the activity. Chapter five acknowledges that what is socially valued is continually shifting and can, and often should, be contested and replaced. Through

examination of the most commonplace activities of physical education lessons, I attempt to uncover the ways in which the agendas of some young people were privileged and how this privileging impacted on the ecosystem of the classroom.

The obvious rationale for doing research on teacher effectiveness in physical education is to improve the quality of learning and an enduring question has been what approaches to teaching influence student learning and result in differentially greater learning gains. Thus my study would be incomplete without a consideration of whether teacher and pupil experiences of physical education can be improved through the modification of student agendas. In the final analysis chapter I explore the effectiveness of implementing a season of Sport Education during the summer term of 2002 and the extent to which the implementation of Sport Education resulted in the adoption of different social goals and hence the pursuit of alternative social agendas in PE lessons. Chapter six considers the local context in the implementation of change and considers the impact of the context in this school. I became particularly interested in the circumstances where sport education failed to hold the many benefits it purports to and this is reflected in the chapter. By doing this a number of important and potentially wide ranging implications are suggested and these are elaborated on in the final chapter. We need to consider how teachers accomplish this locally. There has also been a lack of research examining under what cultural conditions these general prescriptions will be found incomplete.

In the final chapter, chapter seven, I attempt to bring together the important issues raised by discussion in the main body of the thesis. This involves a discussion of the substantive findings and methodological issues encountered, and speculation as to what this discussion implies for future development. This chapter reflects on and speculates beyond the results. The final chapter affords me the opportunity to reflect on my journey and the questions that stopped me entering the teaching profession.

Chapter 2: An introduction to the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study

2.1 Introduction

Those who investigate teachers are involved in concerted attempts to understand the phenomena of teaching in order to improve its practice. In a review of research on teaching in 1963, Gage found that the majority of research was defined by a research approach analysing the correlates of specified criteria by which a teacher performed his or her tasks, focusing on observable teacher and student behaviours. Although subtle differences may be added to the variables studied, the characteristic of this type of research remains unchanged. Shulman (1986) identified that this was by far the most vigorous programme of research on teaching. Pedagogical researchers in the US have conducted extensive observational research in school physical education programmes. Much of that work has been based on a natural science model and has attempted to identify effective teaching behaviours (Bain, 1990). Some worked with the assumption that the task was to relate, whether experimentally or descriptively, variations in teacher behaviour, teacher or individual pupil characteristic data to variations in the measured achievement or attitudes of pupils. The unit of analysis for this type of research was generally the school day, or a proportion of it, and the actions of the teacher and students were treated in isolation, thus disaggregating the observed classroom processes. The limitations of this type of research are recognised, particularly when researchers considered the fact that classrooms are sites where teachers must deal with more than one pupil at a time and that the single unit of interaction ignores the larger and more complex exchanges that constitute teaching. These approaches used for the study of classroom teaching shared a fundamental family membership in the process-product tradition, mainly derived from psychology. However since the 1970s ecological research has gained popularity in an attempt to overcome the disaggregated approach of the process-product research paradigm. The ecological approach is based on an utterly different set of intellectual traditions (Shulman, 1986), that is drawing on the parent disciplines of anthropology, sociology and linguistics and often uses more

qualitative than quantitative methodologies (Doyle, 1986). The relative decontextualisation that dominated previous research paradigms is missing in classroom ecology research.

This chapter examines classroom ecology research before considering the role of psychological research into motivation in an attempt to build a theoretical framework for the study. The major purpose of this review is to achieve a greater understanding of the ecosystem of the classroom and thus of young people's engagement in physical education.

2.2 Classroom Ecology Research

In the 1960's and 1970's the teacher was very much the source or starting point for teaching research as the centre of classroom life. In response to this Doyle (1977) contended that too much attention was placed on the teacher as a causal effect in classrooms and that in much existing work young people were constructed as the passive recipients in the classroom, their agency denied and no acknowledgement given to how young people actively generate, draw upon or negotiate their own classroom experiences. He argued that *"pedagogical researchers paid little attention to the situational factors that might shape teaching"* (1992, p492) and recommended that to better understand this construct, researchers needed to study not only teachers but also students within their ecosystem. In Doyle's view students could affect classroom actions almost as much as the teacher and he argued that an oversimplified picture of causality in the classroom had been painted. He conceptualised life in classrooms as a function, not only of the jointly produced local meanings of the particular classroom group, but also as influenced by the larger contexts in which the class is embedded. Green (1983) shared Doyle's understanding of classroom life stating that *"Classroom events are dynamic activities constructed by teachers and students as they process, build on and work with both their own and others' messages and behaviours"* (cited in Shulman, 1986 p19). It is thus the ecosystem of the learner, classroom, teacher, school and community that serves as the theoretical ideal unit of inquiry. The participants are seen as jointly constructing the meanings in those situations, and those meanings are subject to continuous renegotiation and revision (Shulman, 1986). The classroom

ecology program examines the reflexive influences of teacher and student actions, frequently illuminated by aspects of thought (Shulman, 1986).

The emphasis of this conceptualisation turns to how activities are jointly constructed in time and space through processes of action, negotiation and interpretation (Doyle, 1986). Teaching is seen as an activity involving both teachers and students working jointly. It examines the proximal issues of how the organisation and programme of action of a class affect student work. An ecological model portrays the behavioural dynamics of classrooms in a way that helps teachers interpret, predict and respond to those dynamics (Siedentop, 1988; Hastie and Siedentop, 1999).

To gain a better understanding of the ecological dynamics of how classrooms operate, the task systems model has been used to analyse and interpret classroom events. Based primarily on the work of Doyle (1979) a "*set of overlapping task structures, each consisting of a goal and operations to achieve that goal and specifying a behaviour ecology*" (p176) were put forward, all under the influence of the accountability strategies utilized by the teacher. The interactions between the task systems form the ecology of the classroom. The notion of a task involves four components:

- (a) the goal or end product to be achieved;
- (b) a set of operations or procedures used to achieve the goal or end product;
- (c) resources or conditions that are available to attain the goal or generate the product; and
- (d) a means of accountability that indicates the importance or significance of the task to the overall operation of the class.

(Doyle, 1985)

In his research, Doyle (1979, 1985, 1986) identified two major task systems in classrooms. These task systems provide an organising reference for interpreting the various events and actions that occur in the classroom. The original systems identified in classroom studies (Doyle, 1979) were the managerial and instructional task systems. The model was called the ecological paradigm and the key to the model was that changes in one task system are likely to influence behaviour in another.

Two sorts of agendas, or curricula, are being followed and negotiated by the teacher. Merritt's (1982) suggested that these agendas could be conceptualised as vectors that, once entered into, pull events and participants along their course. These vectors have direction, momentum and energy similar to the conceptualisation of a vector in mathematics. The contents of the two main teacher agendas are at the very heart of the educational enterprise because they define what schools are for and what purposes they are designed to accomplish. The first agenda is concerned with the academic task, school assignment, classroom content and manifest curriculum. The second teacher agenda is the organisational, interactional, social and management aspect of classroom life, sometimes dubbed the hidden curriculum, though its visibility has improved dramatically¹ (Shulman, 1986).

Broadly speaking the teacher is concerned with two major task structures organised around the problems of learning and order (Doyle, 1986). Learning is served by the instructional task system and order by the managerial task system.

Learning is served by the instructional system which involves the presentation and practice of subject matter. It is concerned with the tasks set for the pupils by the

¹ The term hidden curriculum has been used extensively in education literature since the early 1970s to refer to 'what is taught to students by the institutional regularities, by the routines and rituals of teacher/students lives (Weis, 1982 cited in Bain, 1990, p23). Kirk (1992, 2003) argues that because teachers and the educational literature use the term widely, its meaning has become notoriously flexible and ambiguous to the point where it risks becoming meaningless. Dodds (1985) developed the notion of the 'functional curriculum' to overcome this ambiguity and provide a more precise sense of the kinds of powerful but unofficial learning that goes on in schools of such things as gender. Dodds suggests that four levels of curriculum operate simultaneously within any physical education programme. Taken together, these four levels of learning constitute what she calls the functional curriculum – the full, dynamic display from which students learn. The first level she identifies is the explicit curriculum which refers to 'those publicly stated and shared items that teachers want students to acquire' (Dodds, 1985 p 93). This is the level of curriculum that appears in school programs, syllabi, and policy documents, and teachers consciously pursue it. On a second level is a covert curriculum which Dodds (1985 p93) claims refers to teachers' "unspoken non-public agendas". The covert curriculum refers to those qualities that school documents or lesson plans rarely, if ever, acknowledge (such as "students responding quickly and quietly to instructions" or "students trying hard") but that teachers would readily agree they consciously and intentionally communicate to students in implementing the explicit curriculum. A third level, the null curriculum, refers to ideas, concepts, and values that could be included in the explicit and covert levels of curriculum but are either intentionally or unintentionally and unknowingly left out. What is missing from a curriculum is significant, because as Dodds (1985, p93) says, "Ignorance is not neutral; it is a void in the lives of our children. What is not there in physical education classes interacts somehow with what is there". Finally, Dodds's scheme uses the fourth level, the hidden curriculum, in a more restricted sense than the way other studies have commonly used it. In her scheme the hidden curriculum refers to the reflexive aspects of what teachers say and do in organising programs, writing lesson plans and teaching classes. The way in which the teacher says something or moves while speaking is often crucial in conveying the meaning of the spoken words.

teacher; the difficulty level, grouping, practice time, evaluation and other factors are central issues to this system. Observational research in physical education classes also reveals a lack of emphasis on learning and achievement in instructional and evaluation practices (Bain, 1976, 1978; Tousignant and Siedentop, 1983; Veal, 1988). Bain (1990) argues that one of the apparent contradictions of physical education programmes is that despite a subject matter that involves competitive sport, relatively little emphasis is placed on achievement in lessons or in the instructional planning of physical education teachers. Teachers do not focus on student learning but direct their planning to provide for student enjoyment and participation and avoid incidents of misbehaviour (Placek, 1983). Placek (1983) suggests that the teachers seem to define the teaching situation in terms of keeping students 'busy, happy and good'. In contrast Hickey (2003) argues that traditionally teachers have been led to believe that one of the key ingredients in establishing 'effective' pedagogic relationships between themselves and their students involves them being able to control or dilute the influence of the peer group.

Order in a classroom simply means that, within acceptable limits, the students are following the programme of action necessary for a particular classroom event to be realised (Doyle, 1986). The managerial system includes those tasks that are necessary to create and facilitate an environment where learning and instruction can take place, that is by organising groups, establishing rules and procedures, reacting to misbehaviour, and monitoring and pacing events (Doyle, 1979). Order in classrooms is achieved with students and depends upon their willingness to follow along with the unfolding of the event. It is acknowledged that order often rests on passive non-involvement by at least some students (Doyle, 1986). From the perspective of order, 'cooperation' rather than 'engagement' is the minimum requirement for student behaviour and for an activity to succeed sufficient numbers of pupils must be engaged in the task (Doyle 1977). Findings from the earliest studies in physical education using the ecological model confirmed that the compelling agenda for physical education teachers is the establishment and maintenance of order through a managerial system that typically focuses on co-operation rather than compliance (Hastie and Siedentop, 1999). Physical education programmes for the ordinary student are designed to keep them 'busy, happy and good' (Placek, 1983). The physical education programmes appeared to be more recreational than instructional and tend to be adult controlled and rule-

governed, lacking the player autonomy and action centred qualities characteristic of informal play (Coackley, 1980 cited in Bain, 1990). For this reason physical education programmes seem to regulate and constrain play even in the absence of instructional goals (Bain, 1990). When the managerial task system is working efficiently the organisation of the class is going smoothly, but Doyle (1986) noted that students' responses to work create pressure on the management system of a class. The action teachers can take to create and sustain order range from planning and organising lessons to distributing resources, explaining rules and reacting to individual and group behaviour. The managerial task system is commonly viewed as a prerequisite to instruction, something to get out of the way so that teaching can occur (Doyle, 1986). At the same time others have cautioned that teachers often appear to subordinate instruction to management concerns (Doyle, 1986). Obviously these task systems are closely intertwined and can exist simultaneously and actions towards these ends can even be complementary (Doyle, 1986). At other times tensions can exist when for example controlling a group slows down the pace of the class. Many investigators, such as Hastie and Saunders (1991), have documented that management processes can interfere with the quality of instruction pupils receive, especially in low-ability classes in which management is a prevailing theme. Where these threats are problematic, teachers often simplify task demands and lower the risk of mistakes or misbehaviour, which can effect the management of a class. Hastie and Siedentop argue that "*When activities such as these persist or become too widespread, and become noticed by the teacher the managerial cohesion of the class becomes threatened, often influencing the teacher to reduce the instructional demands or change the task*" (1999, p17). Where tasks are relatively simple and routine, classes tend to proceed smoothly with little hesitation or resistance. To pre-empt this it has been noted that some teachers "*gain and maintain such co-operation in the managerial system by reducing the demands in the instructional system*" (Hastie and Siedentop, 1999, p12). Hastie and Pickwell (1996) identify that in cases where teachers have traded off instructional vigour for compliance in the managerial system, they have allowed the student social system to flourish in ways where minimising work no longer becomes a primary goal, since passing the course is not particularly problematic, thus allowing the student social task system to thrive.

Jones (1992) points out that initially teachers usually describe managerial and instructional tasks verbally. However, during the course of a class, the actual managerial and instructional tasks are often a result of how the teacher responds to students' efforts. The actual tasks performed may not match the tasks as they were originally described because the teacher does not demand strict compliance to the stated tasks (Siedentop, 1991). In essence, the task model examines a three-stage process where the teacher presents a task to his or her class, students then respond to the task demands and finally the teacher responds to students, holding or not holding them accountable for the task (Jones, 1992). Accountability plays a key role in determining the value or significance of a task in a classroom: products that are evaluated strictly by the teacher are more likely to be seen as serious work, that is, work that 'counts' (see Doyle, 1986). Accountability refers to being held responsible and answerable for specified results or outcomes of an activity over which one has control (Hastie, 2000 p310) and affects the risk associated with various types of academic tasks. However, the term accountability is readily equated with 'discipline', that is, the treatment of misbehaviour (Doyle, 1986) and with assessment (Lund, 1992) in much of the literature. This focus can be problematic since it has directed attention away from work-related behaviour and the focus needs to be on thinking about ways of increasing and sustaining engagement in the teacher directed task systems. Accountability surrounds us in our daily lives and Lund (1992) argues that it is a key to keeping students on task and therefore to augmenting learning. Thus, it is an important aspect of effective teaching. Teachers can hold students accountable for their actions in the classroom and it is the consequences that a teacher uses that increase the likelihood of students completing a given task (Lund, 1992). Furthermore Siedentop (1991) argues that task systems are eventually defined by what students are held accountable for by teachers and unless the students are aware of consequences, chances are that the task will not be done as intended. If a teacher fails to designate any form of accountability then completing a task becomes the choice of the student. Thus if teachers hold students accountable for only managerial tasks such as attendance and appropriate dress, the instructional task system is suspended (Lund, 1992).

Tousignant and Siedentop (1983) analysed the classroom functions of teachers and the engagement patterns of students in secondary physical education classes. They

identified that students participated in four kinds of activities, depending on the type of monitoring and the accountability system the teacher employed. Activities included engagement in the specified task, engagement in a modified task such as a game invented from the specified task, a deviant behaviour or participation as a competent bystander. Students who were graded on attendance and participation rather than on accountability tended to do the least, unless they already enjoyed the activity. Students who were rewarded for effort or performance reduced the instances of off task behaviour. Unfortunately their evidence also highlighted that students are most frequently only held accountable for attendance, dress, and minimal participation rather than for achievement.

Placek (1983) observed the planning practices of four public school physical education teachers for two weeks and found them to be most concerned about students' enjoyment of physical education, their participation in class activities and their misbehaviour. In other words, the teachers tended to evaluate their success and non-success in teaching based on the students being "busy, happy and good". None of the teachers felt any responsibility for student learning. Non-successes were defined by student non-compliance (Placek, 1983; Placek and Dodds, 1988) and were generally attributed to causes over which the teachers felt they had no control. In a similar study of physical education majors Placek (1983) found that only 14% equated lack of success with their students' lack of learning. Although student learning was important to success, a lack of learning was not considered problematic. This affects the activities they choose to teach (Placek, 1983) and class organisation and regulations (Bain, 1976). In instances where almost all answers are accepted high ability students are less motivated to engage. In contrast some teachers run strict classes, in which students are not allowed to do anything outside the boundaries of a stringent managerial system. In that way, the student social system has no potential for generating any problematic management situations for the teacher (Hastie, 2000).

Through a subsequent programme of research, one additional dimension of class life has been identified, the student social task system (Emmers, 1981; Allen, 1986; Siedentop, 1988). Tinning and Siedentop (1985) found a social agenda exists within physical education that is typically student driven and research has shown that social factors are

highly influential in determining pupil attitudes toward physical education. As Hastie and Pickwell point out rarely will academic achievement be more vital to a student than his social development and it will rarely consume more of his energy than socialising (1996 p173). Siedentop (1991) remarked that the student social aspect of physical education lessons could also be interpreted as a task system. This task system is known as the student social task system and is directed by the pupils in the class. Siedentop (1988) describes this task system as *“relating to the intentions students seek for social interaction within a class”*. The task system is different from the managerial and instructional task systems in that it is typically student driven, rather than initiated by the teacher. Allen (1986) presented a model of students’ classroom agenda and gave rich descriptions of the ways students interpreted the managerial and instructional demands of different teachers. As part of the student social system, two main student agendas have been identified. The first agenda is to socialise and have fun and the second is to achieve a passing grade while performing the minimal amount of work (Allen, 1986). Allen concluded that students use six strategies to achieve their two major goals. The six strategies included figuring out their teachers, giving the teachers what they want, having fun, minimizing work, reducing boredom and staying out of trouble. Figure 2.1 below illustrates how these six strategies were used in different combinations based on different contextual features of each class.

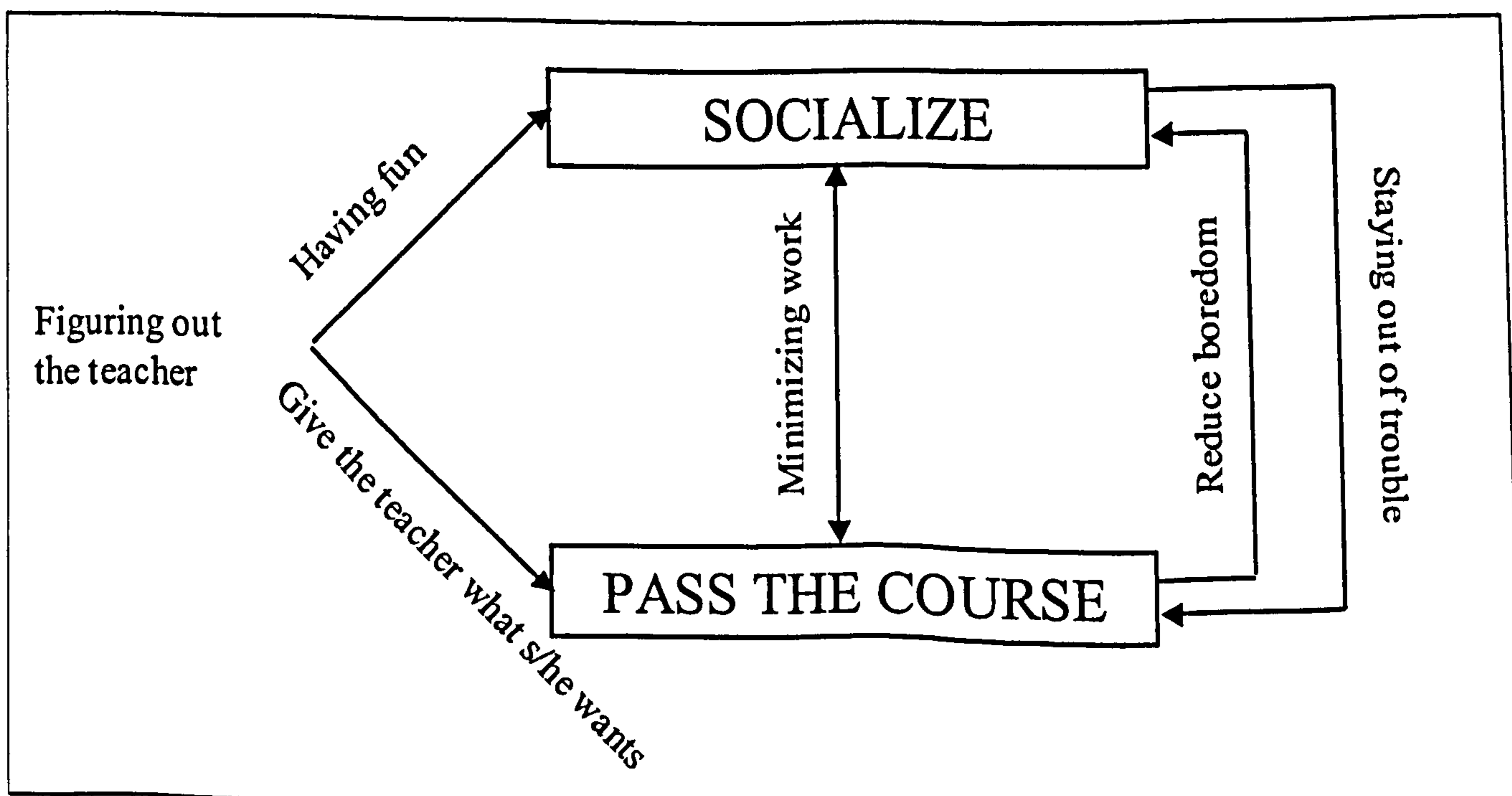


Figure 2.1.1 A model of students’ classroom agendas (from Allen, 1986)

Allen (1986) found that during routine class events, students typically would give teachers what they wanted, allowing them to enact strategies for having fun and minimising work. When a teacher's agenda conflicted with these, the strategies of reducing boredom and staying out of trouble were used. Allen (1986) demonstrated that the combination of these strategies was based on a number of different contextual features of a classroom. Of particular importance was the teacher's expectations for student behaviour and performance. Hastie (2000) also identified 'getting along' as a vector in the student social system. Hastie and Pickwell found that for many boys their primary goal within the student social system was to limit their involvement in the instructional tasks of a dance unit and argued that *"it was more a case of scoring points on the social popularity scale. The boys in this study became competent bystanders"*. Tousignant and Siedentop (1983) described the competent bystander as the student who rarely makes contact with the instructional tasks, but is adept at not attracting attention to him- or herself. They found that during physical education classes, secondary school pupils were often skilled in modifying tasks to fit their skills or in acting as 'competent bystanders'. The pupils would do this by positioning themselves in games so as to avoid major player roles or they would fall back in line to avoid turns in individual performance situations. By staying within the boundaries and requirements of the managerial task system they succeeded in minimising their engagement with the primary, teacher led vectors in the class. Son (1989) also showed how some skilled students participate in a practice task appropriately and successfully for a few repetitions, then reduce the task demands subtly and continue participation but also engage in social conversation with their partner (cited in Hastie and Siedentop, 1999). Increasing the social elements in a physical education class is one of the predominant reasons for negotiation among pupils. However, an ecologically based research in adventure education has shown that the student social system actually encouraged and supported full participation in the instructional task system (Hastie, 1995).

The classroom ecology model analyses the way in which the different task systems interact with one another and how the periodic eruption of secondary, pupil led vectors in the lesson serve to define the strength of the primary, teacher led vector. Examples of secondary vectors include asking the teacher a spurious question to get him or her 'off track' or changing a designated lay-up drill in basketball to a three on three scrimmage.

Student responses to expectations obviously vary. In some cases students engage in the activity which in other cases they learn impression management; that is, they learn to fake participation and perhaps even effort and enjoyment. Other students will engage in strategic non-compliance which may include modifying the teacher planned activity or engaging in 'off-task' behaviour. Some of this off-task behaviour may be viewed by the teacher as deviant and be negatively sanctioned. Other instances may be what King (1983) labels an illicit plan involving unsanctioned interactions that oppose the explicit rules and expectation of work; examples include whispering, poking other children and clowning around. Siedentop (1991) points out that social tasks in physical education are often communicated among students in clever, subtle and often surreptitious ways.

The way in which the primary and secondary vectors interact with one another and the way in which the teacher and pupils modify each of the task systems to ensure that the class tends to their particular needs and preferences form the ecology of a physical education class. The modifications made by pupils to highlight their own preferences are referred to as negotiation. Hastie and Siedentop define negotiation "*as any attempt by students to change task, to change the conditions under which tasks are performed, or to change the performance standards task completion is judged by*" (1999, p17). Within each task system a complex series of modifications are made to ensure that the pupils and teacher are satisfied with the way in which the class is progressing. Massengale and Sage (1995) point out that ultimately negotiation has to do with power, the use of power and the distribution of power. It is simply a process of arriving at a cooperative agreement or willingly consenting to jointly agree on something. It takes place whenever there is an interaction between people and whenever someone is trying to persuade someone else. Research in physical education has identified that treaties develop between the teacher and students so that the classroom is liveable (Hastie and Siedentop, 1999). Rovegno (1994) suggests that many teachers retreat to a 'curricular zone of safety', whereby they present subject matter with which students will engage. Hastie and Pickwell (1996) identify that in cases where teachers have traded off instructional vigour for compliance in the managerial system, they have allowed the student social system to flourish. While teachers certainly do affect student work in classrooms, student behaviour also has a significant impact on teacher decision making and action, even to the extent that student behaviours were often a cause of observed

teacher behaviours (Carlson and Hastie, 1997). Similarly pupils will modify or change the tasks they are set to ensure that they retain features of the social system. For example, when task performance criteria are set at an inappropriate level, pupils will tend to modify the task to include a social element by changing the skill element, grouping or form of the task. Negotiation involves interactions between students and teachers whereby students attempt to reduce the demands of a particular task or at least have the teacher give more information about how to achieve its objectives (Hastie and Pickwell, 1996). Hastie and Siedentop point out that *“where the teacher has not specified the conditions or criteria for successful completion, then almost any answer becomes acceptable and hence students do not need to reduce the task demand”* (1999, p18). The focus on tasks has shown that teachers in physical education generally do not ask students to complete difficult work (Hastie and Siedentop, 1999). Possibly this is due to the many pitfalls that are present at increased levels of difficulty.

2.3 The intensity of student agendas

The *“behaviours witnessed when children try harder, concentrate more, persist longer, pay more attention, perform better, choose to practice longer, join or drop out of sporting activities”* (Roberts, 1993, p406) have long sought to be understood with the hope that once understood they can be changed and thus their study may assist in understanding the ecosystem of the classroom. In effect these behaviour patterns reflect engagement with the instructional and managerial task systems in the ecological paradigm. In psychological research these behaviours have been referred to as adaptive motivation patterns and involve *“a range of cognitive, metacognitive and affective processes that facilitate the initiation and maintenance of achievement activity and that contribute to long term involvement in learning and a personal investment in learning activities...These are evidenced by challenge seeking, high levels of cognitive engagement and task persistence in the face of difficulty”* (Ames, 1992, p161). Roberts identifies maladaptive behaviours as those *“behaviours when an individual chooses easy or hard tasks in order to avoid challenge, does not exert effort in the achievement context, has deteriorating performance over time, and lacks persistence”* (1993, p412). These behaviours represent a lack of engagement with the teacher led agenda in the

classroom. Section 2.5 outlines in which conditions adaptive and maladaptive motivational patterns are more likely to evolve.

The study of motivation, or the 'why' of behaviour, has received a good deal of attention within the fields of exercise and sport psychology, and educational psychology and has been a key aspect of research in sport and education fields during the 20th Century. Contemporary theories of motivation contrast markedly with the perspectives of motivation of the earlier part of the 20th Century. Theories of motivation have changed significantly during this time and we have seen a gradual move away from mechanistic and biological explanations of motivated behaviour toward social cognitive approaches e.g. self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1986); attribution theory (Weiner, 1979); and achievement goal theory (Ames, 1984; Dweck and Elliot, 1983; Maehr and Nicholls, 1980). However it must be noted that no single approach can hope to explain motivated behaviour in its entirety, although some theories have certainly explained particular motive states better than others. More recent approaches to motivation in achievement contexts have focused on a social cognitive approach in that cognitions are crucial, along with the role played by the social environment, in influencing these cognitions. Competence motivation theory (Harter, 1980) and self-determination theory (Deci, 1975; Deci and Ryan, 1985) are examples of early social cognitive theories that have been applied to sport and physical education. During the past two decades in particular, a developmental and social cognitive approach to achievement motivation, referred to as achievement goal theory or goal perspective theory (Nicholls, 1984a, 1984b, 1989), has been popularised in sport psychology research. Achievement goal theory focuses most directly on students' perceptions of the reasons for engaging in a task and attempts to explain behaviour through personal disposition, social environmental and developmentally related parameters. This section briefly traces the major developments in cognitive and social-cognitive approaches to motivation over the past decades leading up to the development of achievement goal theory.

Roberts (1993) states that motivation is one of the central aspects of human affairs. *"The study of motivation focuses on the causes of behaviour, specifically those factors that influence the initiation, maintenance and intensity of behaviour"* (Wuest and Bucher, 1995, p221). Deci and Ryan (1985,1991) proposed that intrinsic motivation

results from three fundamental needs: the needs for competence, autonomy and relatedness. Vallerand and Losier (1999) have proposed a model whereby factors impact on children's needs for feelings of competence, autonomy and relatedness (psychological mediators), which in turn influence different types of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, which then determine cognitive, affective and behavioural outcomes. In general, they proposed that engagement in sport and physical activity is characterised by two forms of motivation. Intrinsic motivation is defined by "*behaviour performed for itself, in order to experience pleasure and satisfaction inherent in the activity*" (Vallerand and Fortier, 1998 p81), or "*motivation for its own sake in the absence of external rewards or pressures*" (Biddle *et al.*, 1999 p12) and is often seen to be a central determinant of physical activity engagement for children. This form of motivation is likely to occur when the activity is interesting, challenging and fun and is associated with psychological well-being, interest, enjoyment, fun and persistence (Deci and Ryan, 1985). Extrinsic motivation involves engaging in an activity in order to derive tangible benefits such as material or social rewards or to avoid punishment (Vallerand and Losier, 1999). Amotivation refers to behaviours that are neither intrinsically nor extrinsically motivated and reflects the relative absence of motivation, that is, there is no sense of purpose and no expectation of the possibility of influencing the environment.

More recent research suggests that motivation can be viewed as a continuum with different levels (Deci and Ryan, 1985). Intrinsic motivation is the highest form of self-determination and amotivation the lowest. Figure 2.3.1 illustrates the continuum of different types of motives representing varying degrees of self-determination.

Amotivation	Extrinsic Motivation			Intrinsic Motivation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To know • To accomplish things • To experience stimulation
Absence of Regulation	External Regulation	Introjected Regulation	Identified Regulation	Regulation for the pleasure of the activity
	-	-	+	++
Low	<i>Self-determination</i>			high

Figure 2.3.1 The self-determination continuum (Brunel, 1999, p367)

Within this continuum Vallerand and Fortier (1998) proposed that three different dimensions of intrinsic motivation exist; intrinsic motivation to know, towards accomplishments and to experience stimulation. ‘Intrinsic motivation to know’ can be defined as engaging in an activity for the pleasure and the satisfaction that one experiences while learning, exploring or trying to understand something new. ‘Intrinsic motivation towards accomplishments’ focuses on engaging in an activity for the pleasure and satisfaction experienced while one is attempting to surpass oneself or to accomplish or create something. ‘Intrinsic motivation to experience stimulation’ is operative when one engages in an activity in order to experience pleasant sensations. These are the highest forms of self-determination and the most positive effects are associated with these forms of motivation.

Deci and Ryan (1985) identify four dimensions of extrinsic motivation. What characterises the four types of extrinsic motivation is the degree of autonomy inherent in the regulation of the behaviour. Integrated regulation is the most autonomous form of extrinsic motivation. Vallerand and Losier (1999) suggest that this form of extrinsic motivation is only identified in adults rather than a teenage population and thus it is not widely reported in the literature and studies conducted into motivation. Identified regulation is present when an individual choicefully decides to engage in behaviours that are not interesting per se, but nevertheless important, because they help him or her reach personal valued goals. Introjected regulation represents an incomplete internalisation of a regulation that was previously external. Although internal pressures

are at work in this form of motivation, *“the action is viewed as something that must be done rather than something one wants to do”* (Biddle *et al.*, 1999, p13). Due to the fact that the internalisation is incomplete the activity is done out of pressure rather than as a choice. External regulation represents the least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation, in which case the person is behaving in order to receive a reward or to avoid punishment from others. Vallerand and Fortier (1998) have shown that internalised extrinsic motivation, in the forms of introjected and identified regulation, lead to time spent on task during a free-choice period indicating that these are higher on the continuum of self-determination than other forms of extrinsic motivation.

Competence motivation theory (Harter, 1980) and self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1977) are examples of motivation theories based on individuals' need to feel they are good at an activity. Both of these theories draw on social cognitive approaches to motivation and analyse the needs of individuals to feel competent as a motivational antecedent. Harter's (1978, 1981) competence motivation theory has been a popular theoretical framework from which to understand children's motivational and affective outcomes especially in sport. The key concept of competence motivation theory is that individuals have an inherent desire to experience feelings of competence. Campbell's first law of human behaviour (1984) states that *“as humans, we constantly seek to maintain or increase our sense of our own excellence”* (cited in Fox, 1988, p247). Due to this simple fact it is proposed that individuals will be attracted to those activities where competence is perceived. These feeling of competence can be developed through a range of experiences in achievement situations. Harter (1980) points out that the desires to feel competent increase in adolescence as young people develop a concept of ability. She highlights that young children tend to give positive images of their own competence, often stating that they are the best at something without using any objective means to come to this conclusion. As Whitehead and Corbin stated *“perhaps the most noticeable characteristic is the highly positive slant that children give to the descriptions of their behaviours, their preferences and their characteristics”* (1997 p279). Most school age children have positive perceptions of their scholastic, athletic and social competence as well as positive self-esteem. Harter's work has painted a picture of children showing increasingly sophisticated abilities to describe and understand various components of self-esteem as they move from childhood to youth.

With development children participating in a sporting context rely more extensively on the feedback provided by significant adults, including parents and coaches, as well as the game, in forming perceptions of their competence. Through adolescence greater reliance is placed on peer comparison and peer evaluation in forming these self-evaluations. Finally, during later adolescence (aged 16 to 18 years), individuals utilise self-referenced forms of information, including goal achievement, speed of skill improvement, effort exerted, and level of attraction to the sport or skill, as a means of formulating beliefs about their capacity in sport (Brustad *et al.*, 2001). As young people develop a concept of ability the effects of competence based motivation are most pronounced.

More recently, research into achievement motivation within the domain of educational psychology has been enhanced by theories which have emphasised the importance of multiple achievement goals held by individuals in achievement contexts (Dweck, 1986; Nicholls, 1984a, 1984b). The study of goal orientations concerns an understanding of the causes, the development and the consequences of motivated behaviour, rather than the amount of motivation. *“It is argued that to understand motivation and achievement behaviour in all of its forms, the function and meaning of behaviour to the individual must be taken into account so that the goals of the action may be identified”* (Roberts, 1993 p410). Roberts (2001) indicates that variations in achievement behaviour are not necessarily a result of high or low motivation; rather they are a manifestation of the different types of goal adopted by the individual. Achievement goals are defined as the perceived purposes for engaging in an achievement task, such as those in physical education or education. Urdan and Maehr (1995) suggest that achievement goal theorists have typically been concerned with pupils’ perceptions about why they are trying to achieve in a task rather than specifically what they are trying to achieve. For example some students may believe that the purpose of doing well in school is for a personal sense of achievement, whereas others may perceive that doing well in school will gain the approval of their peers, parents or teachers. Individuals are seen to have personal definitions of success and achievement. Maehr and Nicholls (1980) argued that success and failure are not objective outcomes but psychological states, dependent on perceptions of the attainment of qualitatively different goals. Furthermore, they proposed that goal attainment is mediated by causal attributions and that subjective

success is dependent on the demonstration of personally desirable qualities. As Maehr and Nicholls put it *“people do not strive for goals because the goals are there, rather a goal is only there when reaching it implies something desirable about the person”* (1980, p235). In order to detect the spectrum of conceptions of successes, Maehr and Nicholls (1980) originally advocated a twofold methodology based on a search for (i) diversity, or the range of contrasting individual interpretations of success around the world and (ii) universals, or common classes of goals that may be recognisable world-wide although with varying emphases in different cultures. On theoretical grounds they proposed three possibly universal views of success: (a) an ability orientation, or the desire to demonstrate high ability and avoid demonstrating low ability in relation to others; (b) a task-mastery orientation, characterised by involvement in the task; and (c) a social approval orientation shown in behaviour designed to please others, albeit in an achievement context. Many forms of achievement goals, consisting of very similar properties have been identified by the most recent achievement goal theorists (Dweck, 1986; Nicholls, 1984a). However all of these theories appear to have built upon the original hypotheses established by Maehr and Nicholls (1980) and the majority of research over the past two decades, in both sport and exercise psychology and educational psychology, has excluded social approval-oriented motivation, while dealing extensively with task- and ego-orientations.

Ability orientated motivation is seen when *‘the goal of behaviour is to maximise the subjective probability of attributing high ability to oneself’* (Maehr and Nicholls, 1980 p236) and is also known as ego goal orientation. It tends to be associated with the beliefs that ability is the main determinant of success and that ability is relatively stable (Biddle, 1997). When ego-involved the focus is on normatively referenced competence and success is experienced through beating others or performing equally as well with less effort. The ego-oriented motivation goal is about winning positive judgements of your competence and avoiding negative ones. In other words, when students pursue performance goals *“they’re concerned with their level of ability: they want to look smart (to themselves or others) and avoid looking dumb”* (Dweck, 1999 p15). Kavussanu and Roberts (1996) found that the main concern of the person is on obtaining favourable judgements regarding his or her ability rather than on learning and improving the present skill level; the intrinsic rewards associated with learning and

mastery are secondary in this case. Ego-orientation can thus be associated with maladaptive behaviour patterns.

The second, a task oriented motivation goal, *"reflects a desire to learn new skills, master new tasks, or understand new things - a desire to get smarter"* (Dweck, 1999 p15). It has been suggested that the task-involved individual uses the undifferentiated conception of ability to judge demonstrated competence, conceives ability as improvement, and is concerned with learning or mastery of the task (Kavussanu and Roberts, 1996 p265). Task oriented individuals believe that improvement through effort implies ability and when task-involved, the focus is on self-referenced ability, and success is experienced through personal improvement, mastery of the task and giving high effort.

Dweck (1999) has done research in the classroom into concepts of intelligence and ability. She found that some people believe that their ability in various tasks is a fixed trait. They have a certain amount of it and that's that. This is referred to as an 'entity theory' of intelligence because *"intelligence is portrayed as an entity that dwells within us that we can't change"* (Dweck, 1999 p2). Those subscribing to the view that a particular attribute is fixed and relatively stable hold an 'entity' view or theory. This is associated with the most differentiated form of ability as distinct from effort. In contrast to this other people have a very different definition of intelligence. For them *"intelligence is not a fixed trait that they simply possess, but something they can cultivate through learning"* (Dweck, 1999 p3). This is called an 'incremental theory' of intelligence because intelligence is portrayed as something that can be increased through one's efforts. Although these theories remain distinct from dispositional orientations, it is hypothesised that children preferring a task goal would be more likely to hold an incremental theory of intelligence. The connection between the conception of ability understood by the child and the dispositional orientation they possess can be seen in two distinct ways and much confusion has existed regarding this link. Treasure and Roberts contend that *"these two goal orientations are related to the conception of ability adopted by an individual, and they act as goals of action, reflecting the individual's personal theory of achievement within a particular context"* (1995 p476). Carpenter and Morgan (1999) maintain that individuals with a task-orientation use an

undifferentiated conception of ability. This view is also held by Treasure and Roberts (1995) who contend that an individual who is task oriented utilises an undifferentiated concept of ability. *"In contrast an individual who is ego oriented utilises a differentiated conception of ability"* (Treasure and Roberts, 1995 p477). Harwood *et al.* (2000) suggests that one cannot have a tendency to differentiate and not differentiate between effort and ability. *"If goal orientations did equate with tendencies to adopt differentiated conceptions of ability, and if this differentiation were a developmental process, it is difficult to see how older children could be anything but ego-oriented"* (Harwood *et al.*, 2000 p241). By approximately age 12 children will have developed a differentiated concept of ability. However they can still have task- or ego- oriented goals. Harwood *et al.* (2000) have begun the process of undermining the concept of ability as a static entity within motivational research. The tendency within motivational research to characterise 'ability' as a one-dimensional, static entity, one among many fixed or incremental 'attributions' has been criticised by other researchers such as Evans (2004). He argues that while motivational theories rooted in attribution theory have usefully centred attention on the nature of individual decision making, they have little to say about the nature of 'ability' as a dynamic, sociocultural construct and process. Furthermore, he states that *"the reductionism inherent in the literature on attribution and ability lends itself perfectly to those willing converts of recent 'human genome' theory, some of whom may wish to reduce 'ability' to something akin to physical intelligence"* (Evans, 2004, p99). Indeed this direct association has been made within traditional approaches to achievement goal theory. There is a need to further explore what 'ability' means and how it is configured, performed and displayed in the contexts of physical education.

Research has established that task and ego orientation are orthogonal constructs, that is, when task orientation is high, ego orientation can be high, moderate or low and vice versa (Digelidis and Papaioannou, 1999; Harwood *et al.*, 2000). Recent research by Elliot and Harackiewicz (1996) offers an alternative framework by partitioning the performance goal orientation into independent approach and avoidance motivational orientations. Using this framework the dispositional orientations are separated into a learning or task involvement goal, focused on the development of competence and task mastery (an approach orientation), a performance or ego involvement goal, directed

toward attaining favourable judgements of competence (also an approach oriented goal), and a performance or ego involvement goal aimed at avoiding unfavourable judgements of competence (an avoidance goal) (Dweck and Leggett, 1988; Elliot and Harackiewicz, 1996; Heyman and Dweck, 1992; Nicholls, 1989). Individuals may aspire to attain competence or may strive to avoid incompetence, and although this approach-avoidance distinction was explicitly incorporated into the earliest achievement motivation conceptualisations it was subsequently neglected in the literature until recently (Elliot and Harackiewicz, 1996). Skaalvik *et al* (1994) similarly identified two dimensions of ego orientations that were labelled offensive and defensive ego orientations. These were identified for some students as to be best or to demonstrate superior ability, and for other students, not to be poorest, to avoid looking stupid or to avoid negative reactions from others. A factor analysis indicates that task orientation, ego orientation and avoidance orientation are distinct goal orientation factors (Duda and Nicholls, 1992 cited in Skaalvik, 1997 p71). Elliot and McGregor (2001) have further advanced this theory suggesting that task or mastery orientation may also be partitioned into approach and avoidance dimensions. In a mastery avoidance goal construct, competence is defined in terms of the absolute requirements of the task or one's own pattern of attainment, and incompetence is the focal point of regulatory attention.

It is proposed that youth sport participants recognise the social nature of sport and that the meaning of their behaviours in this context is related to the development and demonstration of social bonds with significant others. Individuals are likely to feel good about their involvement in sport if they feel they belong and are accepted, respected, included members of a social group. If participants feel devalued, little respect from others, a social outcast or even on the fringe of the social group they are likely to feel that things are not going well, that they do not belong in sport and they are less likely to feel good about their involvement in sport. There has been a growing call for social perceptions and goals to be considered in the study of achievement motivation in school, however, few empirical studies have examined social and achievement motives simultaneously (Anderman and Anderman, 1999, p23). For many children and adolescents sport is clearly as much a social activity as it is a physical one. Participants report social reasons for engaging in physical activities including affiliation, being part of a team and social status. Researchers have also indicated that positive and negative

affect comes from social sources such as friendship opportunities, social recognition and parental pressure.

In response to criticisms that achievement goal theorists do not consider social aspects of achievement motivation, Hicks (1997) suggested that an individual's goal of status within the peer group may be related to ego-involvement goals as these suggest a heightened focus on the behaviour and judgements of others (cited in Anderman and Anderman, 1999). Blumenfeld (1992) also noted that gaining approval from teachers or parents has often been considered as an ability- or ego-goal. Traditionally ego-involvement goals were defined by a focus on normatively referenced competence (Nicholls, 1984). The role played by others in individuals' conception of competence is considered in ego-involvement goals. However, that individuals may have concerns other than competence and that individuals' motivation may not always be related to or explained by a desire to demonstrate or develop physical ability is not considered. Eccles, Wigfield and Schiefele (1998) suggested that categorising children's goals as task- or ego-involved oversimplifies the complexity of motivation.

Maehr (1984) has argued with respect to behaviour in school, that although acquiring and demonstrating academic or task competence may be of concern to all individuals some of the time, it is not necessarily the central concern in any given setting or time. He argued that "*other goals, other intentions, other attractions continually intrude*" (p116). That is, individuals' motivation in physical education may not always be related to or explained by a desire to demonstrate or develop physical ability. Whitehead, (1995 p432) proposed that "*Because there is cultural variation in 'desirable attributes', existing theories of achievement motivation were considered invalid outside national boundaries even within Western Society and should be replaced with a focus on subjective goals*". Social approval goals were originally recognised and defined by Maehr and Nicholls in 1980 as '*conformity to norms or virtuous intent rather than superior talent*'. Social-involvement goals are defined by their focus on desires to be popular, to be socially accepted and to have high social status. These goals encompass a wide spectrum of beliefs and behaviours, many of which may be related to motivation and achievement in school (Urdu and Maehr, 1995). In contrast to task- and ego-involved goals, the overriding concern of social goals is not with success in the

physical tasks but rather with success in the social domain. Unlike the dominant approaches to understanding sport motivation, it is proposed that meaning is not only related to the demonstration of competence but to one's sense of belonging within the social context of sport.

Maehr and Nicholls (1980) proposed that, because an individual who has adopted social approval goals is focused on earning the approval of others, when aroused '*approval motivation will consistently lead to high levels of effort*' (p238). However this conception of motivation does not consider the deleterious effect that seeking social approval from peers with negative views of achievement may have on efforts to achieve. The salience of cultural variations in value is essential to understanding the role of social goals in influencing motivation to achieve in school. Earning approval will affect achievement in different ways depending on the values of those whose approval is sought (Urda and Maehr, 1995). In this way the adoption of a social involvement goal in an achievement setting can have either adaptive or maladaptive effects on behaviour.

A social-involvement goal is adaptive when an individual perceives that engaging in an achievement task will increase their social status or maintain their position within the group, and reflects a desire to gain something from trying in an achievement task. These individuals are oriented toward the potential social gains that involvement in activities, for example sport or education can provide, such as gains in social status, peer acceptance, significant other approval, and social recognition. This conformity to social demands is perceived to increase social acceptance by a significant other. In contrast a social-involvement goal is maladaptive when an individual perceives that engaging in an achievement task will lead to a decrease in status, being ostracised or rejected by ones' peers. Hence, a social-involvement goal is maladaptive when the individual avoids achievement in order to avoid the negative associated effects.

The research of Ewing (1981) and Whitehead (1995) investigated the relationship between social approval goal orientation and sport participation. Allen (2001) claimed that two general forms of motivation or social motivational orientation can be identified: affiliation orientation, in which the primary concerns are the development

and maintenance of mutual interpersonal relationships; and social validation orientation, which reflects a desire to gain something from interpersonal interactions such as status, approval or recognition. Social validation oriented individuals define belonging in terms of status or recognition given by others and as a result have limited control over whether they have secure, stable, ongoing relationships with significant others.

Although a social view of sport has been recognised, youth sport motivation researchers have not examined this aspect of motivation in detail. It is argued that the lack of attention to social motivation is due to an emphasis on dominant theories of motivation on physical ability related constructs and a lack of a suitable theoretical framework to examine social aspects of motivation.

2.4 Reconceptualising the student agenda: an examination of what attributes are socially valued by young people in contemporary society

In order to determine the adaptive nature of social goals it is important to look at what attributes are socially valued. In this section I will briefly highlight a few key features of young people's experiences, recognising that they are eminently diverse and far more complex than can be covered in this brief section. I will also examine the agendas currently privileged in physical education and explore the possible effects of this on the adaptive nature of the social goals adopted by young people. Giddens (1977) theory of structuration is useful for considering this process. He suggests that human agency and social structure are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents that reproduces the structure. This means that there is a social structure - traditions, institutions, moral codes and established ways of doing things; but it also means that these can be changed when people start to ignore them, replace them or reproduce them differently. A structural model of teaching suggests that teaching is both a product of human action and a medium for human action. As such it contains structural properties. It is socially constructed by agents and yet at the same

time is institutionalised in education systems. The role of agency and structure is interwoven and interdependent – a duality².

In examining what is socially valued by young people in physical education there is a need to examine whose agendas are currently privileged within physical education. Kirk and Kinchin (2003) argue that there is a large body of evidence to suggest that traditional approaches to physical education disadvantage girls (Flintoff and Scratton, 2001; Williams and Bedward, 2001), particular ethnic groups (Benn, 1996; Vescio et al, 1999) and alienate motorically less gifted (Carlson, 1995b, Silverman, 1991) and disabled young people (Kosma *et al.*, 2002), while reproducing and celebrating hegemonic masculinity (Nigles, 1998; Wright, 1997). Fernandez-Balboa (1993) points out that it is the hidden curriculum that often limits our ability to become aware of victimisation and to envision other worlds or possibilities. The hidden agendas are communicated through everyday physical education teaching and learning. Kirk (1992) argues that the phenomena we are dealing with when we refer to the hidden agendas of physical education exist in the realm of communication and meaning making. Changing the hidden curriculum is a difficult task because it requires changing behaviours that are habitual and reflects deeply held beliefs. The task often involves transforming not merely the programme but challenging existing social conditions that contradict principles of democracy and justice. Fernandez-Balboa (1993) argues that, because physical education is taught in traditional ways and is accepted without critical examination, it is difficult to identify and eliminate forms of injustice and oppression within it. Furthermore he points out that it is crucial that we ask how physical education helps create and maintain hegemonic ideologies³ and unjust social conditions.

²The notion of duality is central to a structuralist account. For Giddens (1984), the term 'duality' suggests that rather than being an opposite to agency, structure has a dual nature. Thus the structure of social systems are created by human actions, and then serve to shape future human action.

³Power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one's own interests. Dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear 'natural' and quite 'acceptable' (Van Dijk, 1993). If the minds of the dominated can be influenced in such a way that they accept dominance, and act in the interest of the powerful out of their own free will, we use the term hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; Hall *et al.*, 1977). One major function of dominant discourse is precisely "to manufacture such consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988 cited by Van Dijk, 1993 p302). The concept of hegemony, and its associated concepts of consensus, acceptance and the management of the mind, also suggest that a critical analysis of discourse and dominance is far from straightforward, and does not always imply a clear picture of villains and victims. Indeed, it has been suggested that many forms of dominance appear to be 'jointly produced' through intricate forms of social interaction, communication and discourse (Van Dijk, 1993).

It is at this crucial point where discourse comes in: Van Dijk suggests that managing the minds of others is essentially a function of text and talk (1993 p302). Furthermore, she argues that reproduction processes involve different 'modes' of discourse - power relations as the more or less direct or overt support, enactment, representation, legitimation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance, among others. Dominance is defined here as "*the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality*" (Van Dijk, 1993, p300). Social power is based on privileged access to socially valued resources and involves control. For adolescents these resources may be economic, popularity, status, group membership, education or/and, other types of ability such as physical competence⁴. If engagement in an activity is unlikely to result in the accumulation of socially valued resources then adaptive motivational patterns may not be evidenced for the activity. Conceptualising the constitutive nature of these resources or values as continually becoming, multiple, shifting and contradictory, increases our understanding regarding the extent to which they can be contested and replaced. In any case, Giddens (1984) claims that it is the patterns of relationships and repeated forms of interaction that determine the structures which are created by human actions and then serve to shape future human action.

2.4.1 Gender appropriate student agendas

In the case of gender, social reproduction is particularly clear. Burler (1990; 1993) notes that gender is strongly performative; we are all, in our daily lives, consciously and unconsciously, performing what it is to be male or female, demonstrating masculinity and femininity in and through our actions. The social construction of gender begins in early childhood, perhaps as early as infancy, as children respond to cues from parents, teachers and others (Greendorfer, 1983). Children first identify notions of gender by focusing on a few obvious physical or external cues such as hairstyle, dress and name (Bailey, 1993). By age two, clear sex differences in interests appear (Pitcher and Schultz, 1983). By age three, children know many of the implicit social rules that guide

feminine and masculine behaviour. They may also start to believe that it is wrong for people to engage in cross-sex activities (Bailey, 1993; Ignico, 1990). One of the first things that contemporary society teaches children about the process of becoming gendered is that it involves establishing differences between females and males (Birrell and Cole, 1990; Duncan, 1990). These differences are not merely distinctions – they are sometimes interpreted as direct opposites (Kay, 1995). In particular, the media, parents, teachers and peers tell children in both obvious and subtle ways that if boys are one thing, girls are its opposite (Duncan *et al.*, 1994; Kane and Greendorfer, 1994). This approach to ‘gender’ has shifted from ‘roles’ that males and females ‘learn’ to an understanding of the forming of gender identities as relational, multiple and diverse; hence the more recent concepts of masculinities and femininities are often constructed in opposition to each other (Renold, 2001a p372). This is not, however, to deny the notion of ‘hierarchical masculinities’ or the (discursive) forces of ‘hegemonic masculinity’, which legitimate certain ways of ‘being’ male through the subordination and pathologisation of alternative masculine and feminine subject positions (Renold, 2001, p373). Through their own active efforts to engage in what they perceive as gender-appropriate behaviours, children take on social roles and characteristics labelled as feminine or masculine. Thus, a crucial component of social competence for many girls may depend on maintaining and defending the opposition they perceive between these characteristics. Adolescence can exaggerate gender differences. This is because for young men and women there is some uncertainty about what constitutes correct or acceptable performance of adult masculinity and femininity, such performance is more conscious than it is for adults, and there is a greater recourse to stereotyped behaviour, both for oneself and for one’s peers (Paechter, 2001 p3). Cockerill and Hardy (1987) found that fourth grade secondary school girls differentiated strongly between the characteristics which they would associate with a ‘feminine’ and ‘unfeminine’ girl, in three areas: appearance; specific physical, personality and behavioural attributes; and interest/involvement in sport and physical activity. Girls may perceive that it is socially unacceptable to be strong, physical and athletically talented; this is the very definition of a popular boy. An erroneous but particularly persistent and long-standing belief is

⁴ Such resources carry a cultural value that have an exchange value in certain fields and, as a consequence, can function as ‘capital’ (Shilling, 1993). Insofar as they acquire a value within specific fields, these resources become desirable to social agents.

that sports are masculinizing and that physically active girls are more likely to become lesbians, or that all successful female athletes are lesbians (Cahn, 1994; Kane, 1996; Lenskyj, 1990). Within a female adolescent subculture dominated by traditional notions of femininity and heterosexual partnerships, a perceived association of sport with lesbianism could represent a fundamental contradiction to the values and role expectations of many girls (Kay, 1995 p60). Some girls may shun sport altogether to avoid compromising their femininity, or they may prefer sports and physical activities that appear to be more gender-appropriate. While skill at sport is a significant factor in determining social status for many boys, physical attractiveness and success with boys tend to determine social status for girls (Adler *et al.*, 1992; Thorne, 1993).

The emphasis on gender opposition often shapes the ways in which children physically express themselves (Duncan and Sayaovong, 1990). Gender is a key theme in physicality because most girls learn to reproduce 'appropriate' female styles of movement (Young, 1990). Girls learn 'a specific repertoire of gestures, postures and movements' (Bartky, 1998 p64) that can be quite different from boys; early on, girls discover that stereotypic femininity requires delicate, restrained movements (e.g. crossing their legs, folding the arms) and limited use of space (Henley, 1977; Young, 1990). The social construction of femininity can influence girls' preferences for physical activity and their expressions of physicality. Most girls are encouraged to behave like 'good' girls, playing quietly, and are discouraged from taking part in activities which are excessively rough, active or noisy. As a result of this 'habits and values towards inactivity become incorporated into the lifestyle of most females' (Greendorfer, 1983). Boys in contrast, are encouraged by their parents to engage in physically active play and discouraged from more passive, 'girlish' behaviour; in fact, by the age of four, boys are seen to be more strongly sex-typed than girls, partly because of discouragement from engaging in sex-inappropriate behaviour. By the time they have reached school age, children have learnt to distinguish between the type of behaviour that is expected and the type that is discouraged (King, 1988). Part of this distinction is the recognition that physically active play is appropriate for boys, but not for girls (Kay, 1995). Activities such as sports that require more vigorous movement and greater use of space are often socially coded as masculine. Although children may engage in activities coded for the other sex, the social norms that have been established

for each gender, and the sense of identity that these norms may foster, are a powerful influence. As Hasbrook (1995) noted in her ethnography of grade school children, both girls and boys believe that 'girls are not supposed to be big, strong, powerful or physical; such attributes are [seen as] shameful and a source of offence to others, particularly boys' (p17). In order to avoid compromising their femininity, many girls withdraw from sport and physical activity.

Physical education classes are bound up with the reproduction of social inequality and hence it is a valuable area of study. While there seems to be a practical and theoretical acceptance that a wider range of identities are now on offer, the discourses and practices of sport continue to be powerful forces in determining what is socially valued. Hastie and Pickwell (1996) argue that as long as teachers and students do not challenge, but accept, participation patterns as a normal part of the day-to-day physical education experience, the opportunity to learn activity skills will be limited to student perceptions of 'normal' behaviour. The predominant form of classroom activity often takes the form of routine; both the pupils and teachers, after a while, accept behaviour that appears to outsiders as extreme and bizarre. The everyday actions of both pupils and teachers reinforce and reproduce a set of expectations.⁵

Physical education as an activity in the school curriculum has been gendered since its first appearance in the modern era and the practices that make up physical education have historically been associated with girls being feminine and boys being masculine (Kirk, 2003). Since the 1980s, educationalists have argued that the importance of removing sexist discrimination within sport goes beyond the implications for participation in sport itself, to a much broader relevance to the school education system's role in eroding inhibiting gender stereotypes in society (Leaman, 1984; Scraton, 1987). Evans (1994) cited the national curriculum for physical education as a 'highly visible offender', an area in which gender stereotypes were more likely to be strengthened than challenged. Sport is increasingly acknowledged as a powerful cultural institution (Kinkema and Harris, 1998) which routinely and systematically

⁵ It is the set of other people's expectations which make up the 'social forces' and 'social structures' that sociologists talk about (Giddens, 2001). As Giddens and Pierson comment 'Society only has form, and that form only has effects on people, in so far as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do' (1998 p77).

creates and reinforces the ideology of male superiority and actively resists the inclusion of women (Mean, 2001). Sport has a major role as a contributor to traditional concepts of masculinity (Whitson, 1990; Brown, 1999). Physical education, which plays such a prominent role in early experiences of sport, 'has real potential in the undermining of gender divisions in our society' (Scruton, 1986; Kay, 1995). Furthermore, Kay (1995) argues that at the moment physical education is far better at realising this role in the case of boys than girls. Wright (1996) suggested that in some instances, mixed sex classes results in a curriculum that has rested upon a normative male orientation and its assumed social legitimacy. Similarly Renold (2001a) found that many boys in co-educational group-work would fail to co-operate or collaborate with the girls, often dismissed their efforts, ideas and inputs, and ridiculed and belittled their work. Kay (1995) argued that physical education practices could often undermine efforts elsewhere in schooling to encourage children of both sexes to rethink traditional gender boundaries. The relationship for girls and femininity to physical education is complex, partly because the agenda is at least partially set by the boys: boys and young men clearly do not expect girls to have an interest in the subject (Paechter, 2001). Keeping sport as an important site for male identity construction therefore requires that women be positioned as the 'other' (Mean, 2001)⁶. In many situations, and sometimes paradoxically, research has shown that power and even power abuse may seem 'jointly produced', e.g. when dominated groups are persuaded, by whatever means, that dominance is 'natural' or otherwise legitimate (Van Dijk, 1993). Thus, although an analysis of strategies of resistance and challenge is crucial for our understanding of actual power and dominance relations in school, in this study I prefer to focus on the discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality both by those in positions of power and subordination.

Although I have already recognised that what is socially valued is continually shifting and can, and often should, be contested and replaced, I have also argued that if engagement in an activity is unlikely to result in the accumulation of socially valued

⁶ Positioning the 'other' serves an important sociocognitive function in the defining of the standard (Lakoff, 1987), hence a hegemonic need to discriminate between categories and their membership which is achieved through the positioning of other social categories (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). The 'others' of society who can never really belong, are nevertheless essential for its survival because those individuals who stand at the margins of society clarify its boundaries - by not belonging, they emphasize the significance of belonging (Oliver and Lalik, 2003).

resources then adaptive motivational patterns may not be evidenced for the activity. For this reason I believe it is important to briefly consider adolescence and what is socially valued for young people. It is obviously not possible to generalise about what it is that is socially valued because it is far more complicated than first imagined and I recognise that young people's experiences are eminently diverse. However Miles (2000, p1) contends that "*it is possible to identify some key characteristics of young people's experiences which will have a powerful and widespread influence*", particularly given that each young person occupies several separate but sometimes overlapping social worlds.

Peer interaction and friendship are at the heart of most young people's lives (Adler and Adler, 2001; Harris, 1998). They are concerned with making and keeping friends, and place a lot of importance on belonging, on being included, and on being part of a group. Cotterell (1996) points out that group affiliation not only supplies emotional security, but also is a source of status and reputation with motivational properties. Friendship is overwhelmingly a group concept in adolescence, and the peer group value system emphasises the desirability of young people having 'lots' of friends and being part of a crowd. Adolescents who manifestly have few friends and do not feel that they fit into the larger crowd see a discrepancy between their experience and what is promoted as the norm, namely 'lots' of friends, and may feel deprived. They may attribute the perceived deficit of friends to personal inadequacy, in the belief that lacking a wide circle of friends means that there is something wrong with them (Cotterell, 1996 p92).

Cotterell (1996) argues that the widening social landscape is distinctive about the adolescent years, compared with those of childhood, and makes the adolescent's behaviour system more accessible to social influence processes. In most parts of the world, the school and its classrooms are important arenas for peer group formation and friendship relations (Adler and Adler, 2001). School is a major location for meeting and making friends as they contain large numbers of young people who are separated from wider society for sufficiently long periods of time each day for them to develop a social world of their own within the school (Cotterell, 1996 p104). Coleman and Hendry (1999) point out that adolescents face changes in essentially all aspects of their lives concurrently; for instance, going through puberty while entering a new school and

losing an established circle of peer relationships – and this may be more than many adolescents can handle.

During the transition from primary to secondary school, students typically move from relatively small primary schools to larger secondary schools, and their social networks change as they come into contact with a broader range of possible friends. At the same time, they change from the system of staying with the same teachers all day to seeing several teachers for shorter periods of time. The high schools are a world apart from the primary school environment which the youngsters have known: *“their organisation is larger and more complex, their curriculum more diverse, their administration more distant, and teaching dispersed so that students may encounter six or seven different teachers within the course of a day”* (Cotterell, 1996 p106). These changes make it more difficult for students and teachers to develop close relationships. Moreover Urdan and Maehr (1995) contend that the transition to middle school occurs as students reach early adolescence, a time when peers become more prominent in their lives and this may lead many students to pursue peer approval goals more vigorously, and teacher approval goals less vigorously than before. Anderman and Anderman (1999) suggests that social concerns, generally important in early adolescence, may be particularly salient during the period as young people negotiate a new school environment.

Being popular is highly valued during adolescence. Whereas friendship refers to a close bond between two or more people, popularity reflects the way an individual is regarded within the wider peer structure and the way she/he is treated by the crowd. Having high status friendships contributes to one’s popularity (Perry, 1987). Friendship groups have their own boundaries, like surface tension on a soap bubble, which leave the members of the clique often quite content to float along and leave things as they are. The internal dynamics of well-established groups are strong, often based on living in the same neighbourhood, years of schooling, and sharing activities and interests (Cotterell, 1996 p54). Many researchers such as Cotterell (1996) and Griffiths (1995) have pointed out that friendship is not all plain sailing, but instead contains tensions and contradictory feelings. Friends argue and disagree. Friends can be jealous of one another, and the competition between friends can be fierce and anything but friendly.

The friendship cliques and peer groups to which the adolescent belongs not only contribute support to the adolescent in coping with the wider world, but also are sources of group identity that help to endorse the emerging personal identity (Cotterell, 1996 p2). The essential dilemma for an individual young person who wishes to be fully integrated in society is between playing appropriate roles and maintaining a sense of individuality. On the one hand it is important to be able to play the right roles in a variety of social settings and to follow the prescribed rules for these situations. On the other, it is equally important to be able to maintain elements of individuality. Coleman and Hendry (1999, p52) comment that adolescence is a time when an individual struggles to determine the exact nature of his or her self, and to consolidate a series of choices into a coherent whole which makes up the essence of the person, clearly separate from parents and other formative influences. In developing a sense of personal identity, the major psychosocial task for young people at secondary school is resolving the crisis of group identity versus alienation. Antaki *et al.* (1996) comment that we construct and manage our identities in talk and the reproduction, maintenance and defence of our identities should be observable in social practices such as talk (Mean, 2001). It is through everyday discursive practices that young people enact and construct their identities (Potter, 1996). Non-collaboration in normative discursive practices has been identified as a particularly powerful way of undermining membership, no matter how well one communicates, alternative category membership can be made salient (Mean, 2001). The discursive practices adopted by an individual may be 'correct' (i.e. homogenous) and appropriate to the context - in that they reflect the accepted practices of the dominant social group in the given context (Gumperz, 1982).

This brief review of the literature on teenage lives highlights a number of factors that may impact on the goal orientations of young people, particularly in relation to Maehr and Nicholls (1980) original theory advocating a search for diversity in goal orientations; that is, a consideration of the social and cultural values specific to the context that result in particular goal orientations. A consideration of how certain attributes are privileged in and through physical education practices is important given the acknowledgement of the local context in determining goal orientations. Giddens (2003) comments that the ways in which social and cultural values are self-reproducing in nature, that is to say, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually

recreated by them in and through their discursive practices, is also an important consideration.

Although I recognise the value of a theory of motivation, I also acknowledge that without a consideration of what this means in practice in relation to young people's engagement with physical education tasks, it will not influence teaching practices. It is to the implications of achievement goal theory to young people's achievement behaviour that the next section now turns.

2.5 Achievement goal theory and implications for teaching

In this section I will briefly overview the research to date analysing the effects of young people's goal orientations since it is the application of achievement goal theory to teaching situations that is of most interest to this study. A whole industry of research has developed analysing motivation in the hope that once the antecedents of adaptive and maladaptive behaviour were understood they could be changed. Different behavioural, cognitive and affective outcomes have been noted for task- and ego-orientated individuals (Ntoumanis and Biddle, 1999, p644). Extensive research has explored the effects of these motivational constructs on variables such as time on task, effort, persistence at the task, choice of behaviour, problem solving strategies, performance and achievement.

Task involvement has been found to be related to adaptive behaviour patterns:

- Biddle (1997) has argued that there is now consistent evidence that task or mastery goals in physical activity settings can be motivationally adaptive, as the construct is consistently associated with the application of effort and the belief that effort is the key determinant of success.
- Digelidis and Papaioannou (1999) found that task-involved students try hard to learn new skills, they enjoy the learning process, feel satisfaction when they improve their competence and perceive their mistakes as part of learning.
- Duda found that high positive task orientation and high negative ego orientation were negatively associated with pressure and tension (1992, p78).
- In the face of failure, students with learning goals remained focused on the task, and maintained effective problem solving strategies (Dweck, 1999).

- Research in the academic domain has indicated that a high level of task involvement is associated with greater effort and persistence (Lloyd and Fox, 1992; Duda, 1992).
- Dweck (1999) noted that task involved individuals thrived on challenge and used more advanced problem solving strategies to attempt problems which were above their expected level of ability. Nicholls (1989) noted that when task involved, students are more likely to experience an activity as an end in itself and to derive enjoyment from trying to meet the objective challenges inherent in the task.
- When a task orientation prevails the athlete is concerned with the task and not with the self. The motivational goal in this case is doing one's best and fulfilling one's potential. Because the level of competence is judged with respect to self-referenced criteria, cheating and aggressing against another to demonstrate competence in the normative sense is irrelevant. Therefore task orientation should not be expected to have a negative impact on moral decision making and subsequent behaviour in the sport realm (Kavussanu and Roberts, 2001).

Ego involvement has been found to be related to a range of maladaptive behaviour patterns, particularly in the absence of high perceived competence (Treasure *et al.*, 2000).

- Digelidis and Papaioannou (1999) found that ego-involved students try to outperform others and achieve normative records, feel more satisfied when they establish superiority and interpret mistakes as personal failure.
- Evidence has shown that ego orientation has a negative effect on motivation, especially if low ability is also perceived (Lloyd and Fox, 1992). Vallerand and Losier (1999) proposed that perceived competence mediates the relationship between ego orientation and motivational outcomes. Lintunen *et al.* (1999) suggested that if ego-oriented persons have low perceived competence, they expect to have difficulties with the task and this may lead to motivational impairment. The theory suggests that those who are heavily ego involved are likely to be motivated as long as they are able to convince themselves that they have high competence (Biddle, 1997, p66).

- Dweck, (1999) found that in the face of failure ego involved students displayed negative affect and responded with less effective problem solving strategies when faced with difficulty. When pupils perceive that their response will not influence the success they experience their actions for dealing with difficulty become less effective and this concept is termed 'learned helplessness'. Sometimes students do this by playing it safe and completely avoiding mistakes. Dweck (1986) argued that this represented a belief that what you do will not affect the course of negative events, that you have no control over negative events. The ways of dealing with obstacles make the helpless response a clearly less adaptive one. Furthermore she argued that the helpless response, if habitual when faced with a challenge, will limit students' achievement. If obstacles are seen as posing a real threat and if they prompt grave self-doubts and withdrawal, then pursuit of these goals will be compromised.
- Dweck (1999) found that those students displaying the helpless pattern claimed they were bored, even though they had been happily involved only moments before when achieving success. Students prone to the helpless pattern may react with self-doubt and disruption, deciding prematurely that they are not any good at the subject when they face obstacles. A student who relies on a favourable normative comparison as an indication of competence and ability is more likely to show maladaptive responses when faced with difficulty. However task oriented individuals view mistakes as part of the learning process.
- Elliot and Harackiewicz (1996) argue that while ego-involved students perceive their competence as high, they will not engage in maladaptive behaviours. However, this is likely to persist only if they continue to win. Given that the best task for purposes of looking smart are the ones that are hard for others but not for you, pupils may take on a harder task, but only if they think they will do well at it.
- Lloyd and Fox found that a high ego involvement is associated with a lack of persistence in sport, a belief that sport can be boring and that success requires high ability (1992).
- Choice of level of difficulty of task is one variable that is affected by dispositional orientation (Duda, 1992). Lloyd and Fox (1992) found that even if an ego orientated individual compares favourably with his/her peers most of the

time there is evidence to show that such individuals, while continuing to be involved in the activity, may sacrifice learning opportunities that involve the risk of error.

- Skaalvik (1993, 1997) in two case studies found that students who had learning or reading problems were preoccupied with social comparisons and that they were highly concerned not to be perceived as stupid. The students used a variety of self-protective strategies to avoid negative perceptions from other students.
- A high reliance on ego involvement and an absence of mastery goal setting seems to be motivationally weak. Fox *et al.* (1994) found that in young adolescents, high task/high ego and high task/low ego groups were most motivated in comparison with low task/high ego and low task/low ego groups, when asked about sport in general.
- Sportspersonship is manifested when players try to play well, avoid taking an unfair advantage over their opponent and react graciously following defeat or victory. Nicholls (1989) has argued that the focus on demonstrating superiority over others, which characterises ego-oriented people, may result in a lack of concern about justice, fairness and the welfare of opponents in a competitive situation. Research has shown that a high ego orientation is associated with a tendency to endorse deception and avoidance behaviours (Lyoyd and Fox, 1992), with the belief that deception was key to success (Treasure and Roberts, 1998), with the views that sport should enhance social status and self-esteem (Treasure *et al.* 2000) with an endorsement of unsportsmanlike play (Duda *et al.*, 1991) and that when winning is at stake, the ego-oriented athlete will be tempted to choose a behaviour that facilitates accomplishment of this goal, even if the behaviour is not congruent with his or her moral ideals (Kavussanu and Roberts, 2001).
- Midgley *et al.*, (2001) found that an orientation to demonstrating ability is consistently related to the use of superficial strategies such as memorisation and rehearsal.

Although much of the research described above indicates that ego involved goals predict maladaptive behaviour, it must be noted that this orientation has also been associated with adaptive outcomes such as positive self-concept, affect, attitudes, effort

and the valuing of academic work (Midgley *et al.*, 1996; Nicholls, 1985; Pintrich and Garcia, 1991; Roeser *et al.*, 1996; Elliot and McGregor, 2001; Skaalvik, 1997). Also recent research into the effects of performance-approach and -avoidance goals suggests that, in certain situations, these goals do not always produce negative behaviours. Using the approach-avoidance concept, achievement goal theory predicts that both performance-approach and mastery goals are focused on attaining competence, and these approach orientations facilitate a set of processes for optimal task engagement and foster intrinsic motivation. Specifically, in a performance-approach or mastery orientation individuals perceive the achievement setting as a challenge and this construal is likely to generate excitement, encourage affective and cognitive investment, facilitate concentration and task absorption and orient the individual toward the presence of success-relevant and mastery relevant information, processes hypothesised to facilitate intrinsic motivation (Elliot and Harackiewicz, 1996).

Elliot and McGregor (2001) conducted a study that has looked at performance-approach goals and grades. They found that performance approach goals were positively related to grades on an exam in introductory psychology. However they also looked at these relationships in terms of 'long term retention' that was assessed by looking at grades on an unexpected pop quiz given near the end of the course that included material from the exam given earlier. On the pop quiz, performance approach goals were unrelated to grades and mastery goals, which had been unrelated to grades on the first exam, were positively related to grades. Elliot and McGregor concluded that these results clearly implicate mastery goals, not performance goals as facilitators of retention. Their findings show that mastery-avoidance goals have a more negative pattern of consequences than mastery-approach goals and a more positive pattern than performance avoidance goals. Mastery avoidance goals shared some deleterious processes with performance-avoidance goals but importantly mastery avoidance goals diverged from performance avoidance goals in that they were not negative predictors of performance attainment. Mastery goals in fact evidenced some positive qualities, as they, unlike performance avoidance goals, facilitated the subsequent adoption of both mastery and performance approach goals. These results clearly indicate that not all avoidance goals should be considered equally inimical and that "performance avoidance

goals appear to be the primary regulatory vulnerability in achievement settings” (Elliot and McGregor, 2001, p516).

Elliot and Harackiewicz (1996) found that performance goals focused on avoiding incompetence undermined intrinsic motivation relative to both a mastery and a performance goal directed toward the attainment of competence. This avoidance orientation is viewed as evoking processes that are antithetical to the very nature of the intrinsic motivation construct. Individuals construe the achievement setting as a threat and may therefore wish to escape the situation if such an option is readily available (Elliot and Harackiewicz, 1996). However research assessing both the approach and avoidance components of performance goals is consistent in providing evidence of the maladaptive patterns of learning associated with performance avoidance goals (Elliot and Harackiewicz, 1996; Skaalvik, 1997).

Although many researchers have acknowledged the importance of social factors to learning few studies have analysed the effect of pupils adopting a social goal orientation.

- Ryan *et al.* (1998) reported that students’ endorsement of social status goals predicted their self-reported reluctance to seek help with academic work and their perception that help-seeking was associated with a threat to self-worth. That is, students who were concerned with their peer popularity were more likely to be concerned about classmates’ judgements of their academic ability.
- Anderman and Anderman (1999) reported that students who feel accepted and “a part of” their new school were more likely to pursue their academic work for the purposes of personal understanding and increased competence.
- Roesner *et al.* (1996) found that 8th grade students who reported high perceived school belonging, the sense that they were important, they mattered and belonged in the school, also reported a greater sense of academic self-efficacy and positive affect toward school.

Wentzel (1991) suggests that students’ endorsement of social responsibility goals may also be related to their achievement motivation and that social responsibility goals can be defined as “*adherence to social rules and role expectations*” and that students’ pursuit of responsibility goals represents their desire and perceived ability to meet the formal social demands of the classroom context (cited in Anderman and Anderman,

1999, p23). Evident in this section is the paucity of research on social goal orientations or on the impact of different cultural emphases and opportunities as originally advocated by Maehr and Nicholls (1980). There has been a growing call (Anderman and Anderman, 1999; Urdan and Maehr, 1995; Blumenfeld, 1992) for social perceptions and goals to be considered in the study of achievement behaviours in school.

The development of these findings into guidelines for practice is of central importance as it at this stage that an understanding of achievement goal theory may help teachers' improve their practices and thus, improve the experiences that young people have in, and of, physical education.

2.6 Translating theory into practice

The obvious rationale for doing research on teacher effectiveness in physical education is to improve the quality of learning. However, an enduring question has been what approaches to teaching influence student learning and result in differentially greater learning gains, and this has been a controversial area of research over the past number of decades. Until the early 1990s much of the research identifying appropriate teaching strategies to facilitate adaptive learning behaviours had been experimentally induced by creating a situational goal structure and dominated by the process-product research paradigm. Shulman (1986) argued that as a result, policies and programs for teacher education have often translated decontextualised results into rather inflexible evaluative standards and the conception of teaching as a precisely prescribable set of behaviours for increasing pupils' attainment flourished. The guidelines for creating an adaptive motivational climate are one such set of theories.

2.6.1 Motivational Climate

Using the psychological research into pupils' achievement goals Ames (1992), Epstein (1989) and Treasure and Roberts (1995) outlined the implications of achievement goal theory research for teaching effectiveness. The situational goal structures that they describe are known as motivational climates. They argue that it is extremely important

to refine our understanding of motivational climate because perceived teachers' behaviour represents a key 'social factor' in schools that results in motivational consequences. Pringle (2000) argues that the reductionist and decontextualised approach of achievement goal theory and motivational climate research is potentially problematic. He argues that a decontextualised approach neglects that physical education may be constructed and delivered in a manner that may oppress or at least disinterest certain youth from active participation and that consequently it "*indirectly maintains the inequitable power relations and discourses that currently exist in school physical education*" (2000, p25). Ames points out that "*a comprehensive intervention requires attention to salient classroom structures, identification of principles and strategies that can be mapped onto these structures, and generation of exemplary practices that can be integrated into all curriculum areas and within all aspects of day to day classroom routine*" (1992a p268). Treasure and Roberts (1995) comment that it is surprising, given the widespread concern regarding the motivation of students, that there is a paucity of research on motivation enhancement in the classroom. Recommendations for teaching effectiveness are also dominated by the dualisms inherent in the research paradigms and, apart from the interventions employed in Girls in Sport and Physical Education Project (IYS/YST, 1999; IYS, 2000), ecologically valid curriculum interventions generally have, arguably, lacked a theoretical underpinning framework utilising the results of the extensive psychological literature. Schools included in this project employed various intervention strategies to enhance pupils' (particularly girls') motivation. Despite the many criticisms of this literature in the following section I will examine the application of achievement goal theory to teaching effectiveness research.

Many achievement goal theorists, such as White et al. (1998) and Kavussanu and Roberts (1996) have outlined that, although individuals approach an achievement context with the predisposition to certain goal orientations, the structure of the context will also have a powerful effect on the adopted goal of action, that is individual dispositions and situational factors interplay to determine the adopted goal in any given situation. By giving certain cues, rewards and making explicit certain expectations, a significant other structures the motivational climate of a context so that achievement goal orientation is adopted (Roberts, 1993). Treasure and Roberts (1995) point out that

it is expected that children and young adolescents, who have yet to firm up their personal theories of achievement may be more susceptible to the structure of the motivational climate than older adolescents.

The classroom and other learning environments have an important role in shaping and socialising students' motivational patterns (Ames, 1992b). Carpenter and Morgan (1999) have suggested that the perceived classroom climate can predispose individuals to adopt a particular personal goal perspective and, as a consequence, use adaptive or maladaptive achievement strategies. The subjective perception of the psychological climate of the achievement context will engage one goal orientation versus another (Roberts, 1993). Situational factors can potentially alter the probabilities of individuals displaying certain goal dispositions. Brunel (1999) found that situational climate was a better predictor of motivational climate than dispositional goal orientation. Different structures of the motivational climate facilitate the development of adaptive or maladaptive motivational processes in physical activity - how these structures operate and how they can be altered through intervention programmes is important to understand (Ntoumanis and Biddle, 1999). However the important issue remains of how to implement structures to enhance the motivational climate of the physical education class.

An approach to restructuring the environment requires identifying those principles and strategies that will make a mastery orientation salient to the individual participants. The motivation literature is rich with general and specific strategies that are conceptually consistent with a task or ego goal orientation and that can be translated into actual classroom practices. By bringing together a wide range of strategies and mapping these strategies onto all aspects of the learning environment, an attempt has been made to achieve a comprehensible plan for impacting children's motivation over a long term (Ames, 1992b; Treasure and Roberts, 1995). Specifically, based on previous findings, Epstein (1989) suggested that there are six variables that can help teachers organise classroom instruction and interactions. These six achievement structures are: Task (design of tasks), Authority (location of decision making), Recognition (distribution of rewards), Grouping (manner and frequency of groupings), Evaluation (standards for performance) and Time (pace of learning). It is theorised that creating a task- or ego-

involving climate can be accomplished by intervening on these six structures of the class climate. Each strategy was operationalised in terms of a wide range of specific instructional practices to facilitate the teacher's actual implementation of the strategies and then translated into motivational strategies that can be implemented in classrooms. Theeboom *et al.* (1995) suggest that the task, grouping and time dimensions can be regarded as elements of instructional organisation while the authority, recognition and evaluations dimensions can be considered examples of teacher behaviours toward students. Treasure and Roberts' (1995) study initially involved identifying those strategies that are consistent with promoting either an ego or task achievement goal in a physical education setting and organising these strategies into Epstein's six TARGET areas as outlined in Figure 2.6.1

Motivational Climate Structures	Mastery	Performance
Tasks	Challenging and diverse	Absence of variety and challenge
Authority	Students are given choices and leadership roles	Students do not take part in the decision making process
Recognition	Private and based on individual progress	Public and based on social comparison
Grouping	Promotion of co-operative learning and peer interaction	Groups are formed on the basis of ability
Evaluation	Based on mastery of tasks and on individual improvement	Based on winning or out performing others
Time	Time requirements are adjusted to personal capabilities	Time allocated for learning is uniform to all students

Figure 2.6.1 Descriptions of mastery and performance climates in accordance with the TARGET structures (adapted from Ames, 1992 cited in Ntoumanis and Biddle, 1999 p644)

From a motivational perspective, Treasure's (1993) study clearly shows not only that it is possible to create a task-involving climate but also that children thrive in such a context (cited in Treasure and Roberts, 1995 p482). Results demonstrated that by

manipulating Epstein's intervention structures, TARGET, a physical education teacher can affect the motivational climate of the achievement context to override the dispositional goal orientations of students (cited in Treasure and Roberts, 1995). Treasure and Roberts (1995) argued that by manipulating TARGET structures, it appears that a teacher can foster a particular achievement goal and in so doing play an active role in constructing a child's physical education experience. The interventions are directed toward giving the teacher new choices and changing the teacher's decisions and instructional practices so that a mastery orientation characterises the classroom environment. Emphasis is placed on the choices and decisions that are made by the adult leaders because these choices convey the goal priority of the adult: the valued activities, outcomes and individual characteristics (Ames, 1992).

Although I have outlined the way in which achievement goal theory has been applied to teaching effectiveness research, I also acknowledge the failings of this research. Based on achievement goal theory research, motivational climate literature has failed to include recommendations for how teachers can influence the adoption of social goal orientations which will result in adaptive behaviours in the classroom. Although the TARGET structures were of limited use in the planning of a holistic intervention for this study, they were considered in the Sport Education instructional framework.

2.6.2 Sport Education

Sport Education was not developed based on a theoretical framework such as achievement goal theory. Rather it developed from a dissatisfaction with the decontextualised nature of young people's physical education experiences (Siedentop, 1994). It is one of a range of instructional models that have been developed with a holistic approach to instruction and learning. Metzler (2001) states that a "*model is designed to be used for an entire unit of instruction and includes all the planning, design, implementation, and assessment functions for that unit*" thus ensuring that instruction is coherent, consistent and logically progressive. This goes beyond the limitations of methods, strategies and styles that are frequently used to define teaching and instruction. The direct instructional model, peer teaching model, Sport Education model and cooperative learning model are examples of the options available when planning a comprehensive unit of instruction. The variation in instructional models

allows the teacher to select the most appropriate model for a particular unit. However, many researchers have argued that teachers' instructional decisions are more often based on the content or subject matter of the unit (Metzler, 2001). Due to the dominance of games as subject matter in the physical education curriculum, the methods, strategies and teaching skills used for instruction have remained relatively unchanged.

The instructional models are designed as coherent frameworks upon which the teacher can build and modify plans, based, for example, on the goals for the unit, knowledge of the students, context and the content. Although it is argued that "*teachers who wish to have students become truly physically educated persons will have to use more than one model in their programs*" (Metzler, 2001 p159), current physical education instructional practice varies little between game activities although the content is different and due to the central role of sport in physical education there is little variation in the instructional models used.

Siedentop (1988) found that the strategies for accomplishing success in the student social system, while still maintaining quality work in the instructional task system, are for teachers to find ways to allow the student social system to enhance the instructional task system. Siedentop (1988) suggested two curriculum models where the student social system might enhance and motivate the instructional task system. These are the co-operative learning and Sport Education models. There would seem to be significant differences between the ecologies of physical education classes following the Sport Education model and those seen in more traditional, teacher directed instruction. As a student centred program, Sport Education, while still under the overall leadership of the teacher, allows students to complete much of the micro-management within the sessions, thus ensuring that the social, instructional and management systems work in harmony. In a study by Carlson and Hastie (1997) it was found that while in regular physical education contexts, the students social system often conflicts with the teacher's agenda, in the Sport Education program, data suggested that because students were placed in both instructional and managerial leadership roles, these typically teacher driven task systems became an integral part of the student social system.

Sport Education has been developed from the work of physical education researcher Daryl Siedentop (1994, 1998) in the USA. Most of his work has been with primary school age children, although recently this has extended to adolescents and college students. Siedentop (1994) argued that Sport Education replaced what has traditionally been referred to as the multiactivity sport curriculum model. Through the development of a season-long program of team selection, preseason training, competitions, record keeping and formal officiating, Sport Education has been designed to help students better appreciate sport, as well as to enable them to experience the highs and lows of competition. Currently these features are rarely reproduced in physical education classes, leading to inauthentic sport experiences for pupils.

The Sport Education model provides the physical educator with a more authentic approach to teaching sport and aspires to provide opportunities for all young people to:

- (a) Be initiated into a range of culturally valued sporting practices
- (b) Become competent, literate and enthusiastic sports persons
- (c) Explore and critically examine the activities that contribute to leading full and valuable lives, where and how sport can contribute and how to make informed decisions about what to do in one's life.

Sport education has as its main goal, *"to educate students to be players in the fullest sense, and to help them develop as competent, literate and enthusiastic sportspeople"* (Siedentop, 1994, p 4). It aims to do this by promoting a positive sport experience for all students through several key contextual features of authentic sport (Siedentop, 1994) which include:

- (a) Sport Education operates in seasons of length considerably longer than most physical education units
- (b) Players are on teams and stay on that same team for the entire season to promote affiliation and membership
- (c) Seasons are bounded by formal competition, which is interspersed with directed practice sessions
- (d) There is a culminating event to mark the conclusion of each season
- (e) There is extensive record keeping and collection of statistics

- (f) There is a festive atmosphere in which the season (and particularly the culminating event) takes place, which is promoted through the use of team names, logos and the performance of specific sport rituals and traditions.

Taggart (1988) has commented that sport is one of the historic cornerstones of physical education, and cannot exist without it. Furthermore, the DES (1992) state in its aims that:

- 1.1 In physical education the emphasis is on learning in a mainly physical context. The purpose of the learning is to develop specific knowledge, skills and understanding attitudes and to promote physical development and competence. The learning promotes participation in sport.
- 1.2 Sport is the term applied to a range of physical activities where emphasis is on participation and competition. Different sporting activities can and do contribute to learning.

Although sport is recognised as a primary element in pupils' experience of physical education there are many who would argue that pupils are not having a true sporting experience. Thorpe and Bunker (1986) observed that much teaching and coaching of games is dominated by the development of techniques within highly structured lessons. They also observed that in school physical education, the development of techniques took up the majority of lesson time with little time left over to actually play the game. Even when game play was included in lessons, teachers and coaches rarely made connections between the technique practices and how and when these techniques should be applied in game play. Siedentop (1988) also stated that the most striking criticism of traditional teaching of sports is that it has become decontextualised.

Three major elements leading to the decontextualisation of sport are identified as:

- skills are taught in isolation rather than as part of the natural context of executing strategy in game-like situation;
- the rituals, values and traditions of a sport that give it meaning are seldom even mentioned, let alone taught in ways that students can experience them; and
- the affiliation with a team or group that provides the context for personal growth and responsibility in sport is noticeably absent in physical education.

Siedentop (1994) argued that the ebb and flow of a sport season is seldom captured in a short-term sport instruction unit where physical education teaches only isolated sport skills and less than meaningful games. This decontextualisation of learning is made possible by what Ennis (1999) calls the multi-activity curriculum model that is a dominant and widespread approach to organising school PE. She characterises this model as follows: short units of activity; minimal opportunities for sustained instruction; little accountability for learning; weak or nonexistent transfer of learning across lessons, unit and year levels; few policies to equalise participation between boys and girls (in co-education classes) and high- and low-skilled players; and a student social system that undermines teacher authority. Teaching Games for Understanding and the Sport Education model were both designed to redress the inadequacies of the way sport has traditionally been incorporated into physical education. Kirk (1996) stated of Sport Education that this is "*an exciting possibility...[that questions] the relevance of teaching these [sporting] skills in a decontextualised way which bores children to tears*" (cited in Alexander *et al.*, 1998 p21). Hastie and Siedentop, (1999) point out that curricula that present authentic activities with real outcomes tend to motivate students and sustain them in participation without high levels of teacher supervision. Sport Education can provide a more meaningful experience of physical education for young people than the traditional multi-activity model. In a study by Carlson (1995) into student alienation in physical education, students reported that the main factor causing their alienation was that physical education had little or no personal meaning. The autonomy pupils are given within Sport Education for their own learning can enhance their feeling of ownership of the curriculum. In a study of college students by Bennett and Hastie (1997) it was found that class attendance improved from 78-89% attendance during the previous course to 95% perfect attendance during this class.

Although sports are only one component of the NCPE, current literature in both physical education and sport typically goes to great lengths to conceptually differentiate the two (Armour and Jones, 1998). However controversial sport remains as an element of physical education, it is recognised that currently much of the curriculum is dominated by games or sport in schools. The physical education teacher visibly spends much time teaching pupils within the framework of specific sports and for both teachers and students sport and games are an important part of the physical education program

(Hastie, 1996). In a study of middle and high school students' attitudes toward physical education, Tannehill and Zakrajsek (1993) reported that game play was regarded as the most important component of physical education.

Competition is a necessary condition for sport and it seems that the relationship between competition and sport is a defining factor for many in the profession when considering the appropriateness of associating sport with physical education. As Armour and Jones stated *"sport has been shunned as - probably - just too visibly practical, and too closely linked to the highly competitive, slightly disdainful world of professional sport"* (1998 p91). Sociologically based research strongly suggests that the peer group is a prominent influence upon children's participatory involvement in sport, particularly during adolescence (Lewko and Greendorfer, 1988; Brustad, 1992). "Essentially peers are portrayed as competitors and sources of comparative information about individual ability in situations perceived as stressing performance goals; situations that promote mastery goals minimise the potential negative impact of others" (Blumenfeld, 1992 p277). This is especially true in sport as opposed to play. *"The concern of children within sport is the performance and the outcome rather than the design and maintenance of the activity which is more characteristic of recreational games"* (Roberts, 1993 p411). Thus the affects of the adult imposed superstructure of sport may influence the goals adopted by children by creating an ego-involved climate among their peers.

The nature and significance of competition in education, despite significant research and discussion on the matter, remains a controversial one with a dubious reputation. Competition is seen by some as inherently working against others in a spirit of selfishness (Fielding, 1976). Roberts (1993) indicated that the achievement context of sport is very likely to engage the ego-involved conception of ability, which may direct the child to develop a competitive achievement goal within sports contexts. Research also indicates that students report the competitive nature of their class as a negative factor in their attitudes to physical education, particularly for teenage girls. Browne (1992) has noted that one reason girls elected not to select physical education was that it was too competitive. Also studies reporting the voices of students who feel alienated in

gym class (Carlson, 1995) have noted that excess competition is one negative factor for these students.

However advocates of Sport Education argue that competition is not by itself the problem. It can be, if taught with understanding and skill, a form of education which pupils inherently enjoy, a form of education that demands high skill levels and social engagement. Pruvulovich (1982) states: *"competition can and does bring out new talents, often undreamt of, and in various forms caters for different abilities, talents and skills. Moreover it encourages new ventures, and whets the appetite for more knowledge and deeper self-fulfilment"* (p77). Kirk and Kinchin (2003) point out that there are various ways of practising sport, some of which may be more or less socially and educationally desirable than others. This issue is of major significance when we come to consider sport education since we need to be clear about which aspects we wish to reproduce in schools. Originally, com-petitio meant 'to question, to strive together'. It was more closely tied to friendship than to rivalry. Competition in the context of sport was, and for many still is, seen *"as a struggle for excellence, a form of excellence that would not be possible were it not for the type of situation that sport provides"* (Arnold, 1989 p18). The student centred features of the Sport Education model have allowed it to lay strong claim to contemporary educational relevance (Alexander *et al.*, 1998). Small-sided games are preferred because they increase opportunities to respond. While playing hard and fairly to win is stressed, the dominating ethic is to take part fairly and to improve individual and team performance. Extensive research has been done into the many benefits Sport Education is purported to bring about. Research and development projects have reported findings in relation to student learning outcomes and teacher professional development. These studies have shown findings related to social aspects (team elements, sense of inclusion, support), psychological aspects (motivation, investment, sense of responsibility) and technical aspects (game skill, tactical understanding). Sport Education continues to be promoted *"because of its educative potential in a number of areas of learning"* (Alexander *et al.*, 1998 p21). Students certainly describe their experiences in Sport Education as preferable to other sport formats within physical education (Carlson and Hastie, 1997; Grant, 1992; Hastie, 2000).

It seems self evident that there is a relationship of sorts between the sport-based multi-activity form of physical education and the community of practice of sport more broadly. But as Siedentop (1994) and others have argued, this relationship could not be described, in terms of the early social reproduction theorists (Whitty, 1985), as a one-to-one mirroring of the community of practice of sport and sport-based PE. The abstracted form in which sport is taught in school physical education suggests there are refractions rather than straightforward reproductions of sport discourses (Kirk and Kinchin, 2003).

The Sport Education model relies heavily on cooperative learning strategies in which teams (coaches and players together) are given much of the responsibility to get prepared for the season. Ideally all students are involved equally and they all have roles within the team and overall structure of the season. In each season, they also learn to play, referee, score, and keep performance statistics. Once in teams the students work co-operatively to determine their needs for the season, their practice schedules, position assignments, substitution plans and game strategy. Each team will appoint the players to a range of roles, taking responsibility for their own learning experience and learning about the commitment required to organise a sport season. Even though one student is designated coach, his role is to co-ordinate the team's efforts not to run the team. Across several seasons, they will get to be coaches, managers, team publicity directors, team trainers, and other such roles depending on the various needs of each team. The league council, an elected group of pupils, are given autonomy in deciding things like rule modifications, team selection procedures, scheduling and conflict resolution, thus taking the responsibility for a wide range of events in the class. This "wide range of possible roles young people can play within sport education further enhances opportunities for them to practice citizenship" (Kirk and Almond, 1999 p6). Schools can provide the means by which young people have the opportunity to experience different roles in order to recognise their significance, but also to learn the different satisfactions that can be gained from participation as an official or a coach. Research has shown that students do take their non-playing roles seriously or enthusiastically (Hastie, 2000). Since all students take on a non-playing role as well as their role on the team each can make a valuable contribution to the operation of the season.

In a study by Hastie (1996) it was found that during a unit of Sport Education all the pupils considered that they had received more opportunities for involvement and actual participation than in their previous lessons in physical education. Sport Education enhances the learning experience for all categories of pupils, those with both high and low ability level. While Kinchin (2001) reported the positive impact of a Sport Education program on a high-ability pupil, Carlson (1995a) also reported that lower skilled students in particular perceive they are useful and can make a serious contribution to their teams. Australian Sport Education research has reported improved outcomes for many lower-skilled students and positive findings for many students' social skills. Students have reported a strong preference for Sport Education over the traditional teacher-directed mode of program delivery (Medland *et al.*, 1995, cited in Alexander *et al.*, 1998 p22).

The benefits of Sport Education extend further than psychological and social elements. While Sport Education may not be the most efficient mechanism through which to develop skills, research has indicated that improvements do occur in both the development of techniques and in tactical decisions and it is important to recognise that students' perceptions of their skill performance and improvement during such a unit are equally important (Hastie, 1998). The development of Sport Education was due to the decontextualisation of sport in physical education. Within this program an attempt is made to redress this situation and pupils are provided with an experience that encourages them to look at a wider range of game elements. Specifically students work as a member of a team and are part of this for the whole season. The individual proficiency of players has been shown to improve in cases where groups are small, and the players continue to engage in match play over an extended period (Hastie, 2000 p357). Sport Education assists in improving young people's understanding of games through their participation in a range of roles such as umpire, manager, scorekeeper etc... For example through training as a referee an increased understanding of rules is gained. Coaches and teams analysing game plans attain greater awareness of positioning and movement. Also the increased level of investment and motivation reported in physical education increase the likelihood that technical advances in skill will be made. Although personal development is a key feature of physical education,

Sport Education also places emphasis on personal development as part of team development.

Sport Education provides young people with opportunities to belong to a team and to work on behalf of the team throughout a season. *“Within the traditional, selective and elitist approach to sport, many young people have been disqualified from this experience of identification and belonging because they have been judged by others to lack performance skills”* (Kirk and Almond, 1999 p6). Sport Education within the physical education curriculum gives the opportunity for all pupils to experience being on a team for the duration of a season. This opportunity to be part of a team group throughout the season is a key element of Sport Education. As Siedentop stated *“it is clear that the persisting group – the team – is a necessary condition for personal growth”* (1995 p22). This extended affiliation promotes many of the affective and social development objectives within the model by allowing team members the opportunity to work toward common goals, make group decisions, experience success and failure as a group and fashion a group identity for itself. The group identity is given time to develop throughout the season thus ensuring that pupils share the experiences and satisfaction of sport. That is the *“bringing together of competitors to share in the satisfactions aroused by participating in that sport, or to provide the opportunity for people to challenge worthy opponents”* as part of a team (Almond, 1997 p38).

A recent study by Carlson and Hastie (1997) has provided a description of how the student-driven nature of Sport Education promotes inclusion. Much of the teaching on the team comes in the form of peer teaching, as teammates help each other learn the skills and strategies needed for the team's success. The amount of co-operative learning, responsibility and peer teaching given to the students increases the need for peer support within the class. In a study by Carlson (1995a) students reported that they believed that greater peer support occurred during the Sport Education season than during their traditional physical education classes and that they were experiencing greater success not only in skill development but also in the area of social development, responsibility and decision making. It is reported that Sport Education provides opportunities to develop the student social system in classes and this leads to higher levels of peer support throughout the season. In a study by Kinchin (2001) of the

experiences of a highly skilled pupil partaking in Sport Education, he reported that this trust and support developed gradually as the season progressed. They all get the same opportunity to participate and learn position play. Their performances all contribute to team success. Finally, students learn more than the performer role.

As can be seen above the benefits of Sport Education are widely reported. However, the Sport Education model does have some inherent weaknesses. A key concern relates to the expertise of the student leadership. Some captains may be quality players but are not able to provide quality practices for their students (particularly the lower skilled) (Hastie, 2000). However the class still remains under the overall leadership of the teacher and if appropriate guidance is given these problems may be overcome. Modifications to the sports to make them appropriate to the skill levels and tactical competence of the students are one example of how the teacher can intervene. Also additional training for coaches can be given to deal specifically with situations that arise. The leadership given by the teacher is as essential in Sport Education as elsewhere although not as visible as in other instructional models.

Although the many benefits of Sport Education have been outlined, it is widely acknowledged that sport as subject matter and Sport Education as an instructional model should not usurp physical education. *"If we place undue emphasis on the fact that it is sport as subject matter which is a key factor in the success of Sport Education then we run the risk of distilling all physical education to sport, arranged and taught in the model Sport Education"* (Tinning, 1995 p20). Siedentop (1995) points out that 'Sport Education' is not meant to replace physical education but intentions and actualities are often different. The Sport Education model has been used extensively in intervention studies and as part of curricular innovation. However the description and analysis of the program cannot tell us what happens within the class situation. Physical education can be described as an ecology with many differing interactions between teacher and pupils leading to a complex model of classroom life.

2.7 Summary

The danger for any field lies in its potential corruption (or worse, trivialisation) by a single paradigmatic view (Shulman, 1986). Although substantial work has been done in the field of sport pedagogy it is limited by the partitions that dominate sport pedagogy research. The extensive knowledge that has been developed is framed by boundaries between disciplines rather than by an integrated research agenda. Although the field of research on physical education teaching has produced substantial literature I acknowledge the difficulties in bringing this review together in a way that crosses between educational and psychological approaches. This review has attempted to trace the developments of the research that will inform the methodologies and intervention studies used in this thesis. Allen (1986) identified six behaviours in the classroom that she called student agendas. This chapter has highlighted how achievement goal theory can help explain what drives compliance with the student social task system and underpins the student agenda in physical education. Thus emphasising the dynamic interrelationship between motivational and ecological theories. I argue that the discrete study of each theory has failed to acknowledge how achievement goal theory can further understanding about the student social task system.

Chapter 3: Methodological issues and considerations

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the theoretical framework of this study and in doing so it has highlighted the complex process of positioning a study that draws on parent disciplines with allegedly opposing methodological approaches. This chapter addresses the methodological concerns of the study, but it is first necessary to consider the complexity of the research position before moving on to examine the research design, data collection techniques, analysis and introducing the reader to the school context and research participants. Daryl Siedentop completed a broad ranging review of physical education teaching effectiveness research from an ecological perspective in 2002 and outlined the history of advances within the field. He argued that the realignment of sport pedagogy research with the discipline of education rather than motor learning and psychology in the mid-1960s led researchers to also realign their research models and methods. Given that I have chosen to draw on both the disciplines of education and psychology to position my research, considering the particular paradigms and social perspectives that underpin my research has proved to be a complex and difficult challenge. Shulman (1986) argues that, unlike the natural sciences whose maturity is indicated through a dominant paradigm, for the social sciences and education the coexistence of competing schools of thought is probably a more mature state. Teaching effectiveness research has been characterised by a single dominant paradigm since the 1960s. I argue that a healthy trend is the emergence of more complex research designs and research programs that include concern for a wide range of determinants influencing teaching practice and its consequences.

Siedentop (2002) argued that educational research was influenced more by models and methods that were closer to the traditions of anthropology than to the traditions of psychology. The traditional approach used in psychology, where context was less important and where methodologies typically attempted to reduce the influence of variables other than the independent variable was argued to be inappropriate for physical education research. He also argued that the dramatic separation of sport

pedagogy research and the parent discipline of psychology, which had previously been tightly coupled, allowed more productive teaching effectiveness research to be undertaken in physical education. Traditionally the classroom ecology research has been linked with the interpretative paradigm and psychology with quantitative methods but reproducing this dualism is not helpful and I want to begin this chapter by undermining the divisions that have been produced between sport pedagogy, education and psychology research. While I acknowledge that there is an inevitable historical and sociocultural dimension to the choice of methods I make, I would like to highlight that this was influenced by my position vis-à-vis methodology and epistemology rather than by the alignment of my research with either side of an imposed binary. The position I have adopted is that classrooms, teachers and young people are placed at the centre of the research, in an attempt to gain a more complex but balanced interpretation of their experiences. There have been repeated calls for a reduction in concern over methodological orthodoxies and an urging that the most important criterion for good social research be the clarity with which it illuminates specific problems in particular contexts (O'Sullivan *et al.*, 1992). This chapter is not about critiquing the different methodologies used by various disciplines, but rather about considering the appropriateness of each orientation and focusing on the nature of knowledge produced by this type of research.

While each orientation can reveal important information, for this study ethnography was chosen as a lens that provides a rich description of organisations and groups to give an insight into the impact of the student agenda on the ecology of secondary school physical education. Ethnography has been referred to as a '*curious blending of methodological techniques*' (Denzin, 1970). According to McCall and Simmons (1969) it includes some amount of "*genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artefacts, and open-endedness in the direction the study takes*" (cited in Fielding, 1993 p157). In some senses all data are qualitative; they refer to essences of people, objects and situations (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and the strength of this approach is its focus on revealing deeper understanding of and explanations about teachers' and young people's experiences of physical education. Although I believe an ethnographic case

study approach provides many tools through which to explore and understand adolescent's experiences in physical education, I do not believe that this defines the only approach to this kind of work. I see no place for advocating particular methods or not, and to reduce the research to one side of an imposed binary, into a qualitative or quantitative approach in absolute terms, would have foreclosed the possibility of using a variety of research methods upon immersion in the research field and disabled an approach which was suitably flexible. However I consider that the potential for this type of research to become utter chaos is high if not informed by an understanding of the types of knowledge produced by the different approaches.

Shulman (1986) argues that the most frequent misunderstanding of a research programme occurs when it is characterised as qualitative or quantitative. This view assumes that the different research programs are essentially looking at the same phenomenon for similar purposes. He continues this argument by asserting that the most important differences between research programs are substantive rather than methodological. While process-product researchers are concerned with the discrete events of classroom life which can be noted, counted and aggregated for purposes of generalisation, the highly situated ethnographic approach is focused on attention to 'context' which means developing an understanding of the demographic social context in which research participants are embedded and explicit considerations of the effect of these contextual variables on their attitudes and behaviours.

Endogenic epistemologies are those that emphasize the role of the individual mind in the construction of meaning, while exogenic epistemologies emphasize the role of external reality. The knowledge generated by this study is concerned with the local, situated and specific occurrences, not with the search for context-free general laws. The very notion of context-free general laws is meaningless in postmodern epistemology (Fernandez-Balboa, 1997). I begin with the assumption that there are many 'real' worlds of the classroom, of learning and of teaching, some perhaps nested within one another, perhaps occupying parallel universes which frequently, albeit unpredictably, intrude on one another. The awareness of multiplicity and of the impossibility of having direct access to reality constitute the core notions of constructivism. Even if there is an ontological reality, we can only know it by assessing how well our

knowledge fits with it. Objectively produced knowledge is not viewed by constructivist theory as a privileged and exclusive means to access reality. The use of the quantitative techniques as a higher place, as a guarantor of objectivity, has been undermined by recent approaches to research (Walkerdine, 1997). Detachment, inter-coded reliability, triangulation, for example, all imply some agreement, some place that transcends the subjectivity, traditionally viewed as the irrationality, of the researcher. No matter how many methodological guarantees we attempt to provide to produce objectivity, the subjective intrudes, even in the most so-called rigorous research (Walkerdine, 1997 p63) and as such it is an impossible task to avoid the place of the subjective in research. I want to continue the process, begun by many others, of undermining the notion that the intervention of the subjective is something which interferes with, biases and distorts the truthful view of the object of study. A move towards the subjective in psychological research has traditionally been seen as a move towards the non-rational or irrational (see Walkerdine, 1997). However, recent approaches to psychological analysis have shifted from the modernist quest for abstract and context-free theoretical knowledge to local and relevant knowledge. In this study I aim to describe the individual case of one physical education class and am concerned with interpreting the subjective meanings of the pupils and teachers in this class so as to make sense of their world. The interpretative research paradigm (Macdonald, 2002) has the strength of capturing the uniqueness and individuality of particular individuals, circumstances and contexts. The relative decontextualisation that dominated previous research paradigms is missing in the classroom ecology paradigm. The actions of the teacher and pupils cannot be treated in isolation or disaggregated from the observed classroom processes.

The most frequently cited objection to the use of case studies in social science research is the issue of representativeness, which raises the question of the extent to which the research findings can be generalised to a wider population beyond the case. Unlike claims of the positivist tradition, an interpretive perspective neither predicts nor generalizes behaviour, events, or actions. Thus the findings from one case are difficult to compare with the findings of another. Time, place and participants all differ and, therefore, so will the findings of a case study. Those looking to generalize a set of behaviours from which effective teaching or efficient student learning can be established will find little satisfaction in this approach. Given that I support the notion

of multiple truths, as discussed earlier, this is not problematic. If the participants, time, and/or location is changed, 'truth' is likely to change as well. The demanding nature of a case study means that a depth of understanding of that one setting is gained over the course of the fieldwork and analysis. Collier and O'Sullivan (1997) outline the importance of case study in the education of physical educators. Cases have been touted to promote reflective practice (Shulman, 1986) and case method has the potential to facilitate the preparation of reflective practitioners (Merseth, 1991). Collier and O'Sullivan argue that "*cases are complex educational instruments that can help students: explore the realities of practice; foster self-reflection; and practice skills of analysis, problem-solving, and decision-making within a low-risk environment*" (1997, p200). Cases represent teachers' work and, as objects of study, can act as a vehicle for moving ourselves and our students toward reflective practice by giving us something upon which to reflect (Macdonald *et al.*, 2002). Anderson and Herr (1999) discuss the importance of getting our hands dirty through forming alliances with practitioners in the process of conducting inquiry. They argue this is necessary if we are to find more effective and equitable ways to educate children (Anderson and Herr, 1999).

For the ethnographer the most important reality may be that of the group or setting within which the individual and his colleagues function. They will have established rules by which the group members interact, rules that define the legitimate and illegitimate, allowable and forbidden activities of group members. These certainly function within limits set by a larger cultural and social groups of which members are a part. Hamilton (1983) argues that there are four criteria for ecological research. These characteristics are (a) attention to the interaction between persons and their environments, especially in reciprocal terms rather than in terms of simple directional causality from teachers to students; (b) treating teaching and learning as continuously interactive processes rather than isolating a few factors in the system and labelling them as 'cause' and 'effect'; (c) seeing the classroom context as nested within other contexts – the school, the community, the family, the culture – all of which influence what can be observed in the classroom itself; and (d) treating unobservable processes, such as thoughts, attitudes, feelings, or perceptions of the participants as important sources of data (cited in Shulman, 1986).

In subsequent sections of this chapter I will examine the research design, data collection techniques, and analysis, and introduce the reader to the school context and research participants. I will consider some of the complexities of entering a field as a participant observer and of conducting research with young people who are required to attend a class.

3.2 Subjects

Fieldwork is a form of inquiry in which one is immersed personally in the ongoing social activities of some individual or group for the purposes of research. Fieldwork involves the actual research tasks carried out in a chosen setting or location. For ethnographers, the field can be any naturalistic geographic/social setting or location where a selected research problem is to be studied, the boundaries of which are defined by the researcher in terms of institutions and people of interest, as well as their associated activities in geographic space (Schensul *et al.*, 1999). Following negotiations with a number of local schools, in which the purpose and structure of the research was clearly outlined, one school was selected for the research. All the schools were selected primarily on the basis of established and continuing professional relationships between the Physical Education Department and the University. One teacher in each school was a member of the Physical Education Teachers' Mentor group and the PGCE PE Partnership Advisory Group at Loughborough University. Through direct contact with the head of physical education in each school by letter and telephone one school showed both interest and cooperation and was selected for the research. The physical education teacher was then requested to select one year 7 class with which to carry out the research and intervention study, although over the course of the study three classes were involved in total.

According to the last OFSTED report (1997) Hilltop School¹ is an 11-18, mixed, comprehensive school, based in a suburban community of a semi industrial Midlands

¹ In order to protect the professional interests and identities of individuals, the name of the school, teachers and pupils have been replaced with pseudonyms within this thesis. Despite this, detailed description may mean that the school and individuals are identifiable to some readers as it is acknowledged that the use of pseudonyms can never guarantee that individuals will not be recognised by themselves or by others (Burgess, 1984). Indeed, detailed descriptions such as those obtained in case study work obviously increases the likelihood of recognition. Anonymity may help to widen the

town. It has almost 1000 pupils on roll, 100 of whom are in the sixth form. The school was originally formed from the merger of two single-sex endowed grammar schools and is now a co-educational comprehensive school. The school occupies two sites, separated by about 800 metres on its large, hillside, landscaped campus. Pupils come mainly from the residential areas surrounding the school. This catchment encompasses a wide range of social and economic conditions. About 19% of pupils are entitled to free school meals, a level similar to the national average. About 13% of pupils are identified as having ethnic minority status, mainly of Pakistani origin. This is a high figure for this LEA. The school includes about 10% of pupils on its roll having special educational needs. This includes 28 pupils receiving language support as their first language is not English. The number of pupils having a formal statement of educational need is 28, at 3% it is a high figure for a school in this LEA. These demographics were reflected in the class who participated in this research. When we say that ethnographic researchers go to the field, we mean that they leave their own communities, institutional settings, and familiar behavioural and cognitive patterns to enter another social world - the world in which the research is to be conducted.

The head of physical education was enthusiastic about the department being involved in this research and introducing Sport Education because of the attention being received by the model recently within the UK. However this enthusiasm was not shared by all members of the department. Indeed on entry to the field it became apparent that a number of tensions existed between the head of PE, who explained to me that she was trying to turn around a failing physical education department following their 1997 Ofsted report, and members of staff who had been content in their roles. This made the

respective audience for the work in that, whilst the findings are not generalisable in a complete form, many of the issues raised are pertinent and applicable to experiences of schools and teachers in other parts of the country. With the school remaining anonymous, more readers may be encouraged to relate the findings of their own experiences.

introduction of the research and the Sport Education model somewhat problematic. I believe that many researchers are at the mercy of the manner in which serendipitous opportunities direct or determine the research. The school was chosen for a wide variety of reasons and yet it often was not these factors that led to the most interesting findings. Three of the five physical education teachers were involved in this study, two female and one male, none of whom were the head of department. Mr. K had almost ten years of teaching experience and had been in the school for four of these. He was the main teacher I worked with in the co-educational classes during the spring term and was one of the teachers who implemented the Sport Education model in the summer term. He rarely found time to discuss aspects of the research outside of class time but was content, if not committed, to try Sport Education. Mrs. A had substantial teaching experience and had been working in the school for over twenty years. She was the main teacher I worked with in the spring and summer terms with the girls' only physical education classes and was also involved in implementing the Sport Education model in the summer term. Mrs A was very willing to discuss aspects of the research but was less enthusiastic about the implementation of a new teaching model. Finally Miss S was an NQT and only remained in the school for a single year. She was one of the three teachers who implemented the Sport Education model in the summer term. I only worked with Miss S when the teachers were team teaching but she was very enthusiastic both about the implementation of Sport Education and about the research. She regularly discussed aspects of Sport Education with me in the summer term. Two PGCE PE students occasionally observed the class. During the spring term they were involved in teaching some of the swimming lessons as were specialist coaches. In negotiating access to each of the sites, and particularly in setting up and conducting the focus groups and interviews, I was engaging with both teachers and students, and this meant that I was required to position myself differently in each of these contexts (Punch, 2001). For the teachers I explained that I am a qualified physical education teacher and interacted socially with the teachers in the department office before and after lessons.

The groups that were selected for this research were a year 7 co-educational and girls' only class. Three co-educational classes ran parallel on Tuesday afternoons on the main

site². Each class had between 23 and 24 pupils. During the spring term I worked with Mr. K with 24 pupils. During the summer term more team teaching occurred and therefore I observed a higher number of pupils. On Wednesday mornings one boys' only and one girls' only class ran in parallel on different sites, except for swimming where the groups were mixed. I attended the girls' only lessons which had 18 pupils. Twelve of the girls were also in Mr. K's Tuesday afternoon group and all of the girls were in one of the classes who tried Sport Education in the summer term. Although the school physical education timetable and class group were carefully defined boundaries for this study, the edges of the field were blurred through pupils' talk of wider experiences, about home life, friendships and other school issues. Given my research interest in the young people's social agenda in physical education it was important to consider the 'groundwork' for their classroom interaction which was mainly laid outside the classroom, and in some instances also outside the school. The pupils involved in this study were aged between eleven and thirteen. During my time with the group I developed a good rapport with many of the young people and below is a brief introduction to each of the young people who took part in the study.

Alan	M	Alan was described as a brainbox, the brainiest guy in the class and a nerd by his peers and teachers. This hampered his popularity. Although the boys were friendly with him the girls explained that they only used him to get his homework. Alan was very good at sport and engaged enthusiastically in all P.E. tasks.
Alison	F	Alison was alienated from many of her classmates. She sometimes sat with Lorraine, although she did not seem to be friendly with her. Other pupils frequently whispered or talked about her. When she engaged with P.E. tasks she demonstrated high ability levels however it was difficult to predict whether she would engage or not.
Amy	F	Amy was quiet, giggly and described by her friends as one of the biggest flirts. She always participated in physical education but regularly proclaimed that she was really bad at it.
Asiya	F	Asiya was a very small, quiet, Muslim girl who always participated in physical education lessons fully and seemed to enjoy the classes. She did not interact with many people during the lesson but when she did she was usually very cheerful. She was teased and bullied by some of the Muslim boys in the class,

² Please see appendix 1 for a tabular representation of this information.

		often in a middle eastern language.
Becky	F	Becky was described by friends as bubbly and friendly. She was a member of the most popular group and a dominant person in interactions. Becky was a talented sportsperson and involved in many school teams. However her engagement in P.E. varied from complete commitment to someone who socialised with friends while not engaging.
Beth	F	Beth was quiet and did not enter into the grooming behaviours to the same extent as Kate. She tried not to draw attention to herself and told me that she didn't really see herself as a member of any one group in particular but rather like a floater between groups. She did not pose a threat to the leadership of a group and because she was pretty and friendly she could fit in easily with most groups. Beth regularly excused herself from physical education lessons although she was a very competent sportsperson.
Carol	F	Carol was a friendly and outgoing girl who usually took part in physical education lessons. She was very overweight and frequently complained to the teachers that she would be sick if they made her run.
Colin	M	Colin was a popular boy who was generally well liked. He was quite overweight and only participated in certain activities in P.E. Colin was particularly good at the shot putt and represented the school in athletics. However he rarely completed a run which was unusual for the boys.
David	M	David was very interested in sport and always participated in lessons. However he was also disruptive in class and frequently annoyed the teachers. He maintained a position at the margins of one of the popular groups.
Drew	M	Drew was very intelligent and this alienated him from many of his peers who found him annoying. In comparison to Alan, who never mentioned his intelligence, Drew regularly told other pupils he was 'smarter'. Drew was not particularly good at activities in P.E. but always engaged with the tasks.
Hailey	F	Hailey was one of the most popular girls in the year, although also disliked by many. She invested heavily in grooming behaviours and always wore a lot of makeup. The P.E. teacher described her as able but lazy. Hailey usually participated in P.E. but rarely engaged with the instructional or managerial tasks set by the teacher.
Hamim	M	Hamim was a friendly boy of Indian origin. He was the only boy of ethnic minority in the class and although he got on well with the other boys he was never involved in the subordination of other

		pupils except Asiya who was also of Indian origin who he teased in Urdu. Hamim was good at sport and seemed to enjoy PE classes.
Jane	F	Jane was a self confessed girly girl who was always perfectly groomed with long nails, subtle make up and blond hair. Although she usually participated in physical education she tended to blend into the background and skilfully negotiated her non-engagement with tasks.
Jenny	F	Jenny was popular and pretty. She frequently referred to her boyfriends or ex boyfriends in conversation and made her popularity known. Jenny rarely participated in PE lessons. She usually brought a note excusing her but on the few occasions when she did participate she did not exert much effort. A broken arm prevented her participation in the SE season after half term.
Jess	F	Jess was a new girl in the school and did not seem very sure of her place in the group. She was particularly tall and seemed self-conscious of this. She described feeling unsure of her status as she explained that when a new girl joined a class everyone always wanted to get to know her.
Judith	F	Judith was friendly with Becky and very popular. Both her parents were PE teachers and she was involved in a wide variety of sports. Although she was vocal about her own involvement in sport she never openly stated that she enjoyed sport or participation and tended to complain about participation while at the same time engaging completely with all aspects of PE
Kate	F	Kate was friends with Beth and Sophie. Although not a member of the most popular group of girls, Kate displayed many of the characteristics indicating that she was a junior member. For example, while she wore make up, it was generally very subtle. With Beth, she regularly excused herself from physical education lessons with notes for a sprained ankle or other popular complaints.
Lisa	F	Lisa was friendly with Ruth and Sarah. She was quiet and hardworking during written tasks but seemed self conscious in physical activities, particularly in the co-education classes.
Lorraine	F	Lorraine was alienated from the other pupils in this class. She was regularly teased for a wide variety of reasons. Lorraine did not appear enthusiastic about any elements of physical education.
Luke	M	Luke was popular, friendly and very good at sport. He always participated in PE with enthusiasm but rarely interacted with the teacher. Luke regularly wore branded clothes to PE rather than the official uniform but was rarely disciplined for this. He was

		considered to be the most attractive boy in the class by the girls.
Mark	M	Mark was good at sport and engaged in most of the content of physical education lessons. He was a friend of Luke's and quite popular. He rarely attracted any attention in physical education lessons.
Paul	M	Paul was a diligent pupil who did not attract much attention but engaged in all activities to a high degree. He was not particularly popular but never excluded from a group of boys.
Rory	M	Rory was a small boy who was frequently ill and often absent. He was often disruptive during PE and rarely engaged in appropriate tasks.
Ruth	F	Ruth was friendly and helpful but considered a 'swot' by many of her peers. She engaged fully with all tasks in PE and displayed significant effort. However she was not always successful in her sporting endeavours. She was a member of the school netball team and enjoyed sport.
Sam	M	Sam was an outsider to most groups in the class. He was regularly teased for a lisp and he regularly complained to the teachers about bullying. He was quite loud and often interrupted the teacher in class. Adam's participation varied significantly and he didn't take part if he didn't feel like it.
Samera	F	Samera was a Muslim girl who wore a habib and regularly excused herself from physical education classes, particularly the co-education classes. She rarely interacted with members of the class other than Asiya who was also Muslim.
Sarah	F	Sarah was a quiet but 'giggly' girl who was a good swimmer and tried hard in this lesson. However during other classes Sarah was very self-conscious of her ability and generally stood at the back or near the margin unwilling to put herself into the spotlight.
Sev	F	Sev was very interested in sport and a member of a number of after school clubs. She did not enter into the grooming behaviours to the same extent as some of the other girls.
Shane	M	Shane was friendly, funny and intensely concerned about who liked him. Although marginalized from friendship groups when girls were present Shane interacted well with the boys in the class.
Sophie	F	Sophie was a small, quiet girl who was a member of a popular group but often overshadowed by her friends. She tended to engage with tasks quietly but with enthusiasm and rarely drew attention to herself.

Stephanie	F	Steph was very overweight and rarely participated in physical education classes. Her absenteeism rate from school was high. She was sometimes teased by the boys in her class because of this. She participated in the girls' only lessons more frequently than in co-educational lessons.
Tanya	F	Tanya was a popular girl who was friendly with Hailey. She invested heavily in grooming behaviours and always wore a lot of makeup. She frequently excused herself from participating in physical education lessons and rarely engaged with the instructional or managerial tasks set by the teacher.
Tariq	M	Tariq was marginalized by many of his peers in this class. He rarely interacted with other pupils or the teacher. Even when questioned by the teacher he frequently failed to respond. Tariq's participation in P.E. was sporadic in the spring term and in the summer term he gradually stopped participating completely.

Throughout this thesis all the young people and teachers are referred to by pseudonyms and this was explained to the young people and teachers at the beginning of the study. It was not practical to give the young people the choice of opting out of the research and hence the lessons I observed, although I am sure this would have proved popular. Nevertheless I felt it was important to give the pupils who were to have me imposed on them as full an explanation as possible of what I was doing (Griffiths, 1995). The concept of 'informed consent' and especially the notion of information on which that consent may be based has rarely been interrogated (David *et al.*, 2001). It has been assumed that presenting the objectives of the research and all the 'facts' about its methods is relatively unproblematic as a form of 'information' that will yield the kinds of consent that make for both a 'rational' and an ethical approach to research. Many school-based ethnographers comment on the fact that pupils are not usually asked for their consent in taking part in a research project; a researcher usually just appears in the classroom (Griffiths, 1995). I explained to the young people that I was recording what happened in their classroom because I was interested in physical education and what they did in their physical education classes. I stressed that I was not looking at good or bad behaviour, a concern for some of the pupils at first. My main rationale for this was that, in order for young people to give their informed consent to participation in these data-gathering methods, I had to allow them to become informed about the research - its topic, the method, my discursive rather than evaluative approach and what I could say

about what the outcomes might be. In approaching young people through schools, I wanted, as far as possible, to privilege their own self-selection and decision to participate in research, rather than that given by their parents and/or their teachers and I did this, not through optional participation in lessons, but through participation in focus groups and individual interviews. I endeavoured to avoid any pressures to participate or penalties for not doing so, and explicitly emphasised that I was recruiting participants for this study; that is children were being asked to opt in and not to opt out. This also gave the young people an understanding of my role in their class.

Although the collaborative approach to the research assisted in the establishment of a more comfortable relationship with the young people, this is not to say that there were no tensions or difficulties in recruiting young people to be engaged with the research. A number of authors have suggested that the personal characteristics of researchers, and their gender in particular, can represent a significant factor in determining the nature of their relationship with their particular research participants (Griffiths, 1995; Punch 2002). In this study, it was certainly the case that I found engaging the girls in the research process much easier than the boys. It quickly became apparent that the girls in this study were more comfortable with my role in the class than the boys and seemed to be less wary of me. In fact many girls approached me and asked if they could be interviewed, even those who were not in the classes involved in the study. While some of the boys were happy to discuss aspects of the research with me in informal interviews they were cautious of engaging in formal individual or focus group interviews. This may have been due to the increased amount of time I spent with the girls in their single sex lesson and the fact that I am female.

It is the process of developing presence and relationships in the designated research setting that makes it possible for the researcher to collect data (Schensul *et al.*, 1999 p69). Given the significant length of time I would spend in the school during this study I was careful not to rush the time it took for the teachers and young people to become familiar with my role. Wolcott (1995) warned that the first casualty of fieldwork can be the field itself if the process of familiarisation is too short. It has been suggested that the researchers who interview young people within the school setting are often perceived as teachers, and that their ingrained response to this type of situation can

impact the nature and validity of the data generated (Christensen and James, 2000; Punch, 2002). Understanding my role in the research process, and establishing my position within the classroom was a major consideration in setting up the research. I wanted to develop a friendly relationship with the young people, which would enable me to understand their friendships from their point of view rather than by imposing my own version of events from outside. I had to forge a role that somehow bypassed the authority of the adult as stranger and constructed the accessibility of the adult as friend. As Simons (1984) has suggested, 'a stranger coming in for a few odd days may have difficulty getting beyond institutional habits' (p.243). Although I attempted to distance myself from this teacher identity, many of the boys continued to call me 'Miss' while the girls happily called me Toni and adopted me into their groups. Griffiths (1995) also found that the girls in her study of adolescent friendships adopted her into their friendship group between classes and her interest in their friendship groups was seen as status enhancing for the girls. The extent to which I brought my own experience into the research assisted in this process of distancing myself from a 'teacher' label. Researchers undertaking ethnographic studies have attempted to bridge the gap between children and themselves by assuming roles in their settings that were compatible with participation in young people's worlds (Adler and Adler, 2001). I elected to present myself to the young people involved in the study as a 'student', in order to distance myself from the somewhat authoritative label of 'teacher' and highlight the degree of connection between us. This attempt to neutralise the power relations between adults and young people was something that I considered significant. However this was to enter a setting and establish an identity that does not naturally exist. I was careful throughout to avoid positioning myself next to the teacher during class time and avoided situations where pupils were disciplined. The adoption of a relaxed approach to time-keeping and disruptive behaviour (Christensen and James, 2000; Roberts, 2000), wearing of casual clothes (Fontana and Frey, 2000), and a consideration of appropriate language and terminology use (Oppenheim, 1992; Punch, 2002) were all consciously employed to help reinforce this non-threatening image. My ability to select the sports clothes I would wear to class and my deliberate selection of branded clothing was something that the girls frequently commented on.

The following section is intended to highlight an example of those significant occasions when I was required to question, consider, or re-address my approach to the research, and indicate the means by which problematic or contentious situations were handled or overcome. While a relaxed approach facilitated, to a degree, the development of a comfortable and trusting relationship, there were also some problematic implications associated with this. For example, some of the young people took the opportunity to test the boundaries of acceptable behaviour or language (Hill, 1977). As I worked with the young people I began to experience a sense of connection which fuelled concerns about the ethics of the work I had undertaken. Although at times I experienced feelings of guilt about not disciplining pupils when the interactions were personal and hurting other students, I felt that if I became involved then my role as researcher would be compromised. It is questionable that as an adult who observed incidents I was condoning them by not actually intervening in the incident. One incident in which two pupils were being particularly hurtful to each other while the teacher was out of the classroom highlighted the tensions I felt in this situation. On his return to the classroom I asked the teacher if I could talk to him for a moment and informed him that there had been a very aggressive incident about which it might be appropriate to speak with two groups of boys to ascertain what had happened. This is neither a simple nor straightforward decision to make, for as several authors have noted there are a number of significant methodological and ethical issues facing those who wish to actively engage young people in research (Christensen and James, 2000; Lewis and Lindsay, 2000; Oliver and Lalik, 2000). Edwards (2002) points out that being an educational researcher is not an easy option and demands that they have responsibility to the field of study, to the research partners and the research community. Reconciling my responsibilities to the school and the pupils raised complex issues. I ensured that I was not present when the teacher met with the pupils to discuss what had happened but the next time I met with Sam he began the conversation with 'you're a liar – you told Mr. K'. This may have further compromised my relationship with the boys in this study but the question of who the research actually serves was a major consideration for me. As a field researcher I had become involved in the lives of young people from groups to which I did not belong. As an adult I felt it necessary to respond on this occasion. It is probably true that, fundamentally, field research is an act of betrayal, no matter how well intentioned or well integrated the researcher (Wolcott, 1995). My responsibility to

the school for the pupils' well-being meant that I could not take the stance that what goes in the balance against potential harms is the value to social scientific knowledge of the study (Fielding, 1993). Although I attempted to identify and account for such problematic issues before the study began as advocated by researchers such as Woodhead and Faulkner (2000), schools are unpredictable places and I could not have been prepared for the instant decisions which I was required to take.

3.3 Methods of Data Collection

A consideration of the theoretical and ethical issues already discussed, in addition to the specific research questions underpinning this study, necessarily influenced the methods that were selected in order to generate the data for analysis. A number of different approaches were chosen for this study in order to provide diversity within the data collection process, and to allow for the generation of a broad spectrum of data. It has already been established that there is no single accepted approach or method for generating or analysing data, and many authors now point to the value of utilising multiple research techniques in order to gather richer information (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; O'Kane, 2000; Punch, 2002). To elicit information five main data collection techniques were used employing both quantitative and qualitative methods. These comprised of participant observation, questionnaire administration, formal and informal individual and friendship focus group interviews with pupils, journal and poster writing tasks, and teacher interviews. Firstly the questionnaire was administered by another researcher at the end of the autumn term prior to the beginning of the research to assess pupils' level of enjoyment of physical education, their task and ego goal orientations and asking them to identify a number of their best friends. The interviews followed a structured and then a less structured format to allow pupils to become comfortable with the situation and increase familiarity to decrease unease. The teacher interview gave a different perspective on what was happening in the class for triangulation purposes.

In addition the research design was emergent, allowing for a refining of the approach, subsequent data collection and analysis upon immersion within the research field. My decision to transcribe interviews and write observations as soon as possible after each class was deliberate; this was an ongoing process, a purposeful strategy so that I

remained reflexive about the interview process and the research field. This research design provided suitable flexibility to respond to day to day classroom life and explore aspects of this with the pupils and the teachers. The study was an 'evolving process' (Peshkin, 2000) that was adapted and developed throughout the period of research. It was certainly found to be a learning process in which the preconceptions I had developed as a student teacher about teaching and learning were challenged. I regularly went back to the literature during these months to examine my research questions and the direction of the research, which often moved in quite unexpected directions. As such, this research represented an interesting methodological challenge and called for a reflexive, innovative and eclectic research design, an approach which proved to be both enabling and effective.

3.3.1 Questionnaire

Although the majority of the data generated was via qualitative means, the quantitative aspect of the methodology played a fundamental role in my initial understanding of the young people involved in the study. There is a vast body of psychological literature to indicate that motivational determinants such as physical self-perception, perceived self-competence and goal orientations are key factors in relation to young people's behaviour in and engagement with the physical education class (e.g. Duda, 1989; Fox and Corbin, 1989; Biddle, 1997; Fox, 1997). Marshall and Rossman (1991) have noted that researchers often '*administer questionnaires to some sample of a population to learn about the distribution of a characteristic or set of characteristics or a set of attitudes and beliefs*' (p.83). A baseline questionnaire was used to assess the young people's contextual motivation in physical education. This helped familiarise me with the pupils and to understand their attitudes towards both physical education and physical activity. Goal involvement states, psychological mediators, motivation, and pupils' positive and negative affect were included in the questionnaire. This allowed an insight into personal characteristics and although this was helpful to some extent, a number of the results seemed to contradict what the young people told me in interviews. The questionnaires were selected following an extensive review of literature and included the interest/enjoyment, effort/importance and pressure/tension scales of the Intrinsic Motivation Inventory (IMI), the Task and Ego Orientation in Sport Questionnaire (TEOSQ) and the Physical Self Perception Profile (PSPP). The pupils

were also asked to identify a number of their key friends in the physical education class. The questionnaire was administered to the young people by another researcher at the beginning of a physical education lesson towards the end of the autumn term before my entry into the school. Although the young people were asked to write their names on the questionnaires, they were assured that their responses were completely confidential. They were asked to be as honest as possible in their answers. General instructions were provided on the questionnaire itself and assistance was also offered when necessary, for example if any of the questions were found to be unclear or caused confusion. The questionnaire took only ten minutes to complete and the pupils were invited to ask questions if necessary.

3.3.2 Participant observation

In searching for an appropriate research method, I felt it imperative to employ an approach that would be sufficiently sensitive to the complexities of individual lives and social context. Denzin notes that 'participant observation is a commitment to adopt the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day to day experiences (cited in Pope and O'Sullivan, 1998 p208). Reactivity, the reaction on the part of those being investigated to the investigator and his or her research instruments, can be a problem for quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry. The awareness that they are being investigated may prompt subjects to act in ways that is not indicative of their normal behaviour or views. To eradicate this element proponents of participant observation suggest a gradual absorption of the researcher into the environment in which they are researching, making them unobtrusive (Schensul *et al.*, 1999). I hoped that the significant amount of time I spent in the school observing classroom life would mean that I became less of a novelty as the weeks passed and that I would be able to observe 'normal' classroom life as time passed. Throughout the six months of field work I attended and observed the young people before, during and after their two physical education classes each week. I chose not to take notes while observing as I felt that this would draw attention to a research presence in the class but I switched my minidisc recorder on as soon as I arrived at the school and made extensive notes in my research diary afterwards. I was cautious of seeking information in the first few weeks and passively accepted what came along. Moreover, as a participant observer I was also careful to afford individuals an opportunity to speak without unnecessary interruptions

to their dialogue (Christensen and James, 2000). In this way I had to learn to tolerate ambiguity and not seek to clarify things as that would set me up as a researcher. Although frustrating in many ways, it was certainly the case that some of the aspects of the participant observation provided rich data relating to contextual influences on group dynamics and peer interactions. Both 'reality' and 'mind' are constructed by people conceptually in language, in the course of their performance of practical tasks (Edwards, 1997; Potter, 1996a; Potter *et al.*, 1993) and given that many aspects of dominance are enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of talk and behaviour that appear 'natural' and quite 'acceptable' (Van Dijk, 1993) the observation of naturally occurring data was an important element of the data collection. Because of this emphasis, on the situated, action-performative nature of talk, I favoured analysis of recordings of natural interaction, rather than relying entirely on interviews to generate research data (Edwards and Potter, 2001). Gradually my role changed from simply being an external observer to one where I also asked questions of the young people and teachers to assist in my understanding of what I was observing, thus combining naturally occurring data with generative techniques. It was necessary to try to find a balance between participating and observing during class time, and to try to find a way to prevent one from interfering with the other as both aspects were vital to gaining an understanding of the ecological dynamics of the class.

Inevitably this level of involvement meant that I began to reflect on my own experiences of physical education both in school and as a student teacher. As Denscombe (2002) has noted, 'researchers have a personal history and a personal identity' (p.34) that cannot be separated from the research process, and as I was asking the young people to share their understanding of what was happening I too found myself reflecting on my personal history. Furthermore, I was often struck by how similar some of their experiences were to my own and yet there were significant differences between this site and my experiences of physical education in an Irish convent single sex school. Similar to researchers such as Oliver and Lalik (2001, 2004) the differences and similarities enhanced my interest in, and commitment to, the study.

During interview and focus group time, it was possible to employ more direct or informed questioning, using information generated during observations to highlight

specific subject matter for discussion or clarification (Oliver and Lalik, 2000). Moreover, I was able to identify individuals whose voices were somewhat absent during class time, and then use individual interviews as a means of drawing them into conversations. I found that the multi-method emergent research design was particularly effective, because it allowed me to target individuals who would not otherwise have had the opportunity to have their voices heard. The varied design of the research was instrumental here in ensuring that a wealth of contextual information were collected through observation and more in depth data was generated through interviews (Watts and Ebbutt, 1987). Purposive selection was used to gain participants' views as issues emerged within the field. The interactive process of observation and interviews followed a naturalistic inquiry similar to that discussed by Erlandson *et al.* (1993), where data analysis was closely tied with data collection and generation.

3.3.3 Interviewing

As this study focused on the young people's experiences of and in PE, it was essential that they were given the chance to 'tell their story' through the medium of interviews and focus groups. The form of interviewing varied throughout the research period and I utilised individual formal and informal, semi structured and unstructured interviews and also a combination of semi structured and structured friendship focus groups during the young people's form period. At the beginning of the study I also conducted a whole class interview/forum at the request of the teacher allowing the pupils to ask me questions and affording me the opportunity to ask questions of them in a setting which offered the advantage of bringing together children from a variety of social groups. The latter part of this session was used to debate different aspects of their physical education experience and it gave me a valuable insight into the way in which the young people interacted with each other and who was given the opportunity to express their opinion. As indicated already I did not begin focus groups or individual interviews for a number of weeks and when this did begin it was a gradual process. Initially I asked the pupils reasonably closed questions or made simple factual statements about which some pupils opted to elaborate. For example a simple comment like 'There are more people sitting out today than last week' led Ruth to respond that 'a lot of people skive off when it is swimming' and then proceed to describe the ways in which they 'got out' of participating. This technique gave the young people full control over what was

discussed. As the young people became more familiar with my role in the class I asked if they would be willing to meet with me during their form period to discuss aspects of their physical education class, although inevitably the conversation drifted to a wide variety of topics. Throughout my time in the school I conducted six group and four individual formal interviews. In addition to this I informally discussed the research countless times with groups and individuals before and after class. Renold (2001) suggests that friendship group interviews offer the possibility to explore how children's accounts are constructed, expressed, opposed, shared and changed through social interaction. Indeed the exploratory nature of the group interviews often took unexpected directions, including discussions and discourses on more sensitive areas of the preadolescents' experiences. However the limitations of group interviewing are well documented and include the possibility of students not feeling comfortable sharing information in front of their peers, especially about the nature and vulnerability of their friendships. The use of focus groups is now a popular and widely used method of generating qualitative data, and as one that is particularly suited to the interpretive perspective (Morgan, 1997) it was deemed an appropriate technique to employ in this study. Focus groups are a 'dynamic, interpersonal process' (Simons, 1984) in which the 'explicit use of group interaction (can) produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group' (Morgan, 1997 p.2). In this way, they allow for generating richer and potentially more comprehensible data because the individuals involved can challenge one another's views, reaffirm or contradict their own comments, and discuss any areas of agreement or discord (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Watts and Ebbutt, 1987; Lewis, 1992; Morgan, 1997). It has also been suggested that the use of focus groups with young people in a research situation can help to address the problematic power dynamic, because when the focus is brought to bear upon the young people themselves directing conversation and generating discussion it can decrease the perception that authority resides with the interviewer (Cohen et al, 2000).

Group interviews have many advantages that lie in their potential to allow discussions to develop so that a wide range of responses can be collected (Watts and Ebbutt, 1987). It is the interaction between the participants that is important, certainly as important as the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee. However the limitations of group interviewing include the possibility of students not feeling comfortable sharing

information in front of their peers. To reduce this problem, I selected pupils who seemed comfortable together and who were friends to talk to in pairs or small groups. Some of the advantages of a group interview when organised by friendship groups include: the interaction between students, which would have been absent in a one-on-one situation; the social support peers could provide; the development of a positive attitude toward interviews because the students were accompanied by their friends; and a conversation rather than an interview format could develop, where the interviewer often took the role of facilitator or moderator shaping the dialogue and then allowing students to argue or debate why they felt as they did (Renold, 2001a, 2001b). Walker (1985) suggests that a group interviewer's task is to facilitate a "comprehensive exchange of views in which all participants are able to 'speak their minds' and respond to the ideas of others" (cited in Watts and Ebbut, 1987 p25). In some instances one dominant person in the group can be an asset in that he or she can forward opinions and begin to shape and sharpen ideas so that the discussion begins to take off. On the other hand a dominating and opinionated person can inhibit others in the group, whether by simple volubility or by force of an argument (Watts and Ebbut, 1987).

Coleman and Hendry (1999) once again associate this issue with a notion of control, and suggest that unless power is equal in a conversational situation individuals can doubt their ability to be heard. Research that looks at young people's views on communication with adults makes it clear that, by and large, they have little confidence they will be listened to or their opinions respected. One of the most common findings is that adolescents do not feel adults take their views seriously (Coleman and Hendry, 1999). It has been suggested that significant knowledge gains can result when young people's active involvement in research is deliberately solicited, and when their views and perspectives are both acknowledged and accepted (Alderson, 1995; Woodhead and Faulkner, 2000). Enabling the pupils to control the focus of the interview by encouraging them to raise their own issues and experiences helped destabilise the adult-centracism embedded in many research projects conducted with young people (Renold, 2001a, 2001b), and went some way to promote participation and empowerment during the research process. Furthermore, it was important that the pupils were in control of the schedule because, when researchers ask for entry or inquire about specific topics, their requests carry a certain weight merely by having been made (David *et al.*, 2000;

Kvale, 1996). Also given that the young people did not have the option to opt out of the research study completely I felt that it was important that they did not feel pressured to divulge information. O'Kane (2000) identifies the underlying notion of power as providing the 'ultimate challenge' for adults working with young people. However, once the pupils became more familiar with me there were few awkward silences noticed and the pupils often directed the discussions with ease. The group interviews often took unexpected directions, including discussions on more sensitive areas such as bullying, friendship difficulties, families, and relationships as well as the pressures of school work and the young people's relationships with their teachers. The amount of control that the young people held over the schedule was possible because of the amount of time I had in the school and I did not feel under pressure to 'get through' interview topics. At the same time when writing my field notes at the end of each session I generated a list of issues that I wanted to discuss with some of the young people. These were often dealt with before the teacher completed registration at the beginning of the class or when walking back to the school after class. Inevitably, with each answer came a range of new questions.

The individual interviews with a small number of selected pupils (n=4) gave me the opportunity to explore some elements in more depth. The emergent research design (Maxwell, 1996) provided the flexibility to refine the research design following immersion in the research field and in later interviews I attempted more fully, to draw out some of the implications and meanings of statements, by prompting the pupils for further clarification.

The complexity of the process, and the tensions inherent within it, are widely recognised (Griffiths, 1995). I was challenged by the dynamic nature of the focus groups that called for a flexible and adaptable approach. It was evident that not only were the characteristics of each group distinct and unique, but also that each individual had different needs and competencies (James *et al.*, 1998). In order to effectively engage each individual in the research process, and hence to generate more comprehensive data, there was a need to develop and adopt appropriate interviewing strategies. In addition to affording the young people a degree of mutual support and rendering the interviews less intimidating (Renold, 2001; Punch, 2002), I tried to

provide an arena in which the young people felt comfortable to ask questions of me (Lewis, 1992), and this gave rise not to a 'reversal of roles', as Simons (1984) has suggested, but rather a sharing of the interviewer role. Many researchers argue that we must aim for a more equal relationship between those carrying out research and the subjects of that research (Griffiths, 1995). As well as stressing the importance of the type of relationship between researcher and researched, and being aware of the power differential in that relationship, there is a need for researchers to 'invest his or her own identity in the relationship' and to make explicit their own involvement in the research process (Oakley, 1981; Stanley and Wise, 1983 cited in Griffiths, 1995 p14). At times I found myself answering the young peoples' questions regarding my own background and social experiences: for example we discussed how I had attended an all girls' school and therefore had different experiences to draw on. As a result of my disclosures, I felt that I was drawn further into the analytical processes of the study.³

3.3.4 Research tasks – posters and portfolios

The decision to include carefully selected research activities within this ethnography was intended to encourage the pupils to reflect on what physical education meant to them and on the meaning behind their behaviour in physical education. Cooper (1989) argued that this type of research tool can afford participants the opportunity to engage in self-reflection and analysis. During the spring term the physical education teachers asked the pupils to complete a poster describing their experiences of physical education and what they would like to see change between then and 2020. The teachers informed the young people that they would not be marked on their posters and that it was to help me become more familiar with what they did and what they would like. This was set as homework for the pupils but they were given time during their form period to begin the task and I was present to discuss the activity with them. During this period I had time to ask questions about what they were writing and what they felt. During the Sport Education season each team was asked to keep a portfolio of their experiences. Each week the teams were given a new portfolio task. According to Melograno a portfolio is

³ As it was evident that I was inherently involved in the research process and that it was both appropriate and necessary to acknowledge this in the analysis of the data (Watts and Ebbutt, 1987), I was careful to record my thoughts and feelings about each lesson and interview in my research diary. In addition to writing an account of my perceptions of each lesson, I also found the diary a useful place in which to note any information that would help to address the loss of important contextual information that is associated with the transcription process (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000).

a “purposeful, integrated collection of actual exhibits and work samples showing effort, progress or achievement in one or more areas” (1998 p14) and contains numerous artefacts and examples of a child’s work and represent a collection of their abilities, strengths and areas of needed improvement (Kinchin, 2001). In the early weeks of the season the portfolio tasks were based around selecting a team name and team colours, and assigning roles and responsibilities. Towards the middle and end of the season tasks involved writing profiles of each team member, identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the team and individual members, and writing news updates on team progress for the notice board. The pupils were also invited to write any thoughts on the season in the portfolio. The teachers used the portfolios for worksheets, coaching notes and tracking progress. Journals, exhibitions and portfolios which attempt to reflect learning outcomes in more authentic situations have caught the attention of physical educators (Oliver and Lalik, 2000; Punch, 2002). Through the use of portfolios Kirk (1997) has argued that learning becomes more active as a greater proportion of the responsibility and ownership for learning is transferred to the students. Kirk (1997) summarized their characteristics and potential benefits:

1. Fosters individualised learning
2. Documents student outcomes
3. Promotes student responsibility and active learning
4. Offers feedback and on-going evaluation of progress
5. Encourages self-reflection
6. Promotes the physical education programme

Portfolios have been employed by many other researchers when examining the impact of the Sport Education model (Kinchin, 2001; MacPhail *et al.*, 2004). These techniques were designed to encourage the pupils to reflect on particular aspects of their physical education experience, something that did not always come naturally to the young people, but also allowed me to employ ‘analytical diversity’ which many researchers such as Coffey and Atkinson (1996) have advocated.

The success of these research activities was varied. The poster raised some interesting issues for me to follow up in interviews and the form period in which they worked on these posters was useful to begin talking with some of the boys in particular in an informal way outside of their physical education lesson. However the portfolios tended

to be dominated by one member of each team and really did not provide an opportunity for each individual team member to record their thoughts and opinions. In this way the portfolios did not encourage reflection to the extent that it was hoped, although the teachers did find the portfolios a useful teaching device.

Although the data gathered from these research methods was limited, these techniques proved very useful prompts for informal discussions, particularly with the boys in the class who were sometimes reluctant to talk with me.

3.3.5 Teacher Interview

Each teacher involved in the research study and Sport Education intervention was interviewed for approximately 30 to 40 minutes at least once during the study in addition to numerous informal discussions individually and as a group in the staff room. The structured interviews had six main strands, although the sequencing of these strands and the order of the questions within each strand was not rigid:

- the students' attitudes to and motivation in physical education ;
- student behaviour and misbehaviour ;
- the student agenda in PE;
- adolescence and the social pressures on young people;
- Sport Education and the pupils; and
- Sport Education and the teachers.

Each teacher was asked to select a convenient day and time towards the end of the summer term. The teacher interview was fundamentally different from the other forms as a power hierarchy was not evident. As identified earlier, two of the three teachers were very willing to engage in research discussions on a regular basis. However Mr. K. was less enthusiastic and the formal interview I conducted with him seemed more rushed, although the time and location were self selected in an attempt to ensure that time pressure would not be an issue. With the teachers' consent I recorded both the informal discussions in the department office and the formal interviews. After transcribing these interviews I asked the teachers to clarify some points. An interesting aspect of these interviews and discussions was the extent to which the teachers asked questions of me and in this way the research became a reciprocal process. These interviews gave an insight into the teachers' actions and the process of implementing

change which added an interesting dimension to the research study which had not initially been planned. Collectively these interviews provided the richness of data to assist in my understanding of the physical education teachers' view of the process of negotiation in the classroom and the process of implementing change to disrupt the dominant student agenda.

3.4 Analysis

It is commonly recognised that the analysis of ethnographic data is demanding, not least because ethnography produces a mass of data. This study produced almost 50,000 words of transcripts, many pages of field notes, thirty questionnaires, twenty two posters and twelve portfolios. It must be noted that I was not prepared for the volume of data that the qualitative methods generated. The sheer mass of data and information with which I was confronted caused some concern when I considered the problem of analysis. Unfortunately the answers to the best questions do not lie in the accumulation of data.

As I have already indicated it is important to note that there was no point where research finished and analysis began. From the moment this study began, I was immersed in the data and analysis had thus begun. Patton (1987) suggests that it is immersion in the field of inquiry that informs and drives the research. Thus data analysis began informally as I interacted with the young people, listening to, transcribing and coding the recordings. The data generated was initially analysed using the process of grounded theory, which is based on the 'systematic generating of theory from data, that is itself obtained from social research' (Glaser, 1978). In this way the theory that emerged from the data helped to direct subsequent data collection and through immersion within the process my understanding of the data grew in maturity. In this research process theory can transcend from one sector to another, helping to generate a greater grasp of theory and allowing for the coverage of many research areas. Thus data collection and data analysis became overlapping, not discrete stages of research. This provided the flexibility to adapt the research design.

So that I remained reflexive about the interview process and the research field I tried as far as possible to listen to and transcribe the audio recording made as soon as possible after the lesson. My decision to transcribe interviews and write observations as soon as possible after each class was deliberate; this was an ongoing process, a purposeful strategy. However this was not always possible and I found that the holiday periods, both at mid-term and between terms, were often useful to try to catch up with the transcribing process. Listening to the audio recording and referring back to my field notes assisted in this process. Transcripts aim to provide a detailed but accessible rendering of those features that prove to be the most relevant for analysing how participants concertedly accomplish orderly and intelligible social interaction (Hutchby and Drew, 1995). Often the degree of distance a speaker puts between a reported view and her own view is displayed by subtle markers, such as intonation and emphasis, which are hard to preserve in conventional transcripts (Wilkinson, 2000 p436). Given my belief that structures are reproduced through talk I felt that the talk was fundamental to the analysis and hence I considered the attention to the precise detail of what the young people said an important aspect of the transcription process. The transcription system used in the interview extracts presented here is a simplified version of the Jefferson system (see Wetherill and Potter, 1992). This version foregrounds the semantic content and the broad structural characteristics of participants' talk. The smaller details of intonation were originally transcribed but have not been included in the thesis so as not to interfere with the readability of the dialogue (see Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

- A dot in brackets indicates a pause (.). A long pause is indicated by two dots (..).
- ↑ indicates loud talking. ↓ indicates whispering.
- Where participants did not complete a sentence a hyphen was used.

In the extracts that appear, proper names are used rather than codes or abbreviations e.g. Toni for the researcher, Jess for the participant, Mrs. A for the teacher. Where participants are directly quoted in the text their words are enclosed in double quotation marks. In contrast, single quotation marks do not signify verbatim quotes of speech but are used to isolate, highlight and sometimes ironize particular notions. To assist with the organisation of the large quantity of data I entered all of the qualitative data into the

computer package WinMax which I used to work with the data. This package gave me the opportunity to write my field notes as memos alongside the relevant talk.

Sacks (1964) argued that everything is not in the text but the text is analysable by what we understand of the culture and, bearing this in mind, I drew on my field notes extensively not only to help make sense of the contradictory messages that the young people often put forward but also to reflect on my involvement in this study. As such, I share the view of others (Harding, 1987; Stanley and Wise 1983) that the researcher must be prepared to reflexively situate themselves within the research account, since their presence and involvement cannot be denied. I was careful to record my thoughts and feelings about each lesson in my research diary as I became aware that I was inherently involved in the research process. In writing an account of my perceptions of each lesson, I also found the diary a useful place in which to note any information that would help to address the loss of important contextual information that is associated with the transcription process (Cohen et al, 2000). As such, I recorded things such as the grouping arrangements, movement patterns in class, patterns of interaction, interruptions, and information relating to school or cultural events (e.g. Simons, 1984; Lewis, 1992; Coleman and Hendry, 1999; Cohen et al, 2000). This field diary data often helped in the memoing of data segments and I hoped that by weaving this personal account into the research it may illuminate the 'conditions of its' own production' (Stanley, 1990). The use of memos was valuable in relation to this particular aspect of the analytic process as it allowed me the opportunity to note down thoughts concerning specific elements of the data, highlight particular themes and incorporate new data into the analysis as it emerged (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 1998).

In the initial months following the field work I began a more in-depth analysis of the data and began the process of analysis by reading through the transcripts and referring to the memos attached to segments. Analysing qualitative data is a lengthy process of 'living with' one's data, reading, re-reading and following up hunches until a pattern of language use emerges. This involved trying to get a feeling for what the data were about and to begin thinking about broad categories in which they would fall. Wetherell and Potter (1992) suggest that speakers use discursive consistency and variability to carry out such interactional projects as explaining, justifying, warranting and managing

their own accountability and because of this it was important that I followed up my 'hunches' or ideas about segments and followed individual participant's talk through the transcripts and memos. I then returned to the transcripts and memos and linked segments in broad sections or codes. The coding and memoing process was not a linear process but was continual and evolving. This process inevitably involved a number of false starts and diversions for me to rethink my coding categories. In many cases I did not code the data in the traditional sense but conversely I could not present the transcripts untouched as it would not have been practical or productive in terms of analysis. Coding is highlighted by a number of authors as a highly significant aspect of data analysis (e.g. Miles and Huberman, 1994; Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). The coding became more focused as the emergent theory became more established through repetitive and comparative examination of the text. However the decontextualised nature of this approach threw up many problems for me when I began to identify contradictory messages in what the young people were saying. At this stage I employed conversation analysis to look at the way the pupils cut sentences short and made repairs to their descriptions. I also analysed the data with each individual as a case study in themselves using the biographical method to trace what individuals were saying over the course of the study rather than treating interactions as disaggregated events. Wilkinson (2000) argues that biographical analysis renders much more comprehensible the production of multiple versions by the same participant: stories change over the lifespan as new experiences are taken into account or new information is made available; and conflicting or competing explanations may be reconciled by seeing them as evidence of tensions in the strain to connect. It was possible to trace a single person's way of thinking back and forwards through the study in an attempt to achieve an understanding of their individual experience. Wilkinson (2000 p439) argues that "biographical analysis explains how multiple, éven apparently contradictory, ideas of cause can coexist in one person's story" and this process assisted in making sense of some contradictory elements of what was observed and heard. This use of memos provided a space in which I could record connections and contradictions in the data and make links with the theoretical framework of the study. As I moved forward and back through the data I was able to expand upon initial memos with more detail that later simplified the process of writing up my analysis chapters.⁴

⁴ An example of a coded and memoed section is provided in appendix 2.

With a grounded theory approach one continually checks data against interpretation until satisfied one has grasped meaning (Glaser, 1978). The analysis of ethnographic data is carried out sequentially in the sense that analysis begins while one is still gathering data. In the periods between observations one may 'step back' from the data, so as to reflect on their possible meaning. Further data gathering is then directed to particular matters to which the observer has become sensitive by provisional analysis. While immersed in this data I considered areas that provided promising theoretical ideas based on emerging themes. Given the inductive nature of the research through 'progressive focussing' the ideas became clearer and consequently so did the focal point of the research. As Glaser (1978 p2) stated "How the analyst enters the field to collect the data, his method of collection and codification of the data, his integrating of the categories, generating memos, and constructing theory - the full continuum of both the processes of generating theory and of social research - are all guided and integrated by the emerging theory". By its very nature grounded theory produced ever opening and evolving theory on the subject as more data were obtained. Since categories emerged so fast, it was important to constantly refit them to the data. Patterns, themes, and categories of analysis came from the data; they emerged out of the data rather than being decided prior to the data collection and analysis in an attempt to remain open to the pupils' opinions. Many existing categories from the literature also fit the data. Not all categories have to be discovered and it is important not to ignore categories in the literature that might apply in order to generate a grounded theory (Glaser, 1978).

The eclectic mix of methods used, all under the grounded theory approach, allowed me to reach the depth required to make sense of the data I had collected. Malinowski stated that "*I have a general idea about their life and some acquaintance with their language, and if I can somehow 'document' all this, I'll have valuable material*" (cited in Wolcott, 1995 p63). During the initial stages of analysis this comment frequently came to the forefront of my mind.

3.5 The existing curriculum

This section outlines the broad content of the observed classes. In the first table an outline of the existing curriculum at the school and in the second table an outline of the

Sport Education intervention is provided. An exploration of the lesson content, teaching and learning will be discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6. The table over also outlines the additional research activities that took place each week.

Week	Day	Date	Main activity	Additional research activity
1	Tuesday	22/1	Dance	
	Wednesday	23/1	Swimming	
2	Tuesday	29/1	Dance cancelled due to incident elsewhere in the school to which the teacher was called away.	A whole class forum was held during class time - this had been planned for the form period but was moved forward to class time.
	Wednesday	30/1	Swimming	
3	Tuesday	5/2	Dance	Focus group with Becky, Beth and Jenny
	Wednesday	6/3	Swimming	Informal discussions with non-participants sitting at the side of the pool
4	Tuesday	19/2	Dance	Interview with Sev
	Wednesday	20/2	Swimming	Informal interviews with non-participants sitting at the side of the pool
			Mid term	
5	Tuesday	5/3	Dance	Focus group with Ruth, Sarah, Amy and Mark
	Wednesday	6/3	Hockey	Interview with Mrs A
6	Tuesday	12/3	Dance	Interview with Jess
	Wednesday	13/3	Hockey	Interview with Miss S
7	Tuesday	19/3	Poster class	Informal discussions with various pupils about their posters. Individual interview with Shane.
	Wednesday	20/3	Hockey	

8	Tuesday	27/3	Games class	Focus group with Kate, Jane, Sophie and Luke
			Easter	
9	Wednesday	17/4	Orienteering	
10	Wednesday	24/4	Orienteering	
11	Wednesday	1/5	Orienteering	
12	Wednesday	8/5	Swimming	Informal discussions with non-participants sitting at the side of the pool
13	Wednesday	15/5	Swimming	Informal discussions with non-participants sitting at the side of the pool
14	Wednesday	22/5	Swimming	Informal discussions with non-participants sitting at the side of the pool
15	Wednesday	29/5	Swimming	Informal discussions with non-participants sitting at the side of the pool
			Mid term	
17	Wednesday	12/6	Football World Cup Match – class cancelled	
18	Wednesday	19/6	Rounders	
19	Wednesday	25/6	Rounders	
20	Wednesday	3/7	Rounders	Interview with Mrs. A (about Sport Education)
21	Wednesday	10/7	Year group trip to a theme park	Informal discussions with pupils who did not go on the year group trip. Interview with Miss S

Table 3.5.1 Outline of the lesson and research structure.⁵

3.6 The Intervention

Sport Education has been developed from the work of physical education researcher Daryl Siedentop (1994, 1998) in the USA and is discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

⁵ See page 101 for Sport Education lesson structure.

Siedentop (1994) pointed out that rarely are features from sporting cultures reproduced in physical education classes. Observations in this school indicate that the traditional multiactivity model outlined by Ennis (1999) had been adopted by the physical education department.

The teachers were trained in Sport Education by an academic who has considerable experience in the area over the course of a 4 hour interactive session. This took place only one week before the season began. The teachers decided to select the teams and announce them on the day of the inservice. The team selection was made by the teachers and then each team selected their own captain, coach and a variety of other roles. Although ongoing CPD support was offered, the teachers did not avail of this opportunity. I return to a consideration of how Sport Education was implemented and of the difficulties of introducing an instructional model like this in a single day CPD programme in chapter seven.

As identified in chapter two, Sport Education operates in seasons, considerably longer than most physical education units. Athletics was selected as the unit in which Sport Education would be tried. The season lasted for twelve lessons which was considerably longer than the other units of instruction run in the school but shorter than is typically advised. Although a longer season is preferable the school were eager that the intervention did not interfere with other units of instruction. Athletics was chosen for Sport Education because this activity traditionally lasts for the entire summer term and therefore the department did not need to lengthen the unit for the purposes of this study. The season was bound by competition at the end of the first half term and of the summer term. A festive atmosphere was encouraged through the use of team names and logos. A competition noticeboard was set up outside the changing rooms with the league table, team photos and news articles. Points were awarded in class with the use of coloured stickers that the team stuck to the league table as they left the changing rooms at the end of class. This was monitored by the three teachers to ensure that they were distributing points evenly and that a high level of competitiveness was maintained. Unfortunately the teachers did not embrace the wide variety of roles to the extent anticipated. The team coach organised the warm up and was involved in team teaching in the shot put, long jump and relay classes. Little autonomy was given to the coach for

planning these teaching sessions. The collection of statistics was minimal with teams only collecting data in relation to the distance for shot putt and long jump. I recognise that the initial attempt at Sport Education was more teacher- defined than would have been ideal and that these actions may have undermined the integrity of the Sport Education model in relation to some of its goals. However, in acknowledging these issues I also recognise that these factors could not have been avoided as it is inevitable that outside laboratory situations it is impossible to maintain exact research protocols and this may be a positive element of the study rather than a limitation.

The table below outlines the structure of the sport education season from a lesson and research perspective.

Week	Day		Main activity	Additional research activity
9	Tuesday	16/4	Introduction to Sport Education – team announcements, role selection	Teacher Inservice in the morning Planning discussion
10	Tuesday	23/4	Athletics	Informal discussions in team groups during lesson
11	Tuesday	30/4	Athletics	Informal discussions in team groups during lesson
12	Tuesday	5/5	Athletics	Informal discussions in team groups during lesson
13	Tuesday	14/5	Athletics	Informal discussions in team groups during lesson
14	Tuesday	21/5	Athletics	Informal discussions in team groups during lesson
15	Tuesday	28/5	Mid season competition. The pupils were told that before major competitions such as the Commonwealth Games, teams compete in smaller competitions to assess their form, try team formations and they would also have the opportunity to do a mid season competition, with a relay, individual race and a jump included. This competition also contributed to their points.	
			Mid term	

16	Tuesday	11/6	Athletics	Informal discussions in team groups during lesson
17	Tuesday	18/6	Athletics	Informal discussions in team groups during lesson
18	Tuesday	24/6	Athletics	Interview with Jenny, Jane and Natasha from Purple Panthers
19	Tuesday	2/7	Choice of shot put, relay or long jump	Interview with Sev, Lisa and Carol from Knockout 6
20	Tuesday	9/7	Final Competition – due to bad weather this was modified for an indoor competition.	Interview with Mr. K
21	Tuesday	16/7	Prize Giving - only some pupils present as this was on the last full day of the school year.	

Table 3.6.1 Outline of the lesson and research structure during the implementation of Sport Education.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter makes reference to the problematic nature of a study that attempts to draw on disciplines that have traditionally been methodologically and epistemologically opposed. The debate surrounding this issue continued at the beginning of this chapter in an attempt to circumvent the traditional objectivist-subjectivist divide before moving on to indicate how this underpinned my choice of research techniques. In addition to an outline of the methods used this chapter has also provided a personal account of my experiences of the fieldwork phase of the study.

Having introduced the research techniques I now move my attention to an exploration of the data that emanated from these techniques. Chapters 4 and 5 are organised in an outward spiral looking first at what drives the student social task system and then at how this impinges on the ecology of the physical education class. Chapter 6 then looks at how the Sport Education intervention impacted on the student social task system and the young people's behaviour in physical education lessons.

Chapter 4: What motivates young people in school physical education

4.1 Introduction

This is the first of three chapters wherein I present the data gathered from the selected cohort of adolescents in their first year of secondary school. Before moving on to an analysis of the data generated in relation to the pupils' motivation, it may be useful to first briefly re-iterate the theoretical framework of this study. As outlined in chapter two, teaching and learning in physical education is a dynamic process in which teachers and students have complex agendas for what happens during lessons. To better understand the ecological dynamics of classroom life Doyle (1977) described a set of overlapping tasks structures, two of which are teacher directed and one which is student led. Merritt (1982) proposed that these tasks systems could be conceptualised as vectors with direction, momentum and energy. Doyle (1977) argued that the instructional and managerial task systems, the teacher directed task systems, were driven by the accountability strategies in place. In the absence of accountability strategies engagement with these tasks systems is choiceful. In this chapter I will explore the factors that drive the student social task system and examine what is socially valued in an attempt to understand the antecedents of young people's choice to engage in physical education tasks. I aim to explore what motivates students to adopt certain agendas in physical education and both those agendas which support and oppose the teacher led task systems. As outlined in chapter two an achievement goal theory approach will be utilised in this analysis.

The discussion that follows identifies some of the key issues within the data that relate to the young people's varied understandings of success and achievement in this physical education class. It is suggested that the determinants of goal orientations adopted by young people in physical education need further consideration in a contextually relevant way to more fully explain what motivates young people's behaviour in physical education. More specifically the various goal orientations made salient through the young people's interactions with each other and with me are examined. A goal

orientation is concerned with the purposes of behaviour in an achievement context and defines an integrated pattern of beliefs, attributions, and affect that produce the intentions of behaviour (Ames, 1992; Dweck and Leggett, 1988; Weiner, 1979). In this study goal orientations, and their determinants, will be explored from the broad understanding that young people view achievement as a wider construct than is typically defined in motivational research. This is considered from the standpoint that not all young people conceive of success in physical education as being relative to displays of physical competence. Drawing on theories of motivation and achievement goal theory, I develop an account that is personal to the young people's experiences of physical education focusing on the diversity of goal orientations that can be adopted in achievement contexts as well as on the universal goals that have previously been identified, that is, task-, ego- and social-goal orientations.

A guiding premise of the literature on motivational climate is that classroom structures can influence the salience of a particular goal and hence its adoption. Because achievement behaviours occur within a context, the structure and climate influences the salience of the goal orientations adopted in the class. Ames (1992) has outlined modifiable situational goal structures that, when implemented correctly, support and facilitate the adoption of adaptive goal orientations. However, Doyle (1977) contended that too much attention is placed on the teacher as a causal effect in classrooms. In Doyle's view students could affect classroom actions almost as much as the teacher and an oversimplified picture of causality in the classroom had been painted by previous research into teaching effectiveness. So, in this chapter I will also consider how the peer group operates to make certain goal orientations salient in physical education.¹

This chapter makes few attempts to examine how the young people's goal orientation impacted on the class. Instead this chapter focuses almost exclusively on why they

¹ The representation of all the young people's experiences is not practicable here. Instead, key moments and positions from the data are selected as indicative of their experiences in physical education. I do not want to treat this class as a homogeneous group and, like Maehr and Nicholls (1980), I recognise that the young people's concerns are eminently diverse and as a result of this, and because I afforded the young people considerable control over the interview schedule, the resulting analysis focuses on the experiences of different groups when discussing the different factors that impinged upon their goal orientations. Thus certain factors, such as physical ability or friendship only entered into the dialogue of some young people and this means that at times I focus on the opinions of a small group of the young people in this class. This is not to suggest that these factors did not impinge on other young people but neither is it to suggest that it was applicable for all of the young people all of the time.

adopted particular agendas. The findings of this chapter have been situated in task engagement in chapter five. This was a purposeful decision that acknowledges the value of research that focuses exclusively on a question of why and highlights the potential to integrate results from such a study into broader ecological frameworks.

4.2 'If you're not very good then it doesn't really matter'

References to 'being good' or 'not so good' are prevalent throughout the young people's descriptions of physical education. Their comments often highlight contradictory experiences, emphasising discrepancies between their experiences of physical education and 'normal' lessons.

Ruth it [PE] is kind of good because it doesn't seem like a lesson. If you are not very good then it doesn't really matter
Sarah like if in Science you were asked a question and you couldn't answer it then everyone would be like 'oh you can't answer it you are so thick'. But in PE it is like if you can't do that then [shoulder shrug]... you don't have to be good and stuff

(Focus group, week 5)

The lack of importance attached to displaying competence in physical education appears to be a key distinguishing feature between physical education and other lessons. Harter (1980) suggests that motivation may be mediated by the importance attached to demonstrating ability in an achievement context. Although the language used by the young people illustrates that it is not important for them to demonstrate ability ('if you are not *very* good then it doesn't matter', 'you don't have to be good') it is clear that they were concerned about displaying a lack of ability and 'looking like a fool'.

Ruth like in athletics if you make a fool of yourself-
Sarah like I did last week?
Ruth yeah that was funny but you were laughing as well so it is not as serious
Sarah I thought everyone was laughing at me and not with me. Like when I fell and everyone was laughing at me I felt like a right fool.

(Focus group, week 5)

Although Sarah had previously highlighted that displaying physical competence was not important, the effects of displaying a lack of competence on her perceptions of self were evident. The importance attached to displaying ability or a lack of ability appears to be mediated by the social context of the display. In particular the young people referred to

the increased stress associated with public displays of achievement tasks and expressed their concern about tasks where they had previously displayed, or where there was a potential to display, a lack of competence.

- Toni What don't you like about PE?
Sarah having to do like demonstrations
Ruth demonstrations
Sarah Cause you have to do stuff in front of everyone and like if you can't do that cause people are watching you
Toni does that help when it is a smaller group?
Sarah yeah cause not that many people are looking at you
Ruth yeah they are looking at their own group
Sarah yeah like if you are in groups of 2 there aren't people looking at you and staring at you

(Focus group, week 5)

Although the young people described a situation where 'being good' was not important, a minimum level of ability was valued to avoid standing out from their peers. It was apparent that certain tasks, such as demonstrations or tasks with turn taking, emphasised the importance of ability more than others. Ames (1992) highlighted that tasks should avoid situations where evaluation is public and should ensure the situational goal structure supports and facilitates goal orientations that in turn led to a focus on improving the types of competence valued in physical education, and this finding is supported by this study.

The young people were aware that some of their peers were particularly susceptible to the prevalence of public evaluation goal structures due to their lack of ability and the possibility that this would be highlighted by certain tasks.

- Amy emmm yeah cause you would be dreading doing it in case people laughed at you
Toni do you think there is anyone in your class who dreads doing PE?
Mark like there are three girls who are bad in our form and I don't think they like PE at all
Toni Do they do PE?
Mark yeah but they don't try as hard
Toni why not?
Mark cause they think that everyone will just laugh at them

(Focus group, week 5)

Given their concerns about displaying a lack of competence and 'looking like a fool' it is not surprising that maladaptive behaviour such as not trying hard was noted particularly when the young people were confronted with structures that may make ability a salient feature in the physical education class. Researchers, such as Dweck (1999) and Elliot and Harackiewicz, (1996) have shown that maladaptive behaviours, such as not trying or avoiding a challenging task, if habitual, will limit young people's opportunities to benefit from their experiences and are associated with avoidance goal orientations. Dweck (1999) also theorised that to avoid displaying a lack of competence young people will select tasks that can be completed with little difficulty. The extract below focuses on Mark and Jane's assertion that tasks that are challenging but not too hard are best.

- Mark I wouldn't like it if what we do in PE was too hard but hard enough that we can do it
- Jane I like things that are challenging... not easy to do but that they are not impossible to do
- (Focus group, week 8)

In identifying that, although they liked activities to be challenging, they did not like engaging in tasks when there was a possibility that they could fail, these young people imply an expectation that failure indicates something undesirable rather than the mere failure to complete a task (Duda, 1992). Achievement goal theorists, such as Nicholls (1984), claimed that failure at a task indicated a lack of competence or ability and that ego involved young people were concerned about displaying a normative lack of ability. While I agree that an underlying focus on gaining the social approval of peers was evident from the explanation that some people don't try hard 'cause they think that everyone will just laugh at them', I also argue that young people may not have a static and unidimensional view of achievement whereby if displaying a lack of competence is undesirable then demonstrating competence is inevitably desirable.

4.3 'People are watching you....looking at you and staring at you' : the preoccupation with social approval in PE

The peer group emerged as an important factor in the young people's adoption of a goal orientation. In explanations of task behaviour in physical education the young people repeatedly referred to the influence of their peers on their behaviour in physical

education. Ames (1992) suggests that tasks involving a public evaluation led some young people to adopt maladaptive behaviour strategies to avoid engaging in the task. It is not surprising that some young people in this class were concerned about displaying a lack of ability given the public nature of peer evaluation in this physical education class. Social comparison, when imposed by peers, appears to be an especially salient factor affecting young people's judgements about themselves, others and tasks. However Ames (1992) argues that it is not the mere availability of social comparison information that is problematic, it is when this information becomes emphasised that maladaptive goal orientations are adopted. It was apparent that physical education was a lesson where some young people felt that the public evaluation of their peers was acceptable. Many young people spoke of their concern about others 'watching' and 'staring' at them. Comments by the popular, dominant young people deliberately undermining the behaviour of their peers and focusing on the demonstration of ability, or more importantly a lack of ability in physical education, were prevalent throughout many of the physical education lessons. While the young people waited in the corridor and changing rooms for physical education lessons to begin dominant individuals put evaluation structures in place that highlighted the very public nature of evaluation that was about to take place.

Jane she said she is going to watch us [during PE] but I'm going to make sure she doesn't cause
Kate Who me?
Jane Yeah
Kate yeah I'm watchin' ya
Jane watch Sophie cause Sophie can't swim
Kate I'm watching you cause you say you are good at swimming and I can't see you from where I am

(Naturally occurring talk, week 3)

The presence of 'watchers' in physical education was difficult to overcome as those who withdrew from participation were actively involved in highlighting the incompetence of their peers from the sideline. Hastie and Pickwell (1996) claimed that they did not believe the comments called from the sideline were a serious attempt to belittle a classmate but they were more a case of scoring points on the social popularity scale. For this class the mere expression of these comments focused young people's attention on the public evaluation of physical ability. Those young people who

occupied a low place on the social hierarchy were more likely to become the objects of this type of evaluation.

- Judith Miss we are commenting on all the people
Becky Yeah
Toni You are commenting on them? What are you commenting on?
Judith Their faults
Becky Watch this end lane, Sam I think it is. It's a bit funny
Ruth I wonder how many times they will have to do this before they get it right (.) he's just slapping his hands down
(Naturally occurring talk, week 2)

Interestingly since Kate and Jamie were not taking part in the swimming lesson they had the opportunity to construct their own version of personal ability. Typically Kate and Jamie both participated in swimming in the 'little pool' with other beginners. In the example below they justify their grouping in the little pool as a result of something other than a lack of ability, although my observations did not support their comments. Their attempt to construct an alternative version of their ability highlights their concerns about looking incompetent.

- Kate I am in the little group cause I told them that I can't swim on my back but I can
Jamie We could swim
Kate Us two were really good at swimming and we should have been in the big pool but because there was too many in the big pool we got put in the little pool
Jamie We are good at swimming
(Informal discussion, week 3)

Their concerns about being evaluated by others are ironic given their assertion that they were going to watch Sophie. However in conversations with many of the girls in this class it emerged that these young people were not only conscious of being 'watched', they were also concerned about what others were thinking of them. The extracts below highlight the impact of the wider peer culture of adolescence on the goal structures operating in this physical education class.

- Becky I mean my best mates, they wasn't mates, (.)I have found a new mate now, Jess and she is one of my true friends because they don't use me and they don't leave me out, they include me but they didn't, they only wanted me when one of the others was away so
Toni And what was it like when you weren't included?
Becky You just feel rejected and you don't feel

- Beth wanted
Becky Yeah. You just don't feel right
Beth You feel funny though don't you?
Jenny Cause now Becky has made me friends I don't think Jamie likes me because of Ian Scott and- I just feel weird around her and it is the way they look at you and think at you- you can hear what they are thinking almost, it is just like
Becky You think that they are thinking but like sometimes you don't know what you are thinking and you shouldn't well think like that
- (Focus group, week 3)

In the focus group discussions the young people highlighted the ways in which concerns from outside of the physical education class intrude on the lessons, their anxieties about what others are thinking of them and what the effect of their behaviour is on their position within the social hierarchy. It was apparent that the young people saw physical education as a subject where goal orientation structures were mediated by the wider social structures operating in adolescent peer cultures rather than by those directly under the control of the physical education teacher.

4.4 'I mean like doing PE at school it's like... it is like fun it's not for real'

The young people identified physical education as an unusual lesson for a number of reasons. Firstly, as highlighted earlier, improving ability was not necessarily of key importance for many of the young people and secondly, because there was an increased opportunity for socializing during their physical education class.

- Ruth it's not like a normal lesson,
Sarah yeah it is different to normal classes
Amy you get to be with your friends
Sarah because you like know them and it is friendly
Mark I think it is a lot more exciting than the other lessons. Most of the other lessons you just sit around writing the whole time
- (Focus group, week 5)

Previous research by Allen (1986) and Hastie and Siedentop (1996) suggests that the student agenda in physical education is to socialise with friends, have fun and then to achieve a passing grade with the minimal amount of work. The comparison of physical education with other subjects, where interaction with peers was substantially more limited, made the social aspect of the physical education lessons even more salient.

Mark's comment 'most of the other lessons you just sit around writing the whole time' highlighted the increased opportunity for socialising in physical education lessons where the young people are not confined to ordered seating arrangements and tasks that are easily controlled by the teacher. However, given the fluidity of adolescent friendships and the associated uncertainty of adolescence, the opportunities for interaction during a physical education lesson were not appreciated by all members of the class.

- Sophie if you compete you have got fifty percent chance that they [your friends] will fall out with you if you win or if you lose then they'll be like horrible to you...
- Kate sometimes it is really hard to be against your friends cause if you like beat them then you fall out with them and have little arguments about it
- Sophie [imitating a voice] 'we beat you'
- Kate I mean we do do it sometimes but we have learned not to much because
- Sophie Because it just gets you in ...you just get sick of arguing and falling out with your friends

(Focus group, week 8)

It appears that there is something unusual about the physical education context where social interaction between the young people frequently resulted in the public evaluation of ability. The combination of opportunities for social interaction with the very public nature of evaluation resulted in a motivational climate that was frequently dominated by situational structures that were under the control of the pupils rather than teacher, and that focused on public peer evaluations, not only of physical ability but of other factors such as popularity or appearance which will be discussed later.

4.5 'You just lowered my place' : Friendships, popularity and the young people's recognition of a social hierarchy

Friendship was overwhelmingly a group concept for the young people in this class, and the peer group value system in the school emphasised the desirability for young people to have 'lots' of friends and be part of a crowd, consistent with much research conducted with adolescents (Adler and Adler, 2001; Harris, 1998). Cotterell (1996) claims that adolescents who manifestly have few friends and do not feel that they fit into the larger crowd see a discrepancy between their experience and what is promoted as the norm, namely 'lots' of friends, and feel deprived. Echoing Kate and Jamie's

really hard to do' there was an underlying implication that if you did not have many friends then you had done something inherently wrong. Consistent with the idea of constructing your friendships, other girls commented that it was necessary to protect your position by having groups of friends rather than a single friend.

Toni Do you think it is more important to have one really good friend or a group of friends?

Jess A group

Toni Why is a group more important?

Jess Cause if you have one friend and like you are really unpopular then if they turn against you and then you won't have any friends at all like-
(Individual interview, week 6)

Sev a group of friends cause if your one friend was away one day then you would be on your own

(Individual interview, week 4)

These young people have constructed a reality where being on your own is a position that the young people did not want to occupy. Adler and Adler (2001) suggest that from early in childhood we develop a fine appreciation of the difference between being included in a group and being left out, and understand the feelings of loneliness which arise from peer rejection. Concerns and beliefs about friendships repeatedly emerged from the data. The young people talked openly about their difficulties and anxieties regarding popularity and the importance of the social hierarchy was a key theme. For these pupils being popular was highly valued and the pupils were particularly aware of the factors which could affect their popularity status. As a result of this their concerns about being marginalized or rejected were a significant motivating factor in their daily life at school.

The young people recognised multiple identities with which they could be associated. Throughout the data reference was made to different types of individuals namely the 'populars', 'sporty', 'geeks', 'jokers', 'loners', 'girly', and 'indians'. These identities were not exclusive and are reflective of those found by other researchers (Adler and Adler, 2001). Much research has suggested that identification with a group, even an oppositional one, is central to the lives of adolescents (Hodgekinson, 2001). However, there was little evidence in this class that an association with some of these identities held anything but negative connotations. Eager to gain membership of the 'right

group', some young people talked openly about their anxieties about being identified as the 'wrong type' of person. Adopting a valued identity type was important to gaining membership in a group with high social status. The young people were conscious that they could not risk ostracising themselves from their more popular peers as this would in turn effect their position in the social hierarchy. Certain dominant pupils held significant power to influence what was culturally acceptable behaviour as they controlled access to valued groups.

- Jane In certain groups- well like there is a bad ass chick in every group, who thinks I am the most popular in this group
- Kate This girl Catherine P. and she was really- she was popular and she was really pretty. But she used to use all her mates cause she used say one thing to one person and another thing to the other (.) but no one dared to stand up to her cause she was really popular and they didn't want to fall out with her. And it used to really annoy me but I was not going to fall out with my best mate cause then you know- so you just have to keep quiet, cause if you go against her then not as many people do cause they don't want to get in her bad books cause-(.)then one person stand up from the other group and no one would back 'em up cause they were too scared of her

(Focus group, week 8)

Although it is apparent that Kate experienced feelings of confusion and anxiety about her position in this friendship, she chose not to act and instead accepted the reality of a friendship based on these insecurities. There was a pressure to comply with the popular girl even if this contradicted her own standards, beliefs and ideals about friendship. Failing to comply would mean risking her relationships with peers, and jeopardising her position in the social hierarchy. This was a concern many adolescents vocalised and as such this concern governed much of their compliance with the dominant cultural messages of the peer group, frequently determined by the leader of the group. The young people's discussions highlighted that peers who held higher 'places' in the social hierarchy could have a significant impact on the 'place' of their peers with lower status.

- Toni Is it possible for you to come into school some day and feel really good about yourself and then ten minutes later after seeing somebody then think uuugghh I'm just not-
- Beth Yeah definitely
- Becky Yeah, it is and it's not
- Beth Especially for me, yeah
- Toni How come?

- Beth I don't know- I can get up in the morning and feel really good but I can get to school if I see like something like I can't- it just drops
- Becky It is something that can just kick off at school like that. It is just- you can feel really really good about yourself and be getting along with everyone and everyone be thinking that you are like really good and then like (.) someone else comes along and oh-
- Beth and then the next day it is just gone
- Becky And the thing is, when you think you are good, you are shouting at everyone and you are having a go at everyone, you are calling people names and you think it is ok and then someone comes up and you call them a name and they call you back and you are like why did you do that, you just lowered my place.

(Focus group, week 3)

Managing their place in the social hierarchy was of central importance to girls like Beth and Becky. By determining the peer value system that pervaded school life, those with the highest status had the greatest influence on their peers and, thus, determined which goal structures operated in the physical education class and other school contexts. It was apparent that 'populars' could make certain attributes salient in each context as the currency by which their peers gained or lost social status. The effect of highlighting values other than physical ability impacted negatively on the salience of task and ego goal orientations in this physical education class.

The rejection of peers who held lower places on the social hierarchy was ever present in the young people's discourse. However in conversations the young people were careful not to construct undesirable positions for themselves. The long pause (..) and cut off points(-) in Jenny's explanation highlighted her eagerness to construct an identity for herself in which she was not viewed negatively by me or by the other girls present.

- Toni And what if your friends aren't very popular?
- Jenny Well Vicky isn't that popular is she?
- Becky Well I suppose that doesn't really matter
- Jenny I am sort of going off Vicky now because- it is not that she is not popular it is just that (..) she's not- she doesn't hang around with me, and she is not in same things as me anymore. I've just changed and so has she I suppose

(Focus group, week 3)

Although Jenny attempted to repair the conversation to prevent positioning herself in a negative light, the underlying rejection of the 'other' remained evident. Due to the high

level of interaction in physical education classes, the 'other' has contact with peers from a wide range of positions in the social hierarchy. This interaction provided numerous opportunities for those with higher status to highlight their status by singling out, rejecting, and teasing those with lower status. Physical education lessons appear to be one of the few places in this school in which peers from various levels of the social hierarchy are required to interact with each other. While this gave popular pupils the opportunity to display their dominance, it also resulted in those with less power being subjected to public evaluation. The young people on the edges of popularity acknowledged that they were wary of getting to know peers who were positioned in lower places on the social hierarchy, while those at the bottom of the social hierarchy made significant efforts to avoid entering into public discourses where dominant peers controlled their categorisation.

4.6 Reproducing social hierarchies

These young people placed significant importance on maintaining or improving their place in the social hierarchy since the status afforded them the opportunity to determine what structures and values dominated in a range of settings. In order to maintain their place young people employed strategies to lower the place of other peers as this reconfirmed their own sense of place in the social hierarchy. In publicly identifying others as having a lower position they established their own position relative to this. Multiple ways of depicting others negatively were used to maintain a higher position on the social hierarchy. What follows are examples of the variety of ways young people negotiated their own positions relative to those of others in their class.

By categorising peers as an outsider or 'other' the young people felt more secure in their own membership of a group. The young people used a number of physical movements such as turning their backs to unpopular young people when talking, leaning closer to friends to whisper comments to highlight an individual's proximity to or distance from involvement in the group activity. Public discourses about a peer, in which the peer was not included but could hear, appeared to be a favoured strategy for highlighting relative positions on the social hierarchy. The extract below illustrates this type of public display. Through their talk Jamie and Kate identify that Alison does not belong and hence position themselves, relative to this, as belonging.

Jamie Alison fell out of bed this morning
Kate She has got a big bruise
Jamie No, no I'm not on about the bruise I am on about her mood
(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Their conversation about Alison evoked a position as an 'other' of the class. Alison is marginalized by more popular peers and in constructing this position for her as an 'other', they reaffirm their own identity as a member of a particular identity group. Later Kate and Jamie evoked a position of 'babyish' and immaturity for Alison in another attempt to identify her position as lower in the social hierarchy.

Lisa I'm taller
Alison Well I'm the tallest now [standing on the wall]
Kate And Alison gets on and now ↑I'm the tallest now
Jamie They [Lisa and Alison] just act like babies they do
(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

In their premature desire for maturity interpreting other girls' behaviours as 'silly', 'babyish', 'weird' and immature was a strategy used to display their own importance. Renold (2001) highlighted young people's desire for maturity in primary school and the relationship between maturity and popularity. The young people reacted badly to being described as 'babies' or being told by peers to 'grow up'. Constructing a position of immaturity for Lisa and Alison ensures they were marginalized by the group. This undesirable position created for others reinforces Kate and Jamie's position as 'mature'.

In the extract below some girls teased Sam about his speech problem. On other occasions they also commented on his clothes and his intelligence to emphasise his position as an 'other' in the class.

Jane His name is Sham. He is Sham
Sarah Sam, Sham
Jane His name is Sham
Kate It's Sham. In my language it is Sam
(.)
Amy He is being mardy. He is telling us to go away and he's telling miss.
Kate He going to tell the head teacher because she went Sham
Jane She did it
(Naturally occurring talk, week 3)

Managing a relationship with Sam, as an 'other' of the class, was a difficult negotiation for some young people, particularly for those who, like Sophie, appeared to actually like Sam. However it was important that she was not associated with him as this would have damaged her own position and hence she had to engage in discourses which actively rejected him and disassociated her from him.

Jess and then like today in PE and like Sam, well Sophie is like always teasing him. They are always like against each other all the time cause like you know he actually gets on with her and she is like oh I don't like him, not necessarily because she doesn't like him but because he tries to get on with her.

(Individual Interview, week 6)

Jess identifies that Sophie does actually get on with Sam but knows that this is a position that is negatively experienced, and potentially harmful in terms of her position within the social hierarchy active in this class. Sophie, like many other girls, feared an association with someone of lower status and in the example below she forcefully asserts that she is not going out with Sam. This interaction took place in a physical education class when they were asked to find partners and she was standing next to Sam.

Shane Are you going out with Sam? [to Sophie]
Kate Uuugggghhhh
Jane Miss she is going out with Sam
Sophie No I'm not
Shane God help her
Sophie I don't think so, I don't think so
Shane Sam fancies Sophie
Sam No I don't, get off me [wrestling with Shane]
Shane Yeah you do
(.)
Sam Tell them to shut up
Toni What are they saying?
Sam They are telling Sophie that I like her and I don't

(Naturally occurring talk, week 6)

As the more popular of the pair, Sophie held control over the acceptance or rejection of this association and partnered another pupil in the class. As discussed earlier, young people with low positions on the social hierarchy tried to avoid situations where their more popular peers could publicly categorise them or draw attention to their position.

Sam actively tried to end this interaction by first fighting with Shane and then by calling on me as the adult present. Although Sam tried to dismiss the allegation that he 'fancies Sophie' she had already publicly rejected the association with him. Sam created an unusual identity for himself in physical education classes which may not have been conducive to improving his place on the social hierarchy. However, it was an identity he constructed himself and it seemed that this was preferable to the lack of control he experienced in situations such as the one illustrated above.

It was evident that, although many young people regularly avoided association with less popular peers, they did not want to discuss this with me as an adult who may not approve of such behaviour which may have been classified as bullying by school staff. When talking with me the young people paid more attention to their language and depicted a scenario where they were also victims who did not want to act like this, struggling with the role and carefully constructing an identity that was not negative.

- Jenny It is not that they are not popular with other people it is just that they are not popular with us and they don't hang around with us
- Becky So you don't know them
- Jenny I mean it is such a big school that you have your own groups
- (.)
- Jenny but now in this school cause it is just such a big school you don't hang around with the same people as when you are in Junior School. In Junior School me and Vicky R could not be split up and now we are not in the same set and not in the same form or nothing and we don't hang around with her.
- Toni Right (..) But you said if somebody is not very popular then you don't really want to make best friends with them-
- Becky No
- Jenny You are sort of worried about what people think of you
- Becky But you shouldn't because it is not what other people think it is what you think
- Jenny Yeah but it
- Toni It's kind of difficult though isn't it
- Becky Yeah when you have got other people saying oh you shouldn't be doing this and you're thinking well maybe I shouldn't, maybe I should
- Toni Have you ever been put in a situation where there is somebody that you actually quite like but they are not popular and- well kind of..
- Jenny Emm I don't really know because I hang around with the popular people so I don't think I really get to know
- Becky There was in my old school cause there used to be this girl called Stacey and everybody used to pick on her and like- well you know you never got to know her and it would be really nice to know her and what she was like inside cause everyone used to just take the mick out of her

- Jenny She invited me to her birthday party cause I was never nasty to her and I went and when I got to know her she was alright but I was scared to hang around with her because then I would lose all my other friends because they wouldn't want to hang around with her
- Toni so do you think people are teased just for hanging around with somebody who is not-
- Jenny and people are teased for what they look like as well and what abilities they have got
- Becky Yeah
- Jenny It is really difficult

(Focus group, week 3)

In physical education lessons the young people were constantly negotiating pathways where they were being associated and associating themselves with other peers. Although it was not uncommon for them to identify many conflicting issues with their adolescent friendships and social interactions, they justified their decisions and actions by drawing on the necessity of complying with the social hierarchies acting in the class. What was socially valued by dominant, popular peers within the class was subsequently adopted by others in an attempt to fit in.

For the boys in this class it was apparent that to gain social approval, thus improving your social position, being good at something 'like football or being tough', or 'things like throwing people over their shoulder when fighting' were important.

- Becky As long as they are good at something, they have got skills, they know
- Jenny And they look alright
- Toni when you said boys have to be good at something, what sorts of things?
- Jenny It is either football or being tough
- Beth Or some kind of sport really
- Jenny It is just stupid things sometimes like throwing people over their shoulder when they are fighting
- Becky Yeah
- Jenny Boys always try and make themselves look tough
- Beth It is what the boys think makes them look good
- Toni Does it count if they are good at something like in school?
- Becky Like brainy and stuff
- Toni Yeah
- Becky Sometimes,
- Jenny I don't think it does
- Becky It does sometimes
- Beth It does sometimes
- Becky Why do you fancy Alan J?

- Jenny Well I am coming on to that. Well like if they are too brainy they are not for you
- Beth Cause if you say something and if you get it wrong they keep correcting you and it is really annoying a lot
- Jenny Alan Jones has started- cause the popular boys want the answers to the questions and they want to get their marks in the SATs and things so they ask him for the questions so they are making mates with him so they will get the answers

(Focus group, week 3)

Outside of the physical structures of the school environment, the hierarchical arrangement of forms within the year groups was perhaps the primary way in which these young people were organised. The various distinctions between forms determined the positions that the young people were able to occupy in other classes (Davies and Harré, 2000). By virtue of being in a 'higher' form certain pupils possessed the authority to determine legitimacy in the majority of subject classes (Bourdieu, 1986). However in physical education class the privilege that being in a 'higher' form usually afforded them was not available. A number of young people drew on the privileged positions they held in other classes and tried to make these salient in their physical education class. Alan, and other students from the 'top' form repeatedly tried to highlight their intelligence and draw on this place in the 'top' form to gain a privileged position of power in physical education. The tension between pupils in higher and lower form groups was highlighted in the interactions of two pupils in particular, Alan and Sam. While Alan tried to privilege his abilities and make his intelligence a feature of power in this class, Sam attempted to devalue this ability and focus on the place of alternative abilities. This resulted in tense interactions between those who tried to privilege or to undermine the power associated with being in a higher form for academic classes.

- Luke He knows everything miss
- Alan Within 6 months they are going to complete the human genome project
- Kate Do you think he swallows a dictionary before he talks
- Sam Bla Bla Bla
- Alan What way do you turn the key Sam? [sneering at Sam in relation to an earlier mistake he had made]
- Teacher Well one thing is that we are better off now and one of the reasons for that is because we had a war [discussion about how physical education has developed over the last century in the poster class]
- Sam 1914 to 1918
- Teacher I was thinking of the second World War

sport. However, her friendship group repeatedly tried to influence her decisions on physical appearance, so as to comply with the group norms and ideals of femininity

Kate I want to take your hair down so I can have a look
Sev You don't want to see it
Kate It looks nice when you see it
Tanya Let me show you

(Naturally occurring talk, week 8)

In her rejection of these feminine grooming behaviours and clothing she created an oppositional identity for herself.

Amy I'm frozen to death.
Sev I walked. You didn't.
Amy Look all the wind goes up my trousers and makes me really really cold
Sev That is your fault wearing those ridiculous monster shoes

(Naturally occurring talk, week 3)

Her routine resistance to the hegemonic gendered identities and non-collaboration in the normative discursive practices undermined her membership of the group in a particularly powerful way. The notion of individuality, freedom and choice, and the principle of upholding individual rights, were prominent in her descriptions of herself. As Sev herself put it 'I just love sport'. Being positioned as 'sporty' was particularly important for her identity, and she was generally quite keen to reveal exactly just how much sport she engaged in each week. Although she recognised that this was not in line with the values of her peers, her sense of agency was underpinned by her resistance to these identities.

In physical education classes conflicts frequently arose between the dominant cultural messages of femininity and the sport related tasks the girls were asked to complete. Physical education is a highly potent site for the construction of identity in adolescence and is thus a site where the girls perceived their femininity was under threat and where the dominant forms of masculinity were celebrated. Rejecting popular peer culture and putting effort into achievement in sport marked the 'sporty' girls as different and often resulted in teasing and exclusion. In identifying herself as sporty, Sev had her credibility as a 'teenage girl', in a highly gendered and sexualised culture, questioned by

those around her. Other participants raised ambiguities about the femininity of her appearance, a position feared and negatively experienced by some girls in this class.

Becky I thought you were Cian [laughter]
Sev Who?
Becky You
Kate You don't want to be him, trust me
Becky From really far away you really looked like him and I thought why is Cian here
Jane It must have been the way she was sitting
Becky That's freaky

(Naturally occurring talk, week 5)

The majority of young people in this class closely adhered to the imposed boundaries between feminine and masculine behaviour and were particularly aware of the subtleties of positioning and posture. The comment 'it must have been the way *she* was sitting' constructs a position for Sev that is counter to feminine norms. Given the importance attached during adolescence to fitting in with one's peer group the comment 'That's freaky' is particularly important in positioning Sev as different from her peers.

In discussing the relationship between sport and femininity with the girls in this class frequent references were made to the inappropriateness of involvement for girls and the fact that many girls would 'try to change'. Once again this echoes the earlier references to how young people can change things about themselves, whether it is the number of friends they have in the earlier example or how interested they are in sport in the example below. A number of the girls described experiences of constructing identities more harmonious with the hegemonic femininities of the peer group. This culture resulted in many girls not valuing competence in sport and deliberately choosing not to display physical competence.

Toni Do you think a girl can be both girly and sporty? Can you be both?
Jess I don't know. I used to be ages ago but the boys used knock me and say oh you can't play football (.) but now I have changed
Toni So you are more girly now?
Jess Yeah
Toni Do you think some girls try to change so that the boys won't think they are just sporty?
Jess Yeah most girls do.
Toni Do you think a boy likes a girl who is sporty more or would they prefer someone who is girly?

Jess Girly
Toni they definitely go for girly?
Jess Yeah

(Individual interview, week 6)

It could be suggested that Jess's withdrawal from engagement in sport has become such an ingrained response for adolescent girls that she no longer questions why she opted to 'change'. Jess has accepted that her engagement in sport was not helping create a valued identity for her. The fact that she does not challenge this position highlights her complicit reproduction of the gendered culture of this physical education class. Her unchallenging acceptance of this culture directly contrasted with that of Sev who engaged in debates with other girls about their participation and vocalised that sport was an important part of her identity, creating a number of struggles with other girls in the class who rejected sport in the construction of their identities. The extract below from naturally occurring talk is taken from the class where pupils were working on a poster describing their ideal physical education class. Kate and Sev enter into a conversation about how many people there should be in the class. Kate comments on the fact that she would only like her friends in the class, thus highlighting that she values the social opportunities physical education presents. However Sev's responses illustrate her non-conformity with the feminine approaches of the dominant 'girly' group in this class.

Sev You can't play football like that [with so few people]
Kate Yes you can
Sev You can't play rugby, you can't play netball, you can't play cricket
Kate I hate cricket anyway (.) I don't play rugby, I don't play football and I
 don't play cricket anyway
Sev You can play netball but you need to take out the wings (.) and the
 goalkeepers have to play like the
Kate Oy shutup
Sev No you have got to have loads of people and get in there

(Naturally occurring talk, week 7)

The self-representations of herself as a 'rebel' and someone who 'gets in there', although compelling, seem to mask the conflicts unavoidable for Sev as she struggles against the gendered norms. Whilst masking these conflicts to her peers may make her feel empowered and might be interpreted as resistance and agency, she is inherently struggling with this position. Sev's language in the extract below highlights the struggle she has had reconciling her love of sport and the general antipathy shown by

many girls. Her pauses and hesitations indicated her struggles with verbalising the difference between her understanding and that of others.

Sev I think it is fashionable to be good at sports. The majority, well em, (.) or most girls think it is.

(Individual interview, week 4)

Whilst on the one hand Sev stated that most girls think of sport as fashionable and positioned herself with them, she also states that:

Sev Girly girls wouldn't want anyone to know that they were good at sport and they would hide it.

(Individual interview, week 4)

Through Sev's dialogue we can see the struggle she experienced in creating an identity that allows her to engage in sport but also comply with the gendered norms of her peer groups. The contradictory messages of sport as fashionable and the fact that others would want to hide their competence unveiled the struggles that occurred to actively construct a gendered subjectivity and yet maintain her involvement in sport. Underneath this conflict was Sev's understanding of how she will, when she is older, also conform to the hegemonic ideologies of her peer group.

Sev When you are older you have other priorities and it isn't sport so much I guess

(Individual interview, week 4)

In comparison to Sev some of the other girls who were 'into sport' manage to offset their identities from a 'sporty' label, whilst maintaining their task engagement. These girls reflexively managed their own gender identities through their discourse and engagement in grooming behaviours, thus offsetting their sporting interest against the femininity displays valued by their peers. As such they identified the boundaries of tolerable behaviour, and marginalized those who moved beyond those limits. Although these girls did not see themselves as the victims of discrimination, a number of them recognised that they had 'changed' because of the negative connotations associated with full engagement in sport. While they did not challenge this culture, they did identify that many of the boys in the class contributed to the negative image of girls' participation in sport. Many of the 'girly' girls constructed a version of reality where

the boys, through their dominance of activities, suppressed the girls' involvement and engagement. In this way these girls distanced themselves from the root of the problem.

Kate It's just different when we are with the boys
Jane yeah like the boys are like 'yeah I am going to do this, haha, I'm going to show off and do it'

(Focus group, week 8)

In comparison Sev tended to blame the 'girly girls' for assisting in the reproduction of this culture. Sev actively resisted the position of disadvantage constructed by other girls in this class and preferred to blame the problem on the girls.

Part of the fear of being too different revolved around how they looked to others, particularly to others of the opposite sex. The girls had internalised a hierarchy in which a premium was placed on male judgements. They expressed the desire to be attractive and popular with boys because this also influenced their position within the overall social hierarchy. Oliver and Lalik (2000) also noted in their study the male dominance of adolescent girls' identity construction.

Toni what is it like if you look good but don't have a good personality?
Becky Well that is it, you are popular then
Beth Yeah, you are popular because of they way you look
Becky Cause the boys like you
Toni Ok, and do you think girls would make friends with you like this?
Beth Yeah
Becky Yeah- they would cause if you are popular with the boys they want to be popular with the boys they will-
Beth It doesn't matter what you are like, they will make friends with you
Toni So do you think that is one of the very big deciding factors in whether you are popular or not- how you look
Becky Usually it is

(Focus group, week 3)

The central position the boys' judgement played in the girls' construction of identity ensured that the culture in the co-education and single sex classes differed. Due to their concerns about their appearance, co-educational physical education became problematic as the girls placed value on boys' judgements. Kate's concern with her appearance was obvious in physical education when a boy she fancied was present.

Kate How do I look??

Jane Just chill (.) chill (.) ↓chill
Kate But he is in there

(Naturally occurring talk, week 7)

How the girls look to the boys is obviously of central importance as it is a big part of how they see their popularity and it helps create their identities.

Hailey Sophie, Sophie.....Do you fancy Mark?
Sophie Mi::ss Why are the year 8s here?
Toni They are supposed to be preparing the desks for the parent teacher meeting
Sophie Ooohh
Ruth She fancies one of them
Toni Why, don't you like them here when you are em (.) all dressed up like this is it?
Sophie Yeah pretty much [Sophie tries to hide behind her friends so that she will not be seen]

(Informal discussion, week7)

In later interviews the girls identified that they became more self conscious of their bodies and of their clothes when in co-educational classes.

Sarah I suppose if you have got a boyfriend in 'em you just don't concentrate on the game
Ruth When you like- cause you get to wear trousers and you've got really scruffy trousers that have got holes in them... I know but like you feel embarrassed you're really scruffy...

(Focus group, week 5)

Jenny But the thing is that when you have people from the opposite sex to you then you want to chat but if they are not very popular and things like that you sort of don't want to turn into best mates with them. Like David Harris, is like em well is- I don't want to be nasty but he is not (.)-
Becky Yeah
Jenny but he is sort of disabled, isn't he

(Focus group, week 3)

It is important to note that, although the boys did not recognise these issues in the same way as the girls, it was evident that they also conformed to the hegemonic masculinities in an attempt to impress the girls.

Toni Do you think it matters to boys whether they are popular with girls?
Becky yeah it does
Jenny yeah
Becky It bugs them

- Toni So do you think it happens with boys a bit as well, then if someone is popular with girls then the other boys becomes friends with them?
- Becky Yeah it does
- Beth So they could be popular with the girls as well
- Jenny It also happens when- but when I went out with this boy, no one else liked him, I went out with him and I'm quite popular and he wasn't popular, he was just one of the shyist boys in the like school and yeah I went out with him and when I got him to know all my mates, now she is going out with him and now she has got to know him
- Toni So has it sort of changed his social world, just going out with someone popular
- Jenny Yeah, well everything has changed
- Becky Yeah
- Jenny He wasn't one of the most popular people but now he is
- (Focus group, week 3)

It has already been illustrated how the majority of girls in this class increasingly conformed to the dominant values fixed in this peer culture. However, it is also important to note that the boys in this class also increasingly identified with the dominant forms of masculinity that were embedded in the normalisation and regulation of 'normal' boys in this class (Renold, 2001a; Adler and Adler, 2001). As discussed earlier the boys were expected to focus on being 'macho', fighting, playing football and 'throwing people over their shoulder'. It was apparent that fighting and being injured were socially valued by the young people in this class. As identified earlier a number of the girls managed their identities through their talk, describing themselves as having a 'best best mate' or as a 'good swimmer'. In a similar way a number of boys constructed identities for themselves through their talk. In the example below Jason portrays himself as 'macho': he loves skateboarding because 'you get hurt'.

- Jason It [skateboarding] is the best sport ever
- Toni really
- Jason It is 'cos you get hurt I fell over there and there and look at that [indicating to a bruise]
- (Informal discussion, week 8)

Similarly Sam and Shane try to identify themselves in this way through their description of other pupils as 'wimps'.

- Sam Hey you know those two (.) they're wimps.
- Shane He's being a girl. You're like a load of wimps
- (Naturally occurring talk, week 4)

Although conformity to hegemonic masculinities was evident in the everyday actions of the majority of boys in this class, they were less open in their discussions with me about these issues. It is interesting that my field notes of the boys' interactions tie closely with the girls' descriptions of what the boys do. Although a number of girls, and Sev in particular, maintained identities in direct opposition to those valued for girls, this was not the case with the boys. While not all engaging in displays of hegemonic masculinities to the same extent, no boy maintained an identity that directly opposed the gendered norms. The extract from naturally occurring talk above where Shane and Sam call other boys wimps is an interesting example of two boys who do not possess much social capital, engaging in vocal displays of their masculinity. On another occasion Shane commented:

Shane ah ah ah a::::h OWW (.) he just squeezed there – that hurt - look – I'm very sensitive – honestly I am. I have really sensitive skin. Can't you see the colour of my hair?

(Naturally occurring talk, week 6)

It is interesting to see the discrepancy between Shane's assertion that he is 'very sensitive' and his comment 'he's a girl'. In many ways Shane's failure to construct a stable identity for himself impacted on his position in the social hierarchy. Shane's changes between a disregard for and a conformity to what is socially valued for boys leave him marginalized by peers in this class. His attempts to create an oppositional role for himself as the class joker, as a 'messenger' in physical education, impact on his behaviour in physical education and this will be dealt with further in the next chapter. Shane, who was one of the few boys to discuss the issues of conformity to peer values with me, highlighted the vulnerability he felt, the effects of bullying, the lack of friendship and the falseness of the image he tried to project.

Toni Think of all the friends you have in your class
Shane None (.) Like who? (.) I have no friends
Toni I see you every week joking with them and them joking with you
Shane Yeah but that is just (.) me pretending (.) so it looks good in front of the teachers
Toni Why do you care what the teachers think?
Shane cause it is important ain't it?
Toni ↑for the teacher to think you have friends?
Shane yeah
Toni and why do you both- I mean why do they pretend to be your friends?

Shane Half of them don't like me and I don't like them
Toni How come?
Shane I just don't get on with them

(Individual interview, week 7)

This was a particularly emotional, if short, interview where Shane discussed how he was bullied and how none of the teachers did anything about it although he had told them about it. He expressed his vulnerabilities about the falseness of his identity in the class and yet in the next chapter I examine how he continued to create this identity even after this discussion with me where he identifies that he is unhappy with the pretence.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter highlights the variability and diversity in the goal orientations held by the young people in this class. The minimal discussion of physical ability, demonstrating competence and being good at sport is noticeable, while the importance of social hierarchies, popularity and friendship are evident throughout the data. Although this finding may not be surprising to many working in sport pedagogy research it further highlights inadequacies in achievement goal theory. Undoubtedly the methodologies I chose to explore this issue are not conventional and this had a significant impact on the findings. The conventional, and reductionist, approach typically taken in achievement goal theory research may have limited the development of this theory and this issue needs to be considered.

This account remains incomplete without a consideration of *how* these factors impinge on the ecology of the physical education class. Building on the findings of this chapter, in the next chapter I move on to an exploration of how student agendas impact on their engagement with physical education tasks and on their negotiation with the teacher. The intensity with which the young people pursue these agendas and the resultant impact on their behaviour during physical education lessons will be explored. Such an analysis also necessitates a consideration of how teacher agendas and classroom structures impinge on the young people and, in particular I will consider how this impacts on their construction of an embodied identity in later chapters of this thesis.

Chapter 5: An ecological analysis of physical education

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I examined what motivated the young people in their physical education class that is the why of engagement. Building on some of the issues in the previous chapter, this chapter now turns to how the young people's goal orientations manifested themselves during lessons. To do this I draw extensively on the ecological framework to conceptualise my analysis. I examine the relationship between the young people's motivation and the agendas they adopt in physical education. How teachers and student agendas are negotiated and the resultant behaviour patterns are key issues. Thus throughout this chapter I foreground the teacher and pupil perspectives to complete the analysis of the classroom ecosystem. Before moving on to the analysis I feel that it would be useful to reiterate the conceptual framework used. I will explore how the pupils attempted to modify tasks or engaged in tasks in a way that allowed them to pursue their own agendas and yet also complied with the teachers' programmes of action. The chapter is interspersed with analysis of how the teachers understood the young people's behaviour and inevitably the way in which the teachers held the pupils accountable for their behaviour is present throughout.

Throughout this chapter I use Merritt's (1982) conception of task systems as vectors with direction, momentum and energy. The energy with which young people engage in tasks is determined by the additive force of the vectors working during the lesson. While Doyle (1985) argues that accountability drives the task and managerial task systems, this analysis explores the way in which achievement goal orientations drive the student social task system. I examine how those factors identified in chapter four contribute to the intensity and direction of the student social task system.

A key aspect of this chapter is my identification of the strategies used by these young people in pursuing their agendas. Allen (1986), in analysing young people's behaviour in school, identified two main student agendas, to socialise and to achieve a passing

grade. She claimed that students use six strategies to achieve their two major goals, including figuring out their teachers, giving the teachers what they want, having fun, minimizing work, reducing boredom, and staying out of trouble. Although Allen's (1986) model was a useful framework for exploring the strategies used by the young people, reference to this model serves to emphasise the distinct differences between the agendas of the young people in her study and those attending the physical education lessons I observed. Throughout this chapter I will make reference to those agendas identified in chapter four and attempt to relate them to the strategies the young people adopted during their physical education lessons.

5.2 Managerial episodes and student negotiation

5.2.1 *"We're onto a loser in so much as we are on at them as soon as they come in"*

The beginning of each lesson during the spring term took a familiar organisational structure. The teacher opened the doors to the changing room as soon as the bell rang and the pupils came in to change. Any pupils who were not participating in the lesson came forward in turn to present their notes and excuses to the teacher. The number of 'non-doers' in the physical education class was reasonably consistent during the spring and summer terms ranging between 5% and 10% for girls and 0% and 5% for boys, except in swimming lessons where the numbers of non-participants increased. The young people adopted strategies such as presenting notes excusing them from participation or feigning injuries and illness. The extract below from a discussion between the three teachers about the excuses given by the non-participants in swimming highlights their frustration about, and possibly also their resignation to, this behaviour.

Mr. K there are quite a lot of them [excuse notes] today
Miss S yes one or two
Mr. K A headache, a verucha and 3 periods
Miss S About 5 periods, one headache, one cold and you had one for a verucha
 didn't you? It's ridiculous
Mrs. A I didn't even read mine

(Naturally occurring talk, week 3)

It is ironic that the teachers discuss this as if it was a competition to see who received the most notes from their pupils – today Miss S won with 5 periods. However, for her it

is a hollow victory: her frustration is evident in the comment 'it's ridiculous'. Her resignation to and acceptance of the problem of non-participants was further evidenced in her comment at the beginning of another lesson '*Was there only one note today?*' (Naturally occurring talk, week 6). It was evident that some young people lived up to their teachers' expectations and participated in few if any lessons.

Sophie One of our friends hasn't done the lesson at all this year, well all of the six weeks
Jane I don't think she has done any lesson
Kate she does it indoors but she has done no outdoor
(Focus group, week 8)

While undoubtedly some pupils were genuinely unable to take part in some physical education lessons, which was recognised by the teachers, many pupils used injury or illness as an excuse and presented notes, even though they were perfectly well. The interaction below between Hailey and Tanya illustrates the pride pupils took in 'getting out' of school activities.

Hailey I was supposed to have the lower cap thing tomorrow (.) I got out of it though, I told Mrs. A yesterday
Tanya What, what did you tell her?
Hailey I told her I hurt my hand
(Naturally occurring talk, week)

The girls told me that it was really easy to make excuses and that if they didn't want to do physical education they could tell Mr. K that they had 'female problems' that had just come on and he wouldn't question them further. Furthermore, it quickly became apparent that some pupils treated the experience of giving the teachers excuses like a game to see what they could get away with. In the interaction below Becky, who was a sporty girl and who, I believe, had every intention of participating in the lesson, entered the changing rooms and immediately approached me with an excuse.

Becky I can't do PE, I cut my leg look
Toni you'll have to tell the teacher then
Carol those look like old scars I bet they're there for years and years
Becky only 4 years
Miss S only 4 years [laugh] that was a very good try. Go and get changed
(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Interestingly the following week Kate and Jane sprained their ankles again and once more could not participate in the lesson. Unsurprisingly the teachers response to this excuse had sarcastic undertones.

Kate I can't do PE cause Ian tripped me and I sprained my ankle
Jane I sprained my ankle too
Miss S Were you tripped up by Ian as well then?
Jane No I fell down the stairs

(Naturally occurring talk, week 7)

A sprained ankle was the most common excuse for non participation and the teacher identified that if she had a £1 for every time someone fell down the stairs then she would be rich. Interactions, like those shown here, followed a similar pattern each week. Research by Wetherall and Potter (1996) claims that most interactions are governed by conversation rules that are strictly adhered to by participants. The rules governing the type of interaction where teachers excused pupils from participation in physical education lessons tended to follow the format of presentation of note and excuse, question and a secondary excuse. Occasionally a young person worked outside the boundaries of these interaction rules and the example below highlights Mr. K's surprise when confronted with an alternative interaction pattern, that is, with honesty.

Mr. K Are you doing PE today Sam?
Sam I don't want to
Mr. K You don't want to?
Sam ok (.) I feel ill.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 5)

Sam's initial response 'I don't want to' was perhaps slightly too honest for Mr. K. The teachers were prepared for an interaction pattern where the pupils attempted to stay within the boundaries of the school rules and hence Mr. K was not prepared for an alternative response. By responding to Sam's honesty with questioning surprise Mr. K restored the acceptable interaction pattern where Sam responded with an excuse. By doing this Mr. K helped maintain and reproduce the culture where young people were expected to feign injury or illness when they did not want to participate in a lesson.

These data raise a number of issues in relation to the ways in which teachers hold pupils accountable for their participation in class. Hastie and Siedentop (1999) found that

teachers hold pupils accountable for little more than their attendance and dress in physical education classes. However, in this class it appears that pupils are only accountable for participation in the absence of illness or injury, whether real or not. Mrs. A's comment below 'the child becomes like a hypochondriac' indicated her uncertainty about whether the young people actually believe their excuses or not. She is evidently concerned about the behaviour and yet she does not identify strategies for dealing with it.

Mrs. A look if I had a pound for every time some child has fallen down the stairs I would be a millionaire (.) I don't believe it- I mean we believe some of them that's not true but what worries me is that some of the mothers because of some of the reasons I've said- because these kids are so manipulative anything for an easy life, the mother will write the note or the father or whoever writes the note. So once they get away with it once the mother will say write the note two weeks later again The child then becomes like if you like a hypochondriac they feel Oh I have injured my back

...

Mrs. A I understand some children who have notes but if you look in my mark book, as you may, the notes you spot them a mile away the ones that are genuine and the ones- yes persistent and that's when you take it to head of year and hopefully go through that route.

(Individual interview, week 5)

This extract highlights an important issue in relation to pupils absenting themselves from physical education lessons. Mrs. A perceived that the accountability for non-participation was held, not within the physical education department, but by the pupils' head of year. The extract emphasises Mrs. A's concern about participation levels but also illustrates a perceived lack of control. The significance of 'taking this to the head of year' is that the physical education teachers have no system of accountability internal to their class for dealing with non-participation. The implications and consequences of non-participation were not discussed with the pupils at any point during this study. The teachers had no immediate, within class strategies to reward or punish the young people for their participation that I observed. As I have already noted, engagement with task systems is mediated by the accountability system in place. The engagement with the student social task system rather than the teacher led task systems suggest that they are possibly held more accountable by their peers than by their teachers. That said, only a small percentage of the young people excused themselves regularly from physical

education lessons. Thus, I argue that for the majority of the young people in this class the force of the vector directed to minimising participation did not have sufficient intensity to cause them to withdraw from lessons.

5.2.2 *'Do I look ok?': student concerns about their appearance and the impact on the changing room climate*

In the previous chapter I identified that many of the young people were concerned with their appearance. This was apparent for girls and boys, albeit with a higher intensity for girls and in co-educational classes. The teachers identified that they were 'fighting a losing battle' from the start of physical education lessons because the school rules dictated that pupils must wear the correct physical education uniform, that no pupils were allowed to wear make up or jewellery and that girls were required to tie back long hair. As explored in the previous chapter clothes, make up, jewellery and grooming behaviours were central elements in the girls' discourse and fundamental to their perceptions of appropriate expression of femininity. These were socially valued by many in the year and each lesson began with attempts to bypass the rules.

Frequent attempts to wear make-up, jewellery, leave their hair down, and wear labelled clothing met with conflict, setting a resistant culture from the beginning of each class. The girls' attempts to disobey their teacher were motivated by their desire to express their femininity through their appearance which is consistent with research by Oliver and Lalik (2000) and Kay (1995). In a focus group discussion about what pupils would change about physical education the uniform was a key factor for many girls.

Kate	what I would change as well is the uniform. Why can't we wear what we want for PE unless we are playing matches and stuff?
Sophie	when you have to take your jewellery off and tape up your earrings
Kate	we have to wear black shorts or a skirt
Jane	yeah a PE skirt
Kate	like there is no style to it really
Sophie	you should be able to wear what you want

(Focus group, week 8)

Although it wasn't a universal trend that the girls were bothered about the physical education uniform, there were a significant number who raised this as an issue. This finding supports the view expressed by many authors that many girls dislike the

requirement of having to alter their dress and appearance for physical education (Kay, 1995; IYS, 2000). The main complaint about the uniform from the pupils above was 'there is no style to it really'. A growing body of evidence suggests that adolescents in western cultures spend much of their time worrying about what their bodies look like to themselves and to others (Oliver and Lalik, 2000). Looking pretty and having the right clothes was a central topic of conversation for many of the girls and an important determinant of their perceptions of femininity. For some girls in this class rings, earrings and makeup were a part of the identity they had created for themselves as 'girly' and their appearance reaffirmed their membership of this identity group.

Jess Emm Hailey and Tanya and all her mates are such girly girls. Like in rehearsals we had all makeup on and their eyeshadow was like woo [gesture signalling blinding or startling]
(Individual interview, week 6)

Furthermore, it was apparent that the girls saw jewellery as a signifier of maturity. In particular many girls associated body piercing with age and as the extract below highlights Tanya planned to get multiple piercings done when she became sixteen.

Hailey I've got one higher up
Tanya Miss I'm having it done when I'm 16 that one, that one, that one.
Jenny my sister is having it on her lip, her eyebrow, her tongue
(Informal discussion, week 13)

For the boys in this class hair, make up and jewellery were a less contentious issue, which is perhaps unsurprising given the way in which most boys conformed to hegemonic masculinities. However many boys also tried to 'bend' the uniform rule by wearing branded clothing. In a discussion with Luke at the beginning of a lesson he described to me how the teachers tried to prevent him wearing a Nike t-shirt to class.

Luke they were really strict when I first came like, and I had this t-shirt and it got a little logo just up there and then she gave me another t-shirt and it had like- I had Nike just across there.
(Informal discussion, week 9)

It is apparent that Luke failed to understand why the teachers attempted to reinforce this rule. Indeed it is interesting to note that the teachers' and pupils' understanding of why

this struggle took place were very different. Kate explained how there is 'no style' to the uniform. However Miss S. expressed the belief that the pupils only behave like this to rebel.

Miss S because they're kids they just rebel don't they I mean if you look on 'come as you please day' when you can wear what you like what do they wear? they all wear jeans with different tops- so its just their uniform its just their age isn't it they're just to try (.) because they're kids aren't they? Look at the school uniform you only have to look they do exactly the same. To me we either have a uniform or we don't. If we have one we have to try to keep up the standards If we don't have one fine but this school has chosen to have a school uniform they have chosen to have a PE uniform I can give you all the reasons why we have a uniform which I agree with but I also agree that if the school decides to have a uniform you have to back it and if the school decides you don't have a uniform you back it

(...)

Miss S its back to the school rules. They're only supposed to wear one ring and a watch... its a safety issue the hair to a certain extent is a safety issue. This is basic PE things that everybody knows and if you start off- you have to decide if you really hammer that you know every lesson- or let it go and I've decided and the department has that you hammer it because that's what we want to do so we're on a looser in so much as we are on at them in inverted commas as soon as they come in They know the rules they are pushing us to see how far they can go- so do you just say I'm sick to death of this and ignore it once you let it slip- it slips at everything- so that is why I do keep on at them (.)I do feel like a bag and everything but to me they should know, you know- and I will justify it forever till the school says we have no school uniform

(Individual interview, week 6)

There are various underlying issues evident in this extract, none more so than Miss S's perception of being constrained by the rules concerning the uniform and make up. She recognised that attempting to enforce the rules in relation of make up, jewellery and clothes was an issue in the class and yet she felt compelled to do so: *'I will justify it forever till the school says we have no uniform'*. This comment illustrates an issue similar to that raised by Mrs. A earlier that a higher authority in the school had control over their physical education lessons. Not only does this extract highlight the fact that Miss S felt bound by the school rules, but it also illustrates that she was aware that this caused her to be *'on at them'* from the beginning of the class. The examples below show how Miss S and Mrs. A 'go on' at the pupils attempting to reinforce the make up and uniform rules with girls in the changing rooms.

Miss S Ladies there are too many of you with make up on. If you have it on tomorrow I will make you take it off

(Naturally occurring talk, week 5)

Mrs. A you've got very poor listening skills...you have got confused about what you were to wear...for rounders you need skirts.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 18)

Although highlighting a commitment to enforcing the school rules, examples such as these tended to be rare. Given Luke's comment about his Nike t-shirt it is apparent that similar interactions took place in the boys' changing rooms, although the intensity of the negotiations between the boys and Mr. K is unclear. It is also pertinent to note that both comments above are aimed at a large group rather than specific incidents where a pupil is held accountable for their breach of the rules. Analysis of the data did not reflect Miss S's conviction that staff would 'hammer' the rules and it appeared that the only consequence of breaking these rules was that the teachers would be 'on at them' or at worst make them take their jewellery off, remove their make up or change their t-shirt.

It is perhaps understandable that the pupils tried to navigate their way around these rules and this resulted in a struggle between the teachers and pupils, where the teachers attempted to ensure pupils complied with one of the few formal rules for this class. Incidences where the teachers did try to enforce the rules with individual pupils were generally unsuccessful. The pupils' motivation to pursue this agenda appeared to have a high intensity level and the opposing forces and directions of the teacher and pupil vectors led to lengthy interactions. The four examples below, all taken from naturally occurring talk in the girls' changing rooms, highlight ways in which the girls negotiated with the teacher in an attempt to comply with the teachers' rules and yet also maintain their sense of feminine identity.

Mrs. A You have to take out your earrings
Becky Miss, mine close up if I take them out so can I just put some tape over them because they get really sore.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 8)

Mrs. A where are you going?
Amy to get some plasters for my earrings because I can't take them out

Mrs. A You have to take them out
Amy I can't take the studs out because it really really hurts
Mrs. A well you shouldn't get it done then should you
Amy they should be ok now but I can't take them out because it hurts
Mrs. A which ones can you take out
Amy 1st and 2nd
Mrs. A take them out then
Amy ok

(Naturally occurring talk, week 4)

Jenny I can't take my earrings out because I can't hold it with my nails because
 it hurts
Miss S you always have an excuse for not taking your earrings out
Jenny But it does

(Naturally occurring talk, week 18)

Miss S Tanya, is that lipstick
Tanya No miss, it's lipsolve because my lips are chapped

(Naturally occurring talk, week 6)

Each of these examples illustrates the process of negotiation between the teacher and pupils. The teachers used a substantial amount of class time each week by entering into dialogue with the pupils about issues such as those highlighted here. However they ultimately reached compromises where the pupils broke the rules and the teachers went 'on at' them. The negotiation that took place in the second example above highlights how Mrs. A and Amy reach a point where they were both (un)happy. By removing a few, but not all, of her earrings Amy partially complied with the rule and the teacher, although not happy, was content that she had at least tried to enforce the rule. Miss S's comment 'you always have an excuse' highlights the persistent nature of this behaviour with certain girls.¹

Prior to the beginning of the class each teacher entered into a number of interactions using a significant amount of time, a valuable asset in teaching. Unfortunately the examples above highlight the teachers were not using this time effectively. Their attempts to reinforce these rules were mainly unsuccessful, although as a department they identified that it was important for maintaining standards that they not let the rules slip. It is perhaps an unsurprising finding, also documented by researchers such as

¹ It is also worth noting that this is quite an explicit form of surveillance and regulation of pupils' bodies by the teachers (following Foucault). I discuss this issue further in chapter seven.

Adler and Adler (2001), that the pupils attempted to negotiate with teachers to reach a compromise in relation to this rule given the extensive research highlighting the importance of feminising effects in the lives of teenage girls. The pupils informed me that in other lessons they faced similar confrontation with teachers in relation to their mobile phones, which they switched to silent and 'text messaged' each other under the table. Miss S commented that she 'felt onto a loser' from the beginning of the class; she was sick to death of the issue and felt that she was constantly on at the pupils. If she argued the point too forcefully, she used a significant amount of class time to do this and in the process risked alienating pupils and provoking their subsequent withdrawal from the lesson. Balancing compliance with the class rules and pupil participation in the lesson was a difficult task for these teachers.

5.2.3 *'We waste 15 to 20 minutes by the time we get there'*

The management of the beginning of the lesson tended to take a significant amount of time. Each negotiation ate into instructional time and because of this it is perhaps unsurprising that the teacher did not deal with each rule violation thoroughly at the beginning of the lesson, possibly due to the already heavy managerial focus.

- Mr. K. have we only got three of you in today?
Alan no no they'll all be another half hour coming out
Mr. K can you just go up and see around the boys' changing rooms to say hurry up and get outside?
Drew I think they're coming out now, are they?
Mr. K Just knock on the door and shout at them to all come out
(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Once again this example illustrates the lack of accountability or incentive to encourage pupils to come to class quickly. The pupils utilised the time between lessons to socialise with friends and pursue their own agendas without teacher interference. They openly acknowledged to me that they waste time and 'delay getting changed'.

- Luke we waste about 15 to 20 minutes by the time we get there and warm up and it is like half the lesson gone already and then there isn't much time for playing and then it is almost the end
Toni and whose fault is it that there is such a delay?
Luke sometimes it is ours. There are people in here and they like delay getting changed and then there is the register
Toni How come?

Luke don't know [shrugging shoulders]

(Informal discussion, week 7)

Although Luke identified that the pupils were responsible for the delays, he could not elaborate on why they do this but merely commented that they do. Without an accountability system in place to drive compliance with the managerial task system, the pupils filled the available time. Given that a significant amount of class time was regularly spent dealing with the managerial issues of getting the pupils to class, the teacher did not make more than a short comment about the time delay once they arrived in class in order to start the next phase of the lesson as quickly as possible. Although this ensured that no additional time was lost at the beginning of the lesson, the teachers' inaction did nothing to curb this practice.

5.2.4 Summary

The period at the beginning of a lesson has been identified as an important managerial episode of classroom life. The opening interactions not only defined the stability and predictability of the managerial task system, this information was also used by pupils to estimate the stringency of the accountability system in the main body of the lesson. Although I have identified that a number of pupils did not stay within the basic boundaries of the managerial system which involved bringing correct kit, wearing no make up, tying hair back and attending the class on time the majority of pupils stayed well within the boundaries of the limited accountability system that did exist. By bringing their correct uniform to the lesson the pupils were not liable to be referred to their head of year and hence worked within one of the few accountability structures in place. Navigating the managerial tasks inherent in the process of getting the pupils to the main body of the physical education class was fraught with difficulties for the teachers and yet this was merely the preparatory step in influencing performance outcomes. In the following sections the discussion moves on to address the ways in which teachers and pupils negotiated engagement in the task systems of the teaching and learning part of the lesson.

5.3 The main body of the class

The young people who brought their physical education kit to school took an important first step in engaging with the instructional content of the lesson. Tousignant and Siedentop (1983) claimed that pupils in physical education classes are often only accountable for minimal participation in instructional tasks. In the extract below Mrs. A discusses her concerns about the way in which the pupils engaged in instructional tasks and explains that she believes that they *'don't perceive it as cool'*.

Mrs. A like today little Sophie said to me I'm no good at this rounders. So they come in with a lot of them, especially the girls- I don't know so much about the boys (..) the boys with dance came in with the 'we don't do the dance' but I'm going back on my past- they come in with preconceived idea of what the activity is going to be and to begin with they think they are either going to be good at it or they're not going to be good and its the ones who're not- it's a confidence thing again isn't it? Those that are not going to be good struggle and they are the hardest ones to get out of it even if you keep telling them that they are good (..) and I don't know how you get around it because girls- it sounds awful this but they are not as able. Obviously there is a top end and a bottom end there's more towards the bottom end with girls with just the hand eye co-ordination throwing and catching running skills there are more at that end with girls than there are with boys- boys seem to have innate, more natural ability. It sounds awful but it is- I think its true in my experience (..) I think they do less now in the junior schools than they used to, even less yes, and I don't think they perceive it- even at that age and I don't see how you get around this and this has come over the years- perceive it as being cool to be brilliant to play in teams and things like this whereas 10 years ago they did (..) I don't know how you get around that. It's difficult isn't it? It's self perpetuating. You need good and you need prestige and you need winning to get them so everybody wants to do it but until you actually get that- it's egg and the chicken (..) its difficult

(Individual interview, week 5)

The many breaks, cut-offs and pauses in Mrs. A's reply illustrates the difficulty she has in formulating and expressing her opinions about the pupil's engagement in class tasks. The comment 'it sounds awful but' that she repeats both before and after expressing her belief that 'boys seem to be innate, more natural ability' illustrates how uncomfortable she feels with her belief that girls are less able than boys. Mrs. A's conclusion that she struggles to overcome the girls' preconceived ideas about their ability, and hence their resulting lack of confidence, highlights her concerns about her own ability to deal with maintaining task engagement in this physical education class. This is consistent with research conducted by

Griffin (1985) where teachers expressed reservations about whether or not student sex typical behaviour could be changed. Summarizing research on children's conception of domain-specific knowledge in science education, Dodds et al. (2001) argue that prior knowledge varies among individuals and results in learners approaching new learning episodes with alternative conceptions of a topic. It is inevitable that young people approach most new learning experiences with some established knowledge, including knowledge of their own capabilities, their perceptions of the activity, the social environment and the social value associated with demonstrating 'ability' in the learning activity. Walkerdine (1997) claimed that children's prior knowledge of topics in mathematics and science is diverse and sometimes in contrast to conceptions teachers intend to communicate. Mrs. A's comment, 'those that are not going to be good struggle', is indicative of her beliefs that some pupils are easier to engage than others, primarily because of their ability². Evans (2004) argues that schools build on and reproduce, rather than produce 'ability'. It was apparent that an interaction between pupils who were 'able' and those who were not, and the activity content was a factor in determining the teachers' attitude towards certain teaching episodes. The teachers highlighted that engaging pupils was more of a problem with certain units of work such as dance for boys.

- Toni is it very gender stereotyped with the activities like that when you say it was dance he-
- Mrs. A no- well yes. It is the boys that don't particularly- I find I mean-
- Mr. K Its dance that is the biggest problem. In year 7 we don't introduce football but when we do in year 8 the girls like it. It's difficult to do the dance with them- to find material that is suitable for both, because boys- mmm like to do things that are more strong direct- ya fighting confrontational those type of motives whereas the girls will go along with those but could do something, that they could think in a different way and you have to think for that because- so finding something that encompasses all that I find it difficult- well not difficult, challenging
- Mrs. A the boys are not motivated at all compared to having them for games or whatever- even gym they are completely different, some of them when it is gym or sports

² Evans (2004) comments that the nature of 'ability' in physical education has received little critical attention and he raises a number of issues about the ways in which 'ability' is constructed by professionals. Furthermore, he suggests that if we are interested in improving the lot of more children in schools in the interest of social democratic ideas, then we need to be concerned with the issues of 'ability' – how it is recognised, conceptualised, configured, nurtured and embodied in and through the practices of physical education (p95). "In the UK researchers have recently documented that 'ability is increasingly understood by policy-makers, politicians and teachers as" 'proxy for common sense notions of intelligence" (Demaine, 2001 cited in Evans, 2004 p99).

Miss S when they do dance they go-
Mr. K its kind of ingrained into them I think-
Mrs. A and it will always be I don't know how you get over that. It has to be
 changed in the culture I think

(Informal discussion, week 8)

Although Mr. K comments that 'it is ingrained into them' through his own talk in class it appeared that these same stereotypes were also ingrained in his language. In the example below his language contrasts the strong direct movement of running as 'not this dancing nice stuff'.

Mr. K your going to exaggerate that your going to do that running past me like
 you've just done right are you ready come on nice and straight go nice
 and straight go nice and straight straight not this not dancing nice stuff
 [waving his hands around] and straight go go go go

(Naturally occurring talk, week 11)

The stereotype Mr. K expressed contrasting a straight, direct, masculine movement with a soft, waving, feminine one is later echoed in the class by Luke who commented, of Shane, 'Oh what a girly runner' (Naturally occurring talk, week 11). As identified in section 4.5, the student social agenda was, for the majority of the young people, motivated by desires to be accepted by and belong to a group. To pursue these goals the pupils felt pressure to conform to the hegemonic forms of masculinity and femininity and to create an identity in physical education that was compatible with the group identity they sought to retain. It was apparent that pupils were being held accountable by their peers for behaviour in class. The peer accountability system, thus added intensity to the pursuit of student agendas. As a result of the gendered discourse in which the teachers and pupils engaged during the lesson, it seemed inevitable that the young people used a variety of tasks to maintain their compliance with the hegemonic ideologies of the lesson. I argue that the demonstration of an appropriate gendered identity is another social agenda that was pursued by young people in this class.

In the following sections I will explore identities adopted by some young people in physical education lessons. Four main types of identity were visible which I have labelled the complainers, the competent bystanders, who were identified by Tousignant and Siedentop in 1983, the disruptors and the participants. Firstly, a number of pupils came to the lesson but only took part in a limited way because they declared themselves

unable or unfit to take part almost immediately once the instruction task had been described. Their complaints and injuries were a regular part of every class. This identity, although predominantly used by girls, was also employed by a number of boys. Secondly some pupils minimised engagement in instructional tasks while skilfully not drawing attention to themselves. Tousignant and Siedentop (1983) describe these pupils as competent bystanders and pupils of both sexes adopted this role skilfully. Thirdly a number of pupils worked right on the boundaries of the managerial system and tried to disrupt the teachers' programmes of action by creating diversions. Only a small number pupils adopted this role and all were male. Many of these boys maintained the oppositional or counter identity outside of physical education. These three identities allowed pupils to pursue the agendas of minimising participation. These groups will be the focus of the next section because of their opposing force to the teacher led vectors. Finally there were students who engaged in the tasks set by the teacher and, although they may have occasionally drawn on one of the other three identities, they generally participated in the teacher led task systems.

5.3.1 *The complainers*

Researchers, such as Siedentop and Hastie (1999), have argued that the most immediate task of teaching is establishing and maintaining order, which requires that teachers gain and maintain the cooperation of pupils in their programme of action. The introduction to the lesson content, whether this took place before or at the beginning of the lesson, was frequently met with complaints, groans and sighs from the pupils. This immediately set a negative motivational climate for the lesson.

Jane what are we doing tomorrow?
Miss S You're in Linel for rounders
Jane Ahh
Miss S I don't know if there an answer to what are you doing that gets a cheer
 instead of a groan.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 18)

The groan immediately signalled to Miss S that the pupils were not motivated to engage with the programme of action and prepared her for the process of negotiation that would ensue. All three teachers recognised that the pupils developed preconceived ideas about certain units and felt that there was little content matter that was welcomed by some

pupils. Miss S's comment 'I don't know if there an answer that gets a cheer instead of a groan' illustrates the helplessness she felt. It was difficult to ascertain the pupils' reasons for these groans and interview data evidenced that many pupils did actually enjoy these activities. Some pupils seemed to be ingrained in a culture where complaining was expected and they acknowledged that they responded like this because 'we just do'.

Before instruction even began some complainers declared themselves unable to take part. What is particularly pertinent about the examples shown here is that the pupils declared themselves as unfit to take part before they tried to engage with the instructional task, even before they had full knowledge of the instructional task, in this case a warm up for orienteering.

Mr. K right semi circle around me. we're going to do some stretching
Amy I need a rest to do a warm up
Sarah can we stretch back to the changing rooms
Mr. K pardon
Sarah lets stretch back to the changing rooms
Mr. K you're going to do lots of running in a minute
Becky Ah no
Amy I think we should skip PE and go inside

(Naturally occurring talk, week 8)

Alison do we have to go the whole way around?
Mrs. A the whole lap
Alison Ahhhhh
Mrs. A but you're good at the longer distances
Carol I'm going to die
Kate Miss I can't do it my ankle it's sore
Alison I hate it hate running

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

This interaction highlighted some pupils' belief that running, and other forms of physical exertion, were an innate ability that possibly they could not do emphasised in the comments 'I'm going to die' and 'I can't do it'. This was not an isolated example of this belief but one that was expressed by many pupils in the class, particularly, but not exclusively by the girls. Evident throughout these extracts is the lack of importance attached to physical exertion or the demonstration of physical competence. Because physical exertion and physical ability were not socially valued, without an accountability system clearly outlined the students did not engage with the teacher led

tasks. Given that the pupils did not consider a lap of the field as 'fun' the direction of the activity set by the teacher has little associated force motivating pupils to engage. I proposed that some activities had low intensity or force to the vectors because they lacked an accountability system or positive force such as fun, while other activities had a low associated intensity because of competing student social system vectors. Interestingly, although many complained about running a lap of the field and reduced their effort level, only a few withdrew completely. This suggests that the intensity of competing vectors varies by individual³. For the teachers this caused frustration but consequently they often reduced the demands of the managerial and instructional tasks to maintain pupils' cooperation with the programme of action. Mrs A's frustration about her inability to engage the complainers in her programme of action was reflected in her interactions with pupils when they withdraw from activity. In the negotiation below between Amy and Mrs. A it is apparent that Amy tried to reconcile her motivation to please the teacher with that of minimising engagement in strenuous activity. Amy's compromise that she will do the activity, an orienteering course, but not run, followed by Mrs. A's suggestions 'to try another one and see how it is' and then 'don't bother then' indicating that for Amy the secondary vector had a higher intensity.

- Amy well I can do it but I can't run because if I go down there it really hurts my ankle
- Mrs. A what did you do to it
- Amy I don't know I reckon I twisted it
- Mrs. A Will you manage to do another one and see how it is
- Amy Maybe. Can't I just walk? I don't want to do it
- Mrs. A just try jogging then
- Amy Ahhh
- Mrs. A don't bother then anything to cut back

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Throughout the data it was evident that the pupils had their own cultural values which reward behaviour such as complaining about getting hurt, being pushed too hard by the teacher and being expected to try tasks that were 'too difficult'. Within the peer group it was socially acceptable, possibly even desirable, for pupils, and in particular girls, to

³ Similarly achievement goal theorists argue that individuals have a disposition to certain goal orientations and this interplays with the situational structures to determine the individual's goal orientation for that context (Ames, 1992).

complain and not make an effort. The complainers were ingrained in a culture where objecting to physical exertion was an acceptable practice.

Jane she pushes you a bit too hard
Sarah she makes you do loads and loads of running and like you get really out of breath
(Informal discussion, week 4)

The girls' description that they are expected to try hard, run and get out of breath is tinged with surprise that a teacher would try to make them engage in such an activity. Similarly Kate expressed frustration that Mrs. A would tell them to 'carry on' when they got a stitch in PE.

Kate it is like once you've done something you just want to sit down because you have got a stitch or something and she just goes carry on and it is just like [hand gesture indicating exasperation]
(Focus group, week 8)

In my field notes I frequently commented on pupils looking at their teacher in surprise or shock when they were asked to do certain tasks. When Sam was late for class one afternoon, Mr. K asked him to jog to the goal post and back to warm up. Sam's response below illustrates the way in which the young people indicated to the teacher how unacceptable it was to expect them to engage in physically active tasks.

Mr. K go on Sam jog to the goal post and back. (..) Out to the goal post and back
to warm up
Sam you're kidding me
Mr. K I'm not kidding you. Go on off you go
(Naturally occurring talk, week 8)

Mr. K's attempts to get the young people to engage in physically active tasks resulted in some pupils describing him like a drill sergeant rather than like a physical education teacher.

Ruth Mr. K is like ahhhg and he made you not want to do it that much. He made it harder. Like if you can't do it he is not like 'try again'. He made you try harder, 'you have got to try harder' and he pushes you into it
Sarah yeah I didn't like PE much
Ruth our other teacher is nicer... she doesn't push us so hard

(Focus group, week 5)

Ruth commented that she didn't want to do physical education because she was pushed hard. However in the absence of other accountability strategies Mr. K had little choice but to verbally push the young people. This echoes Miss S's comment about being on at the pupils.

The negotiation, evidenced by prolonged interaction sequences, gradually wore the teachers down. Some pupils set conditions under which they would and would not participate, which the teachers seemed to have grown to accept. For example as we noted earlier, Amy was willing to walk an orienteering course but not to jog it, others were willing to play hockey but only if they were in goal. Interestingly the extent to which they would engage with tasks also seemed dependent on outside factors, such as the weather or the location as discussed in the examples below.

Jess If I am in hot weather I like improve. But if I am like in cold weather.. I don't know some people don't like the subject and they won't try in it
(Individual interview, week 6)

Ruth I don't like going outside - getting cold
Sarah It's so cold outside
Amy It's freezing
Ruth I don't think it is fair to be going outside because yesterday the outdoor people, it was last lesson and it was warm outside and they got to come indoor whereas it is cold
(Focus group, week 5)

Kate We have to do outdoor and we have to do indoor whatever the weather... whether it is chucking it down
Jane I don't, I mean I don't really enjoy PE
Sophie I don't like outdoor but I don't mind it indoor, I don't look forward to it but it is alright when I go.
Kate I do like it inside.. at least sometimes I do
(Focus group, week 8)

Physical exertion was another aspect of the physical education experience that did not seem to be socially valued. Some pupils regularly declared a lack of 'ability' openly to their teacher and other pupils. Researchers such as Yelling and Penney (2003) have argued that many young people are not accustomed to physical exertion and similarly I

In complete contrast with Mrs. A's claims that this role is not possible Sev describes how two pupils in dance get away with adopting this role.

Sev PE is different, they don't take it seriously, like in Maths you have to work but like today there were two girls who were just chatting and Mr. K looked at them but he just assumed they were talking about dance and just ignored them.

(Individual interview, week 4)

Interestingly Sev constructed an understanding of Mr. K's actions that contrasted with my field notes from the class where I commented "Mr. K ignored Hailey and Tanya chatting at the back of the class while the music was playing" (Fieldnotes, week 4). Sev and I constructed different understandings of Mr. K's actions as a failure to recognise the problem versus a failure to act on it.

In the following task Mr. K instructed pupils in the warm up game 'stuck in the mud'. During this game the girls repeatedly moved to the edges of the area while the boys participated unimpeded in the main area. Mr. K both recognised and responded to their attempts to avoid engaging in the task. However his attempts to resolve this negotiation are prolonged and in many ways ineffective:

Mr. K we'll warm up with a game of stuck in the mud. If you get tagged you have to stand still like this someone else will go under your arm and you're free again OK we're going to work if you look at these lines here there's a line along here down the side and this line here and if you go up to level in line with that just in front of that goal post sticking up here I'll go and stand down the end where you can't run OK. Who wants to be on?

[game commences and girls move right to the edges of the zone described]

Mr. K stay in the area

(..)

Mr. K OK stop there a minute we'll have to- do you know how to play? You have to stay in this area and if you get tagged stand like that to free someone they've got to go under your arm

(..) [game restarts and again some girls move to the edge of the area]

Mr. K girls ... in the area come back

Hailey but what's the area?

Mr. K you're just about at the limit of it there

(..)

Mr. K where are you going stay inside the area

(..)

Mr. K Stop there. Come back in closer. Who'd like to be it now?

(..)

Mr. K Stop. Hands up if you're in the area?

(Naturally occurring talk, week 10)

In this game it was evident that the girls attempted to limit their participation in a 'boisterous' game by moving to the edges, and outside the edges of the area. Mr. K's repeated attempts to engage the girls with this warm up task were fruitless. Again, I raise the issue of accountability or the lack of reference to it, in Mr. K's description of the task. Siedentop *et al.* (1994) found that tasks were most often explained in partially explicit terms, which means that the conditions of practice and the specific skill to be practised were explained but the task lacked criteria to judge how well it was performed. In the absence of accountability, engagement in this activity was determined by the strength of the student vectors to minimise participation, to maintain a desired identity, to have fun, and to keep the teacher happy. I propose that for Hailey, maintaining her identity as a 'girly girl' drove her pursuit of the opposing rather than supporting vectors. Mrs. A recognised, below, that she didn't 'think running is in Hailey...she doesn't want to use energy'.

Mrs. A what I do notice yes is underachievement now I don't know girls who you would think would have natural ability who would seem not inclined or disinclined to use it to the full potential because we're going back to I don't know why because I'm not in their head but I think they perceive it as not being cool somebody for example like Hailey's got very good hand eye co-ordination skill but I would class her as lazy

Toni well she doesn't seem to want to participate

Mrs. A no she doesn't and I would think she she could be quite I don't think that she is deliberately being lazy but I don't think I don't think running is in her you know

Toni value system almost

Mrs. A you don't do running as if to say- I can throw and catch and I can play without- I don't know if it is that she doesn't want to use energy I don't know because I don't know- and you can pick her out as having ability and you can also pick her out as not using it for whatever reason. But you do often have girls like that

(Individual interview, week 5)

Mrs. A confirms my belief that physical exertion was not socially valued by many of these young people; 'it is not cool'. The issue of 'coolness' was also raised in relation

to boys' participation in dance. Hastie and Pickwell (1996) found that for many boys their primary goal within the student social system was to limit their involvement in the instructional tasks of a dance unit. Mr. K. recognised that dance was also an activity in which many boys did not engage. In the comments below he highlights that at the beginning of the dance unit he discussed what were 'going to be the problems'.

Mr. K Right at the start of the term we said what were going to be the problems in dance and we said that the things are the embarrassment and you just have to let yourself go. You've just got to give it a go and you will all come up with something good
(Naturally occurring talk, week 4)

By doing this he legitimised the behaviour of the competent bystanders in dance. Mr. K's personal experiences of this activity may have coloured the actions of pupils within the dance unit. Possibly as a result of this more boys adopted roles that were not supportive of the teacher directed vectors, in particular the number of competent bystanders and disruptors increased in dance. The two examples from the same dance class below highlight the different strategies used to minimise engagement in dance. In the first Sam 'charges' about the room with no attention to the task and in the second the boys all moved to the back of the room to avoid any interaction with Mr. K.

Mr. K Sam there is no point in just charging around the room. You aren't thinking about what you are doing
(Naturally occurring talk, week 3)

Mr. K in pairs, right who can tell me- girls and boys quiet
Sarah all the boys are hiding at the back
Mr. K boys come and line up along here
(Naturally occurring talk, week 4)

While some young people chose to adopt the role of competent bystander in an attempt to comply with hegemonic masculinities and femininities, others only adopted this role occasionally when concerned about the difficulty of the task and the risk of 'looking like a fool'. In the example below the girls explained that they moved to the back of the queue and only took a turn when they felt confident that the task was not too hard. Tousignant and Siedentop (1983) found that during physical education classes secondary school pupils were often skilled in modifying tasks to fit their skills or in

acting as 'competent bystanders', that is, they would position themselves in games so as to avoid major player roles or they would fall back in line to avoid turns in individual performance situations.

- Ruth like when before and we were doing that big rolly polly on the mat and then on the wall bars
- Amy yeah everyone was like really scared and some ducked out but when they saw that it was not that hard then they thought ... and then they could try
- Sarah the good thing was that we went with the boys and they are really competitive and they just go first
- Amy yeah all the boys went first and then all the girls

(Focus group, week 5)

The girls described that it was easier to adopt the role of competent bystander in co-educational classes because the boys adopted more visible roles, often dominating the teachers' attention.

5.3.3 *The disruptors*

While some students were skilled at staying well within the boundaries of the managerial system but managed to avoid full engagement in the instructional system, others worked at the margins or outside these boundaries, introducing secondary vectors in a way that seemingly threatened the managerial cohesion of the class. While not actually misbehaving, they disrupted the teachers' programmes of action. Although I have used the label disruptors here, this is drawing on the teachers' terminology and looking at this role from the perspective of its effects on the managerial and instructional task systems. Equally I could have adopted the terminology of the pupils who described these pupils as 'jokers', 'messers' and those who are 'just trying to be naughty'. In the analysis of this position I will try to examine the purpose of this role and the effects on the teacher led programme of action. Only three pupils, all of whom were male, employed this technique on a regular basis. Cotterell argued that some young people may "*deliberately resist the teacher, perform poorly at school, and view non-cooperation and work avoidance as 'cool' ...they may seek to prolong their sense of marginalisation as a means of claiming a group identity, albeit a negative and oppositional one*" thus hampering their ability to benefit from some educational experiences (1996 p13). Other pupils were sometimes frustrated by the disruptive behaviour as they identified here:

- Mark they keep getting on her bad side until they get thrown out because they want to get thrown out
- Ruth yeah they want to get told off and they want to get detention, that's why they do it. They do it for attention
- Mark I think it is to try and make them look cool or something like that
- Ruth yeah 'oh look at me I am being naughty'
- (Focus group, week 5)

There was typically a range of tolerance within the class for the way the disruptors behaved. In fact these pupils were regularly encouraged by others in the class. However when discussing the issue with me, Luke described how frustrating he found the regular interruptions to the class. Possibly it was due to his enjoyment of physical education and his level of competence that he found the disruptions more frustrating than others.

- Luke We should get rid of all the naughty people cause they just ...he just like has to keep stopping cause they are interrupting him and it stops us from learning it takes about five minutes for him to get going again cause they keep arguing with him and back chatting him
- (Focus group, week 8)

The extract below shows how Hamim tries to prevent Shane, a regular disruptor, from interacting with the teacher.

- Shane Sir, Sir, Sir listen. Listen
- Hamim Sir, don't listen. Trust me
- Shane Can I just say-
- Hamim Don't listen
- Shane Can I just say-
- Hamim Ra ra ra
- Shane Ahh (.) just let me speak a minute
- Shane Em (.)
- Hamim Bla bla bla bla (.) what? I'm singing
- Shane Em
- Hamim Bla bla bla bla bla

(Naturally occurring talk, week 6)

It was evident that Shane had little to say but just wanted to interact with the teacher before the lesson began. Hamim's attempts to prevent him talking or by telling Mr. K 'don't listen' highlights his frustration with Shane's persistent attempts to get attention

by engaging with the teacher. Indeed the following example indicates how Mr. K. also finds the interruptions annoying

Mr. K	Shut up
Shane	Sir you're not cool
Kate	Neither are you but hey
Mr. K	Stand up
Shane	I can't run, don't make me run
Mr. K	who thinks Shane is cool
Shane	No No
Alan	Everyone hands up- lets disgrace Mr. K
Mr. K	What do you recon Scott? Ok sit down
Sam	Who thinks Mr. K is cool?
Sev	I would shut up now
Sam	I think-
Sophie	Ok shut up and get on with it
Mr. K	Well said

(Naturally occurring talk, week 4)

Mr. K's interactions with Shane, and indeed with other students, slowed the pace of instruction and distracted him from his programme of action. Although frustrated by Shane's behaviour Mr. K generally responded to comments initiated by these pupils, thus allowing the behaviour to continue.

Sam	Can I ask a question about tomorrow?
Mr. K	No
Sam	Are we going swimming tomorrow?
Mr. K	Are we?
Miss S	Yes
Mr. K	Yes you are going swimming tomorrow.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 12)

The teacher tried to keep control and stop off point comments but did not stick to a strict management system. Eder (1982) noted that the first grade teacher in her study often accepted student-initiated interruptions during reading turns for the low-ability groups but reprimanded such attempts in the higher ability groups (cited in Doyle, 1986). The lack of consistency in Mr. K's discussion with Sam possibly led to Sam's persistent attempts to disrupt the teachers' programme of action.

Although this identity may not have been one that was socially valued by others, it was an identity over which the disruptors had control. It was apparent that the pupils who adopted this role were also those who were marginalized by their peers. Possibly in an attempt to distance themselves from the label of 'loners' or from being categorised as having no friends, these pupils attempted to create their own role in physical education classes. Sam adopted the role of a disruptor from the moment he entered the class. He usually entered the class once other pupils had already assembled and immediately tried to attract their attention.

Sam Hello gentlemen and ladies, hello my friends [with a bow]
Paul Hello Sam
Toni Are you doing dance today then?
Sam I'm thinking about it

(Naturally occurring talk, week 2)

His entry to the class was frequently accompanied by a flourish referring to the teacher as your majesty, my lord and other similar titles on various occasions. The pupils' response to Sam's entrances varied from laughter to throwing their eyes upwards. The counter identity that Sam created for himself was reasserted at various transition points during the lesson, such as in the example here where groups are being formed.

Mr. K right go into fours
Paul we need one more person
Sam Colin darling come here
Colin I'll be with you then darling

(Naturally occurring talk, week 6)

These dialogues usually added an element of humour to the lesson and the teacher frequently engaged in the laughter. However when the disruptive behaviour persisted during instructional tasks Mr. K quickly lost his patience. In this example the teacher plays music and attempts to inspire the children on themes for the dance class.

Mr. K. What does it remind you of?
Sam Elton John
Mr. K Elton John?
[Laughing]
Sam It reminds me of eh- I don't know
[lots of laughing]
Mr. K What does it remind you of?
Sam It reminds me of- (.)

certain tasks. It was identified that this type of behaviour was more prevalent in lessons that were not liked as much.

Luke If they do sports they like they start to learn and like doing that but with sports they don't like they just mess about
(Focus group, week 8)

Mrs. A We have in my group a little boy who was awful for dance. We did gym first and he was brilliant for gym but awful for dance, a pain in the bum you know and then he was fine when we did the athletics
(Individual interview, week 5)

In most instances, disruptions were caused by only a few unruly students while the rest of the class served as members of the audience and as potential participants in the incident if it spread. Griffin (1985) found that teachers tended to respond differently to the different groups of students. Even if there were only a few students who adopted an oppositional role in a class, they received most of the teacher's attention because they were involved in more class disruption. The existence of these identities in the physical education class allowed the other pupils to skilfully maintain the role of competent bystander as the teacher paid little attention to pupils whose agendas were not directly opposing their own. Given that the role of disruptor was dominated by boys this meant that the culture of the co-educational and single sex lessons were distinctly different, an issue to which I will return later.

5.3.4 *The participants*

There is little to say about the participants: a stable group of young people who engaged in all the tasks of the physical education lesson with enthusiasm and energy, and tended to enjoy the lessons. They took very little of the teacher's time or energy and rarely interacted with the teacher. This role was mainly dominated by the boys in the class and was a position feared and negatively experienced by some girls. Given the ambiguity experienced on achieving success in sport, many girls did not seem to desire or position themselves as physically able, interested and motivated. The withdrawal of some girls further differentiated those who participated in PE. When discussing with Sev the various changes she would like to see in PE, girls' participation was a salient feature.

- Sev Yeah and then I put that I hope it will be different because I hope it will be more getting involved and not be excuses from the female side
- Toni What do you mean taking excuses from the female side?
- Sev That is how it is going to be different
- Toni Are there usually people who don't want to do it?
- Sev Yeah but I love it

(Individual interview, week 4)

The gendered nature of their physical education lessons was something that the participant girls were obviously aware of but did not seem perturbed by. Some girls held on to certain aspects or 'signifiers' of their femininity, concerned with constructing the appropriate surface presentation of the self and yet also wanting to participate. Becky experimented with a number of identities in physical education maintaining her interest and involvement in sport as a participant but also engaging in complaining or competent bystander roles.

In each class there were a number of pupils who consistently adopted the participant role. These numbers dwindled as they adopted alternative roles in activities such as in dance, where a number of the boys who would usually be categorised as participants chose to adopt a competent bystander or disruptor role. A significant difference was also noted between the number of girls who adopted this role in single sex and co-educational classes. Possibly this was due to the increased level of self-consciousness some girls experienced in co-education lessons. Alternatively it may be due to the increased difficulties of adopting a competent bystander role in the absence of 'disruptors' who dominated teacher attention. However, as Mrs. A identified, whatever the conditions some pupils always 'got stuck in'.

- Mrs. A It could be boy, girl, any sex. It wouldn't matter to her, she (Sev) would just get stuck in she has got the confidence and she will just do it. She might have the confidence because she is good or she might have the confidence because it is just her nature which I think it is I think its a combination of them both and I think she would interact and hold her own in with any of them (.) boys, girls, or whatever

(Individual interview, week 5)

5.4 'It's different with the boys, they just laugh at us'

As I have already mentioned the culture of the single sex and co-educational lessons were distinctly different during the spring term. Some of the girls seemed acutely aware of the fact that the boys were more derisive when pupils made mistakes and went so far as to question 'why would you want boys in your class?' (Amy, week 7). The most frequent boy to girl interaction in physical education was verbal or physical 'hassling'. Griffin (1985) identified that many of the girls did not enjoy co-educational classes because the boys 'tried to be macho' (Becky, week 3). The derogatory treatment of the girls by the boys was highlighted by many as the key reason they did not enjoy co-educational lessons.

Becky	sometimes we do it [PE] with boys
Beth	I prefer it with girls
Becky	it's different with the boys
Beth	They just laugh at us if we miss

(Focus group, week 3)

Ruth	yeah like the boys are like 'yeah I am going to do this, haha, I'm going to show off and do it' and like the girls are a bit shyer aren't they? Like I don't want to do this in front of all these people but I am going to do it because boys are more like.. want to show off
Sarah	it looks like they are really great but they are not
Ruth	but if you like make a mistake they are watching and stuff
Amy	like if you are with girls you don't mind so much cause they are a lot like you

(Focus group, week 5)

It is interesting that the girls identified inherent differences between boys and girls. Ruth's comment 'the boys are like ... I'm going to show off and like the girls are shyer' illustrates the way in which these girls have constructed a clear distinction between masculine and feminine behaviour. Amy's comment 'if you're with the girls you don't mind cause they are a lot like you' illustrated the reduced pressure she felt in single sex activities.

I have focused predominantly up to this point on the way in which girls conform to culturally acceptable forms of femininity, particularly since the girls were more willing to enter into discussion about this. However in class it was apparent that the boys also

conformed to the socially valued types of behaviours. For the boys there are an equal number of masculine activities with which they have to conform. The boys were less open in their discussions about these issues in focus groups but in the classroom the display of masculine hegemonic ideologies were numerous. In particular the boys perceived a pressure to be macho and the boys highlighted the macho aspects of their participation in sport. Skateboarding is the best sport because 'you get hurt' (Jason, week 1). Being hard and not complaining about injuries was a key feature of masculinity for the boys in this class.

Drew Sir why do we warm up, it is a waste of time
Mr. . K Because it warms up the muscles
Toni What happens if you don't warm up?
Drew You hurt your muscles
Toni And you sprint down the length of the track?
Drew You could break your leg which is good
Mr. K If you had a broken leg for a week you would soon change your mind-
Drew No I wouldn't
Mr. K I think you would
Drew Sir what happens if you break both your arms, do you have to come to school?

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Drew's belief that it's a waste of time warming up because 'you could break your leg if you didn't and that would be great' highlights the value some boys place on injuring themselves. The subordination of alternative masculinities is evident in the boys' 'macho' attitude to injuries and fights. The extract from a dance class reproduced here, highlighted how some boys demonstrated masculinity in class.

Drew I've hurt my ankle
Sam It's fine, there's nothing wrong with it. I'll kick it
Drew You're a poufe, you're a puff because only puffs want to fight a disabled person
Sam I could do with a fight [smacks one fist into hand]
Sam Hey you know those two (.) they're wimps.
Toni Why?
Sam they done hit me.
Other Come on then and say it to them and see what they'll do
Sam They are wimps
other Go on then
Sam They are wimps.. here (.) here
Shane He's being a girl. You're like a load of wimps
Nakkib Oh shut the fuck.

Sam Wo Ho Hooo Big men!
Sam Everyone, Nakkib is a wimp.
Judith Listen right. If you wind him up then he'll hit you
Sam That's fine. Go on I'm ready for him (.)I ain't had a fight in years
Judith You need to chill
Sam I need a fight

(Naturally occurring talk, week 4)

Although it is argued that hegemony is never total or absolute, the contestation of hegemonic ideologies was not evident in this physical education class. It is not possible to comment on whether the boys acted in a comparable way during their single sex lessons as I was not present at these as I attended the girls' only lesson which was held simultaneously. The teachers recognised some tensions in co-education lessons and the lack of ease that was sometimes apparent between the boys and girls. Mr. K outlined his understanding of this issue:

Mr. K right physical education is different from a lot of classes firstly with the changing so they separate to begin with don't they so maybe not in year 7 but as they are getting towards the end of year 7 they tend to interact more girls with girls and boys with boys. I know we have the policy situation in year 7 to sit them boy girl boy girl for working to try to raise the standards and people say that that is better for discipline and better for keeping them on task if you like In physical education its difficult to do that Its simple if you have all girls or all boys but its not when your doing mixed activities they still tend to go all girls or all boys

(Informal discussion, week 7)

5.5 Accountability

As outlined earlier accountability drives, or gives force to, the instructional and managerial task systems. Siedentop *et al.* (1994) found that monitoring plus interaction was by far the most common form of accountability used in their analysis of a physical education class using the ecological model. When discussing their experiences of physical education a number of pupils commented on the fact that the teachers 'force them' to engage in activities.

Ruth some teachers force you and some teachers don't
Toni what do you mean force?
Ruth well like if it is a nice teacher then they wouldn't force you to go in front of everyone and make yourself embarrassed
Sarah yeah, they try to get you to do it

(Focus group, week 5)

When asked to elaborate on what they meant by 'force' the girls did not give any concrete examples of strategies used by the teachers. Although teachers in this study frequently threatened the use of exercise as a form of punishment, it was never used to discipline a student. Shane's response 'your not going to make me run' when asked to stand up following a disruptive interaction highlights that the students believed Mr. K. may use this as a form of punishment. It is recognised that many teachers use exercise in a punitive manner (Pagnano and Langley, 2001) but this is not to condone the practice. Another strategy that the pupils identified is that Mrs. A puts them in mixed pairs if they are being disruptive.

Jenny in the gym when we had to work with our friends at the first physical education lesson then we were all chatting so Mrs. A put us boy/girl and now if we talk we know that we will have to go boy/girl
(Focus group, week 3)

This accountability strategy was not observed during the study. I only heard teachers discussing accountability strategies once during the six months. Interestingly the strategy suggested below limits the reward to one pupil per lesson.

Mrs. A I've come up with a new reward system I don't know how correct it is but it works for the girls
Miss S whats that
Mrs. A who works the best gets a lift back to the other site
(Naturally occurring talk, week 10)

Similar to the findings of Siedentop *et al.* (1994) my observations indicated that teachers relied heavily on verbal interactions to hold pupils accountable for their behaviour. When pupils performed well they were praised and when they misbehaved the teachers either expressed disappointment or anger at their behaviour.

Mrs. A settle down quickly...now sit down. What we're going to do- Michael. We're obviously going to warm up before we do any lesson- James listen. We're going to warm up so we will do one slow lap jog around the track go around that way

(.)

Mrs. A go in get changed (..) listen to me you go in you get changed and you wait outside the physical education office and you explain yourself to your head of year because I'm not having it James? sad isn't it he had to

ruin it everybody else was brilliant (..) I gave you the chance to work with people I tell you I won't do it again. Ok can we go on
(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

These extracts highlight the lack of moderate accountability; when James first displayed behaviour that was not supportive of the teacher's agenda he was told to listen, when he repeatedly misbehaved he was sent to his head of year. Possibly with an increased variety of accountability strategies James's behaviour could have been improved. It was evident that the teachers maintained strict power boundaries in order to keep control of the lessons. Mrs. A recognised that the relationship she had with the pupils was problematic because when she interacted routinely with the pupils she did not talk to them, she 'yakked' on.

Mrs. A but to be truthful I don't actually talk to them I yak on
(Individual interview, week 5)

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored how the young people's goal orientations operated in their physical education lessons. The ways in which the young people selected agendas that competed with or supported the teacher led vectors during the spring term were examined and this provides a starting point for the exploration of Sport Education which was implemented during the summer term. Throughout chapter five I recognise that the strength of the teacher led vectors lacked intensity due to the limited accountability structures in place. Although, for some young people their student agenda gave strength to the teacher led task systems, in the majority of cases the teacher and student agendas opposed each other. The lengthy negotiations that took place used valuable time and were frequently ineffective. This account remains incomplete without a consideration of whether the practice of physical education can be changed to improve young people's engagement with physical education tasks and it is to this issue that chapter six now turns.

Building on the findings of this chapter, in the next chapter I move on to an exploration of the effectiveness of the Sport Education model in changing the behaviour of pupils in this class. The extent to which the agendas young people adopted during physical

education lessons will be explored to determine what impact the implementation of Sport Education had on the classroom ecology. Whether the teachers' and young people experiences of and in physical education was improved through the use of Sport Education is a key issue. The effects of the structured accountability system will be examined in addition to an examination of the effects of a persistent team.

Chapter 6: Sport Education and the changing face of student agendas

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the effects of a Sport Education intervention on students' agendas and their engagement in the managerial and instructional tasks of an athletics unit. Although the details of how this season was implemented will be examined during this chapter I think it is necessary at this point to reiterate the key features of the Sport Education instructional model.

Sport Education has been developed from the work of physical education researcher Daryl Siedentop (1994, 1998) in the USA and is discussed in more detail in chapters two and three. Through the development of a season-long program of team selection, preseason training, competitions, record keeping and formal officiating, Sport Education has been designed to help students better appreciate sport, as well as to enable them to experience the highs and lows of competition. Siedentop (1994) pointed out that rarely are these features reproduced in physical education classes.

Sport Education has as its main goal, 'to educate students to be players in the fullest sense, and to help them develop as competent, literate and enthusiastic sportspeople' (Siedentop, 1994, p 4). It aims to do this by promoting a positive sport experience for all students through several key contextual features of authentic sport (Siedentop, 1994), which include:

- (a) Sport Education operates in seasons of length considerably longer than most physical education units,
- (b) Players are on teams and stay on that same team for the entire season to promote affiliation and membership,
- (c) Seasons are bounded by formal competition, which is interspersed with directed practice sessions,
- (d) There is a culminating event to mark the conclusion of each season,
- (e) There is extensive record keeping and collection of statistics,

- (f) There is a festive atmosphere in which the season (and particularly the culminating event) takes place, which is promoted through the use of team names, logos and the performance of specific sport rituals and traditions.

As identified, Sport Education operates in seasons of length considerably longer than most physical education units. Athletics was selected as the unit in which Sport Education would be used in this school. Siedentop (1994) argued that the ebb and flow of a sport season is seldom captured in a short-term sport instruction unit. In this school the season lasted for 12 lessons and was bounded by competition at the end of the first half term and end of summer term. A festive atmosphere was encouraged through the use of team names and logos. A competition noticeboard was set up outside the changing rooms with the league table, team photos and news articles. Points were awarded in class with the use of coloured stickers that the team stuck to the league table as they left the changing rooms at the end of class. The Sport Education model relies heavily on cooperative learning strategies in which teams (coaches and players together) are given much of the responsibility for getting prepared for the season. Each team appointed its members to a range of roles.

The previous chapters have highlighted that many of the young people were motivated by desires for popularity and status which in turn impacted on the agendas they adopted during their physical education classes. The environment was one of conflict with a negative, if minimal, accountability system. Pupils were rarely rewarded or punished for their participation and the teachers relied on verbal reinforcement in the place of accountability structures. The teachers were frustrated by the constant negotiation and the feeling that they had to 'yak' or 'go on at' the pupils constantly. It is from this beginning that I examine the effects of the Sport Education season on these young people and teachers.

6.2 The Introductory Lesson

The introductory lesson was filled with uncertainty for the teachers who had never implemented Sports Education before. Two elements of the introductory lesson will form the focus of this section, the establishment of teams and the assigning of roles and responsibilities.

6.2.1 The Teams

Sport Education has recently been examined from the theoretical perspective of situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Kirk and Kinchin (2003 p223) note that a key part of a community of practice is *“a person’s identity in relation to other members of a community and the emotional investments individuals make in relation to their sense of who they are and where they fit in as a member of a group”*. A team is the fundamental grouping of individuals within sporting communities and, as a central feature of the Sport Education model, was a significant element of the introduction to this unit of work. The teachers found selecting the teams difficult and the extract below from a planning discussion highlights their concerns about implementing Sport Education with this particular class.

- Mrs. A so are you saying that we have got to think about the group dynamics for each team?
- Toni Yeah so we will have to make out the teams with that in mind
- Miss S Mine is awful
- Mrs. A Mine is a strange group
- Head of dept This might be an opportunity to pull them around
- Miss S I have just got problems like I have people like Jenny and Ian who tend to dominate and put other people down and get other people in trouble and then I have Naqeeb and Ikram and then I have others that are no trouble whatsoever and then I have Lorraine
- Mr. K Like Caitriona
- Mrs. A Well she would just be like a dead person in a group.
- Head of dept Well I don’t know she might not be but a very strange child
- Miss S Well it is worth trying anyway.
- Toni I think you are not only trying to split up the ability but also to split up the personalities so you don’t have all the leaders in one group. Possibly try to change some of the dynamics of the group
- Mrs. A Will the kids enjoy these lessons then? If you split them from everybody? Or in a few weeks will they be thinking oh I can’t be doing with this, I don’t like this and how do you get over that? When does it suddenly tweak that oh maybe it is and I can get along with other people?
- (Planning discussion, week 9)

The head of department had previously expressed a concern to me that the teaching within the department was very traditional and that they had been described as a failing department at their last Ofsted evaluation. As a new head of department Miss J was trying to ‘turn the department’ around and was facing opposition from other members of staff. She identified that in particular, Mrs. A was resisting change. It is from this background that these planning discussions took place with a mixed culture of

enthusiasm and scepticism. The head of department's comments 'this might be an opportunity to turn them round' and Miss S's enthusiasm as a newly qualified teacher contrasted with Mrs. A's pessimism and Mr. K's lack of interest. The teachers returned to the issues of team selection repeatedly during the first planning session.

- Mrs. A How do we get around things like, well you say you have that Billings lad in yours, well I have got Wishart in mine who is always doing wrong and I have got 2 other special needs as well. What do I do with a child like that, do I just allocate him to a group
- Miss S There are certain individuals who are going to be troubled
- Mrs. A There will always be the one
- Head of dept Can't we just emphasize the whole team thing though
- Mrs. A I think we can and that sounds lovely but realistically how will it work.? That is the theory behind it but realistically you have seen how some of these kids talk to each other, haven't you. I mean I know you can just keep plugging on and on and on but

(Planning discussion, week 9)

Given that this was also my first involvement in a Sport Education unit it was also a learning experience for me and although I had read the positive reports, I was deeply sceptical of the far reaching claims. However despite the concerns of individual teachers within the planning session Miss S and Mrs. A agreed to try this intervention with Mr. K who taught the class originally selected for the research project. The teachers decided to team teach part of the unit as they had no prior experience of Sport Education. Mr. K. agreed to lead the introductory class with the announcement of teams and role decisions.

Rather than allow the pupils to create their own teams, as other Sports Education studies have done, the teams had been selected by the teachers to give variety in gender, race and ability, including social, intellectual and physical ability. They aimed to disrupt the culture that had previously been dominant in the class. Team selection had previously been dominated by the popular students who ensured that they would be on a 'good team' from a social and physical ability perspective. The following extract is taken from Mr. K's introductory speech explaining Sport Education to the pupils. As soon as Mr. K informed the pupils about the team based format of Sports Education the questions focused on who should make up the teams, how they would be selected and inevitably, on who would be captain.

- Mr. K Right can you stop talking now. Right what this is, We are going to be talking about a few things this afternoon about something that is completely different to what you have done before. And we are hoping that it is something that you will enjoy, in fact I know you will enjoy it..... Each team will select team colours. Each person on each team will have a job or a role that is important in athletics. Everyone on the team will have a job. So if your captain has got everybody organised and together as they should be then there is a good chance that your team will receive bonus points and all of these points will be collected and will be put on the notice boards weekly and you will go up each week to say which team is in the lead and whatever. Em today, in today's lesson we are going to organise you into teams, we have done that, they will be teams actually within your group, in 6's and you can only be with people whose group you are in and then we will give you a chance to come up with some decisions for your group. We are going to put you into teams of 6 and then you as a group are going to have to be sensible, which we know that you can be, and I know that you all can be, and you will have to come up with all the jobs on your team, you will have to discuss it and make some decisions. Yes?
- Hailey Will it be mixed between these three groups?
- Mr. K It will be mixed sex, so the boys and girls will be in a group but you can only be in your group,
- Carol Are we going to be put in our teams today?
- Kevin Yes we are going to do that now, yes you are going to know who is in your group
- Sam About the em organising the captain and whatever, are you doing that?
- James Who will decide who is captain?
- Mr. K You will decide in your group, everyone will have an opinion, so we will have time for discussion and then you have to come up with a decision. Are you going to accept it, are you going to take a vote, how are you going to do it, well that will be down to you
- (Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

The concerns about whether the teams would be mixed between gender and group and who would select the teams echoed the issues raised by the young people in the previous chapters that, for example, they did not want to work with certain people or with boys who 'laughed at them'. Difficulties began, as the teachers had anticipated, with the next phase of the lesson assigning teams.

- Toni Shane you are in this group
- Shane Can I move to that group
- I don't like this group. I can't be in this one. Sev is alright but the rest of them are.. Please, that group likes me
- Amy Yeah we do, and Steph never turns up for PE.
- Shane I am going to change

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

By expressing these opinions immediately an uncertainty was created within the teams that focused attention on social arrangement, expressions of friendship or dislike.

- Shane Can I move group?
Toni Try to make this group work. You can make it work.
Shane But I could work with them
Toni Come on Tariq, you can come up with ideas as well. For example who is going to take care of your noticeboard? Is there anyone here who is good at art?
Shane Him, no he is rubbish
- (Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Each time the teacher returned to the group and tried to focus on the key elements of the Sport Education model such as the team roles, above, or the points system below, Shane returned to the issue of not being happy with his team. Shane's description of Tariq 'Him, no he is rubbish' reproduced a hierarchy where individuals were accepted or rejected from team involvement.

- Shane Miss I am moving to that group, sorry but I am
Toni Shane, you have your team, you have to make your team work.
Shane But they don't want to cooperate with me so I am going
Toni They will cooperate with you
Shane Miss can I move
Toni Your team gets points for how well you work together and how well you make it work together
Shane I will work well with them
Toni It doesn't matter, you must try to make this team work and if you make it work you get bonus points
Shane But you ask Alan – don't you want me in your group?
Alan I don't care
Toni One minute. The sorts of things that you get as bonuses are
Shane But they won't get any. They will get much more because they have got Alan. I am useless at things
- (Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

In Shane's interaction with the teacher he commented that 'they don't want to cooperate with me'. The insecurity he expresses here contrasts with his attitude to Tariq in the previous extract. In examining the change in his conversation it is worth reflecting back on his previous conversation where he identified how insecure he felt within the class and perceived that others only pretended to be his friend and also displays of hegemonic masculinities 'he's being a girl. You're like a load of wimps'. While identifying here

that he wants to be on a team who gets lots of points he also comments 'I am useless at things'. The conflicts in Shane's conversations highlights the uncertainty he feels in this situation with an assigned team, one with which he is expected to develop a friendship over the Sport Education season.

Although many pupils expressed dissatisfaction with their teams throughout this unit it was only in the first lesson that anyone asked to change teams. The teachers' repeated enforcement of the fixed nature of the teams and assertion that you had to make them work was gradually accepted and teams settled into a new routine and power relationships. Throughout the season issues of power and inclusion or exclusion were salient for some teams and for pupils, such as Tariq, who remained silent throughout Shane's complaints about the team to which he had been assigned.

6.2.2 The Assignment of Roles

The position of captain was one that was coveted by individuals in almost all teams. Although the teachers emphasised the importance of all roles the young people identified the position of captain as the status position of the team. Kinchin et al. (2004) found that two-thirds of boys would elect to be captain or vice-captain if they had the choice. Hastie (1998) found that within a co-educational Sport Education study, the role of captain was considered as one of the power positions and was typically taken by boys as opposed to girls. Interestingly the results from this study did not reflect this gendered position. Of the 12 teams taking part in the season, 6 were captained by a boy and 6 by a girl, 7 teams were coached by a boy and 5 by a girl. However all captains held privileged positions near the top of the social hierarchy. The extracts from the introductory lesson reproduced here illustrate the importance that some pupils attached to the role of captain. Once the teams were formed attention moved to the roles and automatically focused on the struggles for the positions of power.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| Sam | Who gets to decide who is captain? |
| Asiya | Can I be captain? |
| Paul | Can you like decide or like do you have to have a captain, or could you be like, instead of like having a captain |
| Alan | A democracy, no, democracies without a leader never work, you just have chaos |

Sam OK, OK Alan

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

I was aware that the place and importance of the role of captain in the social and cultural values of young people, further contributed to the maintenance of hegemonic forms of dominance, thus limiting the learning opportunities of some pupils. The exclusive focus on the role of captain is balanced by Paul's suggestion - maybe a team would not have a captain. Alan immediately dismissed this idea in language that clearly highlights his intelligence. It is unclear whether Alan did this in an attempt to make intelligence a valued attribute in the selection of a captain. It was noted that other pupils did try to privilege their selection as captain by referring to attributes such as being 'the smartest'.

Sam Miss, Can I just say to you that Drew Low has made everything revolve around what he wants and what he wants he will get.

Hamim Miss he wants to be captain and we say no so.

Sam I want to be captain but he is saying that it has got to be the smartest who is captain.

Sam I am better at football than you

Hamim We should vote

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Sam's counter argument 'I'm better at football than you' highlights the way in which the young people drew on abilities from areas outside the lesson and tried to make these valued attributes in Sport Education. From the example below it is evident that in the uncertainty of this new situation the power hierarchies that had previously been such an important part of the pupils' physical education experiences were in a state of confusion. Where one pupil was not clearly dominant, as with this team including Sam, Drew and Nadim, the power struggles within the group led to significant disfunction. This team remained without a name for the first three lessons because of the disagreement, which seemed in part to be based on disagreement for its own sake 'Is there anything you disagree with?. Yeah I do ... Just cause he made them'.

Hamim Miss, Miss Drew is being, Drew thinks it is his team

Toni What are you having trouble organising? Lets talk about it. What is it you want to do?

Sam It is all what Drew wants, it is all what he wants to have

Toni Ok we will have to work this through right? Sam are there any ideas there that you disagree with?

Sam Yeah I do
Hamim I do
Toni Is there anything you disagree with?
Sam Just cause he made them
Hamim I do, I do, Miss I do. I don't like that
Toni You don't like the things around the logo
Sam I don't either
Drew I was going to design them on my computer and see how they look
Sam You see I can't even tell what that is?
Drew Exactly
Hamim I don't even know what it is
Sam What is that
Hamin I won't work as a team – not as long as he is here
Drew I will do it on my computer

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Drew's attempts to gain a privileged position because of his intelligence was a contentious issue because his team mates obviously did not see intelligence as a valid form of currency within the social hierarchy. However, other members of this team held similar, or lower, levels of symbolic capital and hence their selection as captain would have been equally problematic. However, in teams where a dominant individual was easily identifiable these power struggles did not exist. For example Colin, a popular student in social groups, easily dominated interactions within the Beyne Basher's team. He used this position to privilege his selection as team captain and coach and controlled team activities wherever possible. Paulson and Hastie (1997) identified some abuse of privileges in their data where some students in positions of responsibility made decisions that others believed did not benefit the team or class as a whole. At the mid season and end of season competition Colin used his position as captain to decide which events he would take part in. Hastie (2000) commented that, although early evidence did not indicate that student captains alienate and oppress their team-mates, this aspect of Sport Education needed to be explored further. The extract below highlights the difficulty this team had with Colin's dominance.

Kate Miss, Colin said to me yesterday that I am the captain and the coach and you can't be both can you?
Jane yeah
Sophie yeah you can
Jane No you can't
Kate No cause yesterday the coach had to go down and do one thing and the captain had to do something else. So he couldn't do both so the captain went down

- Toni Well you should kind of split things up between different people anyway
Kate Yeah but he got first to do his own t-shirt, and then after he was coach and judge
Toni Not the way it should be
Kate And he is always writing and everything. He is doing everything first
(Naturally occurring talk, week 12)

The situation where an individual pupil was as dominant as Colin resulted in other pupils on the team committing less to the experience. This concurs with the work of Brunton (2003) who found that the majority of pupils did not commit themselves to carry out the roles and hence the roles were seen as something that didn't work effectively. This was reflected in this study where the pupils did not seem to value roles other than those of captain or coach as these were associated with power. Ultimately a number of pupils and teams lacked motivation in this season as they became frustrated with the power dynamics of their teams.

- Hamim I'm getting sick of that boy he wont let me do anything I'm supposed to be the reporter? and he wont let me and he's put me down for
and I don't want to do it let somebody else do it
Sam he put me down for the 400 and I'm not doing it
Toni OK right
Hamim I'm not either miss
Toni lets see.. consider what we have to do- you must each think about your strengths and your weaknesses if Hamim and Jane are only going to walk it then its not going to get many points for you
Sam She refused to do anything
Jane no I said I'd try

(Naturally occurring talk, week 19)

Interestingly the teachers identified in planning discussions that in some teams individuals would forego the position of leader for the greater gain.

- Toni How did you think that went?
Mrs. A All right
Miss S I was pleased with the way they all worked together because I thought there were going to be lots of tantrums and there was a little bit to start with but
Mr. K There were a few tantrums. At the beginning Tariq definitely wasn't working with his group and Shane wanted to move. But I think they sorted that out by the end
Mrs. A Tariq will always be like that with any group
Miss S Towards the end I think they got a bit better

(Informal discussion, week 9)

During the first lesson it was perhaps difficult for students to see the bigger picture and forego the struggles for power that had become an important part of their physical education experience.

- Miss S The team that is very able is probably the team that is least likely to get any of these points for working together
- Toni Not necessarily. I mean if we put the able people together, Luke, Sev and those together, they are also the ones who would work really hard at things I think and eh
- Mr. K Because they are competitive they will try hard. There may be some arguments about who is going to be the leader but they will forego that because the greater gain is to get the points so they win, they are going to be so competitive that whereas some children just aren't competitive are they

(Informal discussion, week 9)

After the introductory lesson I spoke briefly with the teachers about their impressions of how the lesson went. It was obvious that the teachers selected some of the problems as I did. However Mr. K's comment 'I think they worked it out' and Miss S 'I was pleased' probably reflected their desires for pupils to be well behaved rather than setting higher goal expectations for the lesson.

6.3 The Points System

The points system was the second key feature of Sport Education introduced to the students on the first day. It is claimed that the accountability system in place in a class drives the instructional and managerial task systems. Putting points on the season noticeboard became embedded in the Sport Education season. From the outset the teachers informed the pupils that a significant number of the points were focused on managerial rather than instructional accountability. This reflected the early stage of the season where the teachers mainly focused on establishing new routines for the lesson management.

- Mr. K When we're awarding points we're looking more particularly as to how well you work in your groups rather than in the actual performance or how well you're running. We're looking at how well you work as a group and help each other

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

The teachers began this unit by focusing the accountability structures mainly on the managerial aspects of classroom life. During the early part of the season the teachers made extensive use of the points system and outlined new protocols for many of the managerial tasks. Hastie (2000) noted that teachers in his ecological study of Sport Education had a strong commitment to minimising organisational time. In the early lessons of the season the new routines for class organisation, focused particularly on entry to the lesson and on warm up. Quite quickly the new protocols became embedded in the lesson. One of the notable changes to the extra procedure was that the teachers no longer supervised the changing rooms. A clear team reward system was put in place giving point to teams that arrived in class complying with uniform rules within eight minutes of the bell.

- Mr. K When the bell goes at the break, you will come in and get changed and you will meet us at the pavilion on the steps and you will be sat in your group next to your team on the steps. If you are not there within 8 minutes you will not get bonus points. That is eight minutes from the bell. We will not remind you. We will just walk down to the pavilion after break and you will be down there. If you are there within the eight minutes from my watch you will get bonus points.
- Carol Can we get changed before the bell?
- Mr. K no eight minutes is long enough.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

The effect of this system was immediately apparent as pupils began running from the changing room to the pavilion for the start of the lesson. Brunton (2003) also found that there was a marked change in the enthusiasm from girls in her study who arrived early for lessons. The question from Carol 'Can we get changed before the bell?' is indicative of the enthusiasm shown by pupils and in stark contrast with her numerous complaints during the previous term. While the pupils in this class also arrived much more promptly for lessons it is not clear whether this was based on enthusiasm or purely because of the new accountability system. Although SE went some way to addressing the difficulties that the teacher's faced on a daily basis in PE, no noticeable change in the number of non-participants was noted, with some pupils rarely taking part. Instances of withdrawal during the course of a lesson dropped significantly towards the end of the term, with fewer complaints of chest pains and sprained ankles from the girls

when asked to exert effort. It must be noted that this success and change in culture was a gradual process throughout the course of the SE season.

Mr. K 5....4....3....2....1. 8 minutes up. Everyone who is not in their team sit at the back. Stand at the back you're too late. All watches should be off all chains off and black socks. Is there any team that are all here? (..) Are all your team here and wearing the correct kit? - 2 points there you go well done. Right next team - white socks, white socks, white socks Is everyone here?- there you go two points. Luke do you notice the colour of your socks - don't you know your not allowed those colour socks don't you. Black socks, black socks. The dreaded socks? And the dreaded chain around your neck no points. This team- is one of your team members back there are they? Right.

Mr. K Ok the only complete teams today were Knockout 6, Sapphire blades, Silvers As and AJ. All got 2 points
(Naturally occurring talk, week 13)

The teachers all tried to make the points an important focus at the beginning of the lesson and again at the end of the lesson.

Mrs. A 2 for you, 2 for you, you let your team down, 2 to you and Jason tried especially hard to do this and 1 to you because you said you had a watch on
(Naturally occurring talk, week 14)

Miss S deux points
(Naturally occurring talk, week 16)

Metzler (2001) claimed that the most valuable resources teachers have is time and during the Sport Education season the teacher reduced the transition time significantly. All three teachers acknowledged that they had significant success ensuring that pupils arrived on time and in uniform, however, they recognised that there were a number of trade-offs for this success. Firstly Mrs. A commented that although they had fewer arguments about the clothing, she felt that the young people looked much 'scruffier' in the t-shirts they had designed for their teams. Secondly Miss S identified that she didn't particularly like the time spent with the three groups together as they gathered for the beginning of the lesson. The impact of Sport Education on these managerial aspects of the lesson often preoccupied the teachers, particularly Mrs. A, and this may have hindered her commitment to the implementation of the model. As evident in the quotation below Mrs. A does recognise the positive aspects of Sport Education but qualifies her positives with reference to the problems.

Miss S the negative things that is the organisation and the three groups together. On Tuesday I find it so fraught with all the bits of paper and I like the idea of it the idea is very good but you couldn't do it every lesson you couldn't because of the getting the books out and the organisation and well you could but- Mr. K and I said these last two lessons have been awful because of the weather and because of staff being off and stuff like that because of the sheer number of the kids. I say I think its good for targeting one group and to use it as a study but- I don't know we have three groups, so in a way we have more competition but massing them all together I don't really like that

(Individual interview, week 21)

The second part of the entry routine involved moving from the whole group situation to the teaching groups. After points were distributed to the teams who were all present and in their team uniform, the students were given 8 minutes to warm up and were instructed to finish their warm ups in different areas of the field.

Mr. K Right you have 8 minutes to do warm up, once you are finished my group go to the long jump pit, Mrs. A's group go to the track and Miss S's group meet back here.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 12)

During the warm up the teachers gave bonus points for their work. The example below highlights the level of engagement of the young people in this warm up activity. The enthusiasm was notably different from that of the spring term where pupils tried to disrupt or modify down the demands of the activity.

Miss S What is the purpose of doing that?
Sarah To warm the muscles
Miss S What muscles does it get?
Sarah It warms your legs up
Kate these ones here
Miss S What ones most- if you do that for a minute what muscles would get tired?
Kate The quads
Sarah yes we got a point
Toni Well done

(Naturally occurring talk, week 13)

The teachers were conscious of the difficulties of engaging young people with physical education tasks and focused on Sport Education reward structures to highlight team success in areas such as design of team kit, team work in warming up and peer teaching.

The teachers worked hard at implementing the new routines in the early phase of the season and these routines were gradually embedded into the entry protocol for the lesson. Implementing accountability strategies in unplanned interactions did not always adhere to the points system. The interactions below taken from a long jump lesson illustrate how the teacher slipped into the 'on at them' accountability strategy. Mr. K's comment 'If I see you smile again I'm going to send you for a run' identifies exercise as a punishment.

Mr. K what you have got to decide is which foot. Hoi shut up. What you've got to decide- Rory if I see you smile again I'm going to send you for a run

(Naturally occurring talk, week 12)

The use of exercise as a punitive technique is consistently rejected by researchers such as Hellison (1995) and Pagnano and Langley (2001), although it is sometimes found to be effective in the short term as in this instance. Mr. K again faced management issues when practice began. In this instance he began by threatening detention but when the behaviour continued he then utilised the points system to hold pupils accountable for their behaviour.

Mr. K everyone sit on the grass away from the run up anyone who touches or kicks has detention after school tomorrow I'm fed up with you not listening

(...)

Mr. K OK Scot if I see you do that again every other team will get a point

(...)

Ian Steph feet off the runway Ya you run from where you are

(Naturally occurring talk, week 14)

6.4 Instructional accountability

The issues evident in the implementation of the accountability strategies for the managerial task system were also present in the instructional task system. Where the teachers planned for accountability they had some success. However much of their planning was focused on items that they would not typically have included in an athletics unit. For example, the teachers planned for the written tasks in the team portfolio and rewarded teams who completed the tasks. However the extract below

illustrates that the teachers were content with completion of the task rather than setting any criteria by which the pupils were judged to have done the task well or not.

Mr. K. OK will everybody listen to me for one second. Right inside there were eight teams who completed the bit where they wrote about themselves, put on their team names put in their team photo. Each of those teams I have given you one point for it and it's in the front of your folder
(Naturally occurring talk, week 17)

The example below illustrates how the teachers failed to distinguish between 'working well' and completing the task well. Evans (2004) claimed that many teachers have a 'commonsense' view of attribution theory where they equate effort and ability in classrooms. Because the students were not given any criteria by which their work was to be assessed merely looking busy was sufficient to get the points even if you had not completed the task but were working on it.

Mr. K On the whole, I know it's a difficult task, but on the whole most of you were working well together. Every group that we think have actually tried to talk about this and are beginning to write it down, some of the scribes are brilliant they just get going. The thing you can't do yet is write your name where the photograph should be because you'll get those after half term. So the groups that we think are doing this well and didn't have people throwing each other around will get stickers. The groups who were throwing each other around, or were wandering around aimlessly not even sitting with their group will not get stickers

Miss S OK this group worked brilliant

Mr. K They get a sticker

Miss S This group were brilliant, this group were brilliant. This group was fine, this group was fine, not that lot and not them because they were messing and throwing each other around
(Naturally occurring talk, week 14)

While it was easy to 'fake' engagement with a written task like that above, this was not as easy during some activities in athletics, such as middle distance running for example. In the following section I outline how Mrs. A held pupils accountable for their work in a running class. Although the pupils were working in teams during the skill section of this lesson, Mrs. A was leading the activity. The pupils were required to complete the plyometric drills one team directly after another on the track.

Mrs. A No 1 go kick kick well not bad[children laugh] number 2 (.) kick your bottom. Number 3 go kick kick good. Now the next ones go kick. This time we are going to pick out who we think are the best ...you lot

you are the best group the whole way through everybody did it well in that group next group go kick kick did you spot the good one? ...we're going to do the same steps again but we're going to get the knees up high high high. This will sort out the energetic from the lazy we'll start here so it is a bit shorter but quality then we'll make it longer and we're going up this way. Ready off we go high high high get those knees up keep going Jason ...Where are the super group? super group this is the only group who seems to be able to do it right

(Naturally occurring talk, week 10)

Although Mrs. A selected that certain pupils were performing better than others she only reinforced this performance verbally and not with points. The inconsistency of the teachers' points distribution which ranged from giving points for looking like you are working to not giving any points at all undermined the effectiveness of this system. Sarason (1996) argued that many attempts to bring about change in schools have met with failure because the change agent did not possess the necessary knowledge to transform the culture. Although the teachers did not express concern about their implementation of Sport Education it was apparent that they were not succeeding in using appropriate strategies at times. The frustration that was a familiar aspect of my interaction with the teachers in the first term was also apparent during early parts of the Sport Education season. The discussion with Mrs. A during an 800m race highlights the difficulties she had in motivating the pupils to engage with the task.

Mrs. A OK take your marks, go
Toni somebody is just stopped and walking
Mrs. A Oh surprise surprise they do
Mrs. A whose walking I'm asking you to run for goodness sake [shouting].
What's the matter?
Hailey I've got rashes on my legs
Mrs. A that doesn't stop you from walking. Why didn't you bring some cream then or why didn't you bring a note?
Mrs. A What's her name?
Toni Hailey
Mrs. A She's a right madam isn't she I've never had her before but you can tell by the body language
Over off the track right over there A stop over
Mrs. A I'm not having them all together. They all drag each other down
Mrs. A keep going
Mrs. A they've just done 400 m and they're complaining that they are in agony. Sorry I'm moving on to something else I'm sick of them

(Naturally occurring talk, week 10)

As the season progressed and the teachers spent less time planning the managerial tasks for entry to the class, distributing equipment and so on, they turned their focus to the instructional task system. The following conversation was recorded in the staff room prior to a lesson. It is apparent here that the teachers were beginning to consider what standards they expected from the pupils during the lesson.

- Miss S well we should give them two attempts. For 800, what do you think 4 minutes?
- Mrs. A for these needs to be more
- Miss S if they do it in less than 4.30 does that make sense?
- Mrs. A ya. year 9 girls they were dreadful
- Miss S Maybe we should have 4 minutes for 5 points and 5 minutes for 3 points 6 minutes for 1 point and so if they get less than 4 minutes they get 5 points between 4 and 5 they get 3 points between 5 and 6 they get 1 point anything over 6 they get none So in the team they have maybe 5 in the team so they all get points and we add the points up
- Mrs. A How about the shot put?
- Miss S Mine have done it.
- Mrs. A How far do you think they could throw? I had it easy, I had 6 meters
- Miss S Very few of ours got over 6 meters
- Mrs. A 6 m for 5 points does that make sense 5 m 4 points and 4m?
- Mr. K Very few of ours got over 4 either
- Mrs. A 4, 5 and 3 say. We need them a bit competitive

(Planning discussion, week 15)

Once the teachers began specifying the criteria for performance their experiences of motivating the pupils began to change quite significantly. The extract below is from Miss S's experience of 800m. Unfortunately it was raining the day she chose to do this event and the pupils completed this exercise in the hall around eight 100m laps with two people from each team competing at a time. This extract sharply contrasts with Miss S's experiences with middle distance running which took place later in the season. At this stage the teachers were beginning to use more specific criteria for judging success within the instructional tasks. The first interactions below highlight the specific criteria given by Miss S to the pupils in advance of the task.

- Miss S listen to me you are all going to run the 800. As you come through you will be told how many points you get if you do it in under 4 minutes you get 5 points if you do it in under 5 minutes you get 3 points and if you do it in under 6 minutes you get 1 point you do it as an individual if you do it in more that 6 minutes you get no points

(Naturally occurring talk, week 17)

During the task a marked difference was noted in the pupils' behaviour towards each other. Their enthusiasm in cheering led them to spill onto the track where Miss S's main managerial difficulty was asking them to get off the track so they would be out of their teammates way.

[shouting] come on Andy, come on Paul, come on Jason, come on Jason [various students]
Miss S Off the track inside the cones
[more shouting]
Shane All the way to the end Well done Carol right to the line Carol
Sev well done mate
Miss S Carol come here
Carol my chest is so tight after that
Miss S This extra point is as much for them cheering you on as for you responding to it

(Naturally occurring talk, week 17)

In this activity it was also obvious that the gender segregation that previously dominated co-education classes was gradually being disrupted. The girls and boys became part of the same team and were no longer positioned as the 'other'. Although comments like 'she will be useless – she is such a girl' were recorded when teams were being formed, the girls were valued to a greater extent as the boys began to realise the necessity of all players to team success. During the race above the young people stood at the finish line shouting for their teammates rather than just watching them and commenting or laughing as was evident in the previous term. The change in the boys' attitude towards the girls as participants in the class was one of the most significant factors of Sport Education. The extent to which male judgements are a salient feature in girls' experiences of and in physical education is a concerning issue that needs further examination. Another notable feature of this competition was the way in which Miss S's attitude and enthusiasm contrasted with Mrs. A's frustration.

Miss S I can hear a lot of people out of breath. I have to say that the effort that was top. The effort that was put into it by everyone was fantastic you've all worked your socks off you really did. I think they deserve the points for that I was absolutely amazed there were a few of you going around there just the way they were running you can hear it in the way they are all out of breath. And you can actually see the concentration on your faces thinking about the speed you should go because you knew that you couldn't go blazing off at the start because you'd get tired by the time the 4th lap came around. You all thought about the pacing as well and the

encouragement from the side line was great you weren't telling somebody off if they were overtaken you were cheering them on to keep going. I am awarding each team an additional point for the effort you all put in.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 17)

The initial object of change according to Sarason (as cited in Connell, 1993) 'is not students, the classroom or the system; it is the attitudes and conceptions of educators themselves'. Fullan (1993) also believes 'educational change depends on what teachers do and think – it's as simple as that'. One strategy for change posited by Fullan is the process of reculturation which requires 'developing new values, beliefs and norms' with teachers in schools. He argued that reculturation seeks change at an individual level based on a teacher's values and assumptions. Although this would seem to be a mammoth task, Hargreaves (1997) suggests that this is perhaps the only way effective change can occur. Similar to the findings of Pope and O'Sullivan (1998) the teachers in this school planned and adopted new strategies to improve the learning that occurred. The following example highlights how Mr. K explained the criteria at the beginning of the lesson and used the accountability strategy to not only effect their effort in the competition but to also effect their practice of the skill.

Mr. K Right listen whats going to happen by the end of the lesson you'll all have in your team. you'll all have a distance of shot. You will then add all your shot distances together and which ever teams have the most will get two markers....They'll get two points for that and there are also points going if they get beyond a certain distance that we'll set just before the start of the competition. So that if in total you get beyond X meters every team that gets beyond that will get a point as well. When you come throw we'll give you a number it will either be 5 or 3 or 1 point or no point. During this lesson what you want to do is - you see this sheet in your folder- you have one for shot. What you must work out is whether the people on your team are doing these things. You must work out can you help them with things like that can they improve, and you must work out what they can improve things like clean palm for the. I'm going to look - I'm going to say has she got a clean palm Do you remember what a clean palm is? (.) Clean palm, dirty neck [pointing to his palm and neck] Clean palm, dirty neck and tick both of those off. The next one we have is high elbow. See his elbow is high Next is knees bent and facing backwards. Right he has facing backwards. The next one is chin knee toe. (.) OK Your job today is to help the rest of your teams OK go to the area where your teams are in.

(Naturally occurring talk, week 16)

The clarity of these instructions are notably different from those of earlier tasks. Another very marked difference is the lack of interruption during this instruction. Mr. K then uses the practice time to move around to each group individually checking to see how they are getting on and pointing them to extra skill details.

Mr. K His chin, his knee, and his toe you can tick that off. Now when he goes to release he is going to push hard from the chin at the last moment. So he keeps his to his chin and pushes at the last moment. Do you think he made any effort with that? No. No. well his effort gets an x and has he made an improvement from last week Ya. Well there we go so you have to mark that off as your going along OK lets watch his effort this time. Chin knee toe there now thats effort and thats what we want.
(Naturally occurring talk, week 16)

In studies by researchers such as Brunton (2003) and Kinchin (2001) it was found that the teachers involved expressed concern about their abilities to teach Sport Education and how to react to changes. These teachers did not express concern at any point about their ability to introduce this new programme. It may have been this complacency about the implementation that led to a lack of thought and planning for instructional accountability in the initial stages of implementation. Fullan (1993) argues that complacency is a serious problem in the implementation of change at school level. One teacher suggested that there was little difference between holding pupils responsible for their work in Sport Education and the way in which she usually gave pupils responsibility for their work by asking them to carry equipment out.

Mrs. A These are the things that we usually do but we usually don't do it in such a formal way. It is just like doing the same thing isn't it? Just like giving the responsibility to just one of them to bring the equipment out or something like that
(Individual interview, week20)

6.5 The impact of Sport Education on the adoption of student agendas

Siedentop (1988) considered that some teachers might be able to establish a strong on-task environment, and with such a strong accountability system in place, that students would suspend their socialising goals to operate within the boundaries of the instructional task system. Hastie (1997) tested this assumption in a military school and found that, although students initially resisted the strict accountability system, the student social task system gradually changed to the point where it worked with the

teacher led task systems. Hastie (2000) argued that a supportive student social system was easily developed in Sport Education in adventure education because the goals of the programme were in line with those of the students. In this system the goals of the unit were not in line with what the pupils had described as their agendas in physical education. However it is apparent that the structures in place within the Sport Education season led to the displacement, if only temporarily, of the student agendas that opposed the instructional and managerial task systems. As the tasks became more competitive, this distracted some pupils from the social hierarchies that had previously dominated the class. The points distributed by the teachers were a tangible way in which all members contributed to the league. Directly after class the pupils went straight to the notice board to stick points awarded during class to the team total. Within the team there was generally an argument about who got to stick the points on the board. The pupils generally left class discussing how many points they had received as a team and what they got them for. The examples below are a few of many that were recorded around the league noticeboard at the end of a lesson.

- Becky Miss we are second
Judith The Beyne Bashers have 6, or I think it is the Beyne Bashers or someone
Toni There is a team with 8 isn't there?
Judith The Fast and Furious
Toni No they have 10, don't they?
Judith no 9
Toni Well there is another team with 8
Judith The Tigers
Toni Yeah
Judith Yeah us, I thought we had 7 but I'm not sure
(Naturally occurring talk, week 10)
- Sarah Miss we're doing pathetic. 1.2.3.5 we've got 10
Luke we've got 15
Carol 18 that one. Oh one behind. There are five teams on 12 that's getting close
Shane 7 8 9 10 11 12. whose catching up with us?
Miss S what team are you on?
Mark Fast and Furious
Ian 16, 15, there are loads on 12, 5 teams on 12 points. We're doing good
Shane your drawing with them them them and them that's close isnt it ?
Carol last week we got 5 and this week we got 5
(Naturally occurring talk, week 11)
- Mark we're winning
Miss S Fast and Furious. Are you sure?

on team rewards, however the structure of the Sport Education model did not initially assist the teachers in developing a system for individual accountability. The previous chapter highlighted how problematic this issue was within this class. That said, although the teachers did not plan for individual accountability within Sport Education, it was evident that pupils became more accountable to their peers for their individual actions. Over the past two decades researchers such as Bain (1976, 1978), Tousignant and Siedentop (1983) and Veal (1988) have consistently emphasised the significant proportion of teachers' time and energy that is spent achieving managerial cooperation. In the previous chapter I identified that the teachers felt that they were always 'on at' the pupils or that they 'yak at them'. In Sport Education it became apparent that the other pupils tended to do a substantial amount of the encouraging and shouting rather than the teacher who could take a back seat in this process.

Sarah Hamim, sit down, shut up and grow up
(Naturally occurring talk, week 14)

Ruth Sam sit up before some else gives out bonus points
(Naturally occurring talk, week 12)

Interestingly Brunton (2003) also found that the pupils felt that they could participate in lessons without feeling they would be shouted at by the teacher. It is accepted that the teacher is likely to always be the authority figure but Sport Education helped achieve benefits from changes in power that are not made to the same extent, if at all, with traditional physical education methods, strategies and styles. Because the managerial workload was supported by the students in Sport Education less time was spent reacting to what was happening in the class and more time was spent actually completing what was planned. In developing student support as a strong vector, the teacher needed to spend less time 'on at' the pupils. However as the extracts below show the assignment of blame within teams was also a feature of the pupil led accountability system in this class.

Jane Ian Marks lost us a point yesterday because he swore. ↑ Ian you have got to pay for that point
(Naturally occurring talk, week 17)

Sev it's your fault [that we didn't get the points for having the shots out]
(Naturally occurring talk, week 19)

Although the competitiveness of the season contributed to many positive instances of support, many would argue that the negative aspects of team rivalry outweigh the positive ones. In the next section I will return to the issue of negative interactions within teams that were due in part to the competitiveness of the season. While the teachers worked hard to ensure that the season remained competitive with close scoring to ensure that the pupils maintained interest in the accountability system, they did acknowledge that there may be difficulties for teams that were not doing as well as others.

Mrs. A I like it because its something different, a novelty and I think its good for the groups that are doing well I don't know what's happening to the ones that are way behind. I'd say you'd have to fix it that they're not because they would be really demoralising. That's right I think that you'd have to to keep the element of competition in it and I think a lot depends on how you and I choose the groups

(Informal discussion, week 16)

In particular Miss S worked to ensure consistency between the three teachers and made attempts to regulate the points by asking what other teachers gave points for and how their teams were doing relative to teams in the other two classes. She was often seen around the noticeboard with the pupils after class checking on how 'her' teams had done. Keeping the competitiveness and the impartiality was an important issue for the teachers.

Mrs. A we wouldn't have been able to do it without the big chart and with all the classes. They would only have been competing against two or three other teams. Competing within other groups did give it an edge and you do need to have them all together to make it fair. I mean if you just had your one group on your own it would be fair because you'd have your own things but with three groups doing it all at the same time and being on the same master score board you needed somebody that was impartial if you like or kept to the same rules- not that we didn't keep to the same rules but who gave out what was an issue. Miss S was out there one day saying Oh I've given out a few too many this week next week I'll have to even it up a bit so she was kind of conscious of comparing it to the rest of us

(Individual Interview, week 20)

6.6 Team Friction

As already discussed, the implementation of Sport Education was a time of uncertainty for both the teacher and the students. As the teachers tried to introduce change, the pupils who had previously been dominant in physical education lessons resisted the change and reproduced previous inequalities. The history that the young people had in physical education coloured their attitude to the introduction of Sport Education. Although the majority of the pupils reported that they enjoyed the experience this was, without doubt, mediated by the team dynamics.

- Toni How did you enjoy the sport ed thing that we did . The athletic thing with all the teams
- Jane I thought it was good
- Toni what were your teams like, were they any good
- Natasha us? there was only three people in our team
- Toni Oh you were how did that happen
- Jenny obviously I can't do physical education because of this [indicating to a broken arm]
- Toni ya
- Jenny Nigel was away so there was just Steve and Lorraine and David is very shy and (.) he's not- well particularly fantastic at sport I mean none of us are actually Jenny would be the best of us but I think Lorraine can be a bit bossy and she didn't let David do anything she did them all
- (Focus group, week 18)

- Mrs. A if the group gels its made if it works more my groups seem to get on gutsy the ones who aren't there the ones who are never there like Robert and the other who didn't have James and even little Jack.
- (Individual Interview, week 20)

With its emphasis upon pupils supporting and encouraging others, Sport Education made some advances in achieving its objective of including a reasonably high percentage of the pupils. Of some concern in this study is the small percentage of pupils who claimed to have felt left out by their team on a consistent basis. Worryingly this is consistent with the findings of Kinchin et al. (2004) where 5% of boys claimed to have felt left out by their team on a consistent basis and 33% of boys occasionally felt left out.

- Toni do you think its better to have a team for like you were in that team for quite a long time would you like to have different teams each week
- Jane better to be in the team that you were because you get used to it
- Toni ya

- Jane you get to know- well Stephen just kept his head down whereas Lorraine-
- Toni do you think you got to know her any better?
- Jane ya
- Toni but that's not necessarily a good thing?
- Jane definitely not
- Toni did you make any friends out of the group or was it that you just got to know them a bit better?
- Jane just people you got to know a bit better
- Toni were you in groups you liked being in or were they groups you were just put in you wouldn't have picked yourself?
- Jane I wouldn't have picked Nigel or Stephen Jenny ya because I get on with Jenny
- Natash I wouldn't have picked Mark because he's annoying
- (Focus group, week 18)

Kinchin et al. (2004) found that the boys in their study supported the inclusion of sustained teams. Other researchers such as Hastie (1996) also found that pupils expressed a desire to remain with the same team for the entire season. Although the pupils in this study expressed the enjoyment of being on one team it was evident that most teams would like to have had one or more members not on their team, and although they enjoyed sustained contact with the majority of the team there always seemed to be one member that they did not enjoy socialising with repeatedly. The disparity in pupils' popularity, goal orientation and skill level created division in some teams. The powerful individuals made it very clear that they wanted to separate themselves from the less socially adept members of the team. Some team members did their own thing without consideration for others on their team and their treatment of the 'others' was quite dismissive, a scenario that was not new for some students in this class.

- Sarah Miss miss look at our team
- Miss S How is your team getting on?
- Sarah Really well thank you
- Miss S So how come one of your team is sitting somewhere else then?
- Sarah He isn't doing anything
- Shane But he don't want to be in our group
- Miss S Well you just have to make it good enough to get everyone involved. That is going to be one of the jobs. Come on Tariq, I am sure you have some jobs here, what are you doing in the team? [Tariq was sitting outside the circle]
- Sev he is in charge of the kit
- Miss S You are in charge of the kit checking, surely we can find something else that is more interesting as well for Tariq.

Carol That is all he wants to do

(Naturally occurring talk, week 9)

Shane's dismissal of Tariq 'He don't want to be in our group' echoes Shane's assertion earlier in the lesson that he wanted to move groups because he didn't get on with the team. It is interesting that by the end of the lesson he is then excluding Tariq from having a role on the team. Although previous studies of Sport Education suggest that the level of disparity in sport activities is addressed in Sport Education with the assumption of roles which promote peer teaching or coaching, the assignment of roles in this team was submerged in the drama of power hierarchies. It was evident in this class that the powerful individual held the roles of captain or coach and the 'others' were assigned less meaningful roles such as 'kit checker'. The emergence of a pupil led accountability system allowed the enactment of power and control by dominant individuals within the team. The division in this team, who had a few very competitive individuals, inevitably led to the loss of points on numerous occasions. On a regular basis the team lost the points for arriving at the lesson on time because Tariq was missing. Even when present he often refused to sit with his team without being pressured by Mr. K and other team mates.

Mr. K Tariq you should be sitting with your teams

Shane Ya in your team sit in your team

Mr. K you must sit with your team

Miss S 30 seconds, sit in your teams, 20 seconds....

(Naturally occurring talk, week 13)

Perhaps it was inevitable that the team would at some stage try to get these points even though Tariq was not present. Although other research has indicated that Sport Education promotes fair play and sportsmanship (Kinchin, 2000) it was evident that Shane's frustration about losing points regularly led him to try deceiving the teacher to get the points by telling Mr. K that 'Tariq's not in today'.

Mr. K One missing?

Shane Tariq's not in today

Mr. K I've seen Tariq at lunch time. Right the rest of you, sit with your groups

Shane But Tariq isn't here

Ruth Sir Tariq is here

Shane He wasn't here last week either

Sev Tariq is always late, he is never on time. he is never even in the changing rooms.

Mr. K I will make sure you get extra bonus points if you can get him here on time not just the normal ones.
(Naturally occurring talk, week 16)

Once Shane and Sev realised that Mr. K knew Tariq was at school they appealed that he was always late indicating the unfairness of the situation. Mr. K recognised this

Mr. K They've got Tariq and Tariq is like a nightmare. Everyone else has done it haven't they?
(Informal discussion, week 14)

Mr. K tried to engage Tariq with the team by giving him points for work he did, even when not engaging with his team. In the example used here Mr. K gave Tariq points for raking the sand pit during the long jump class even though this was not a team role. However this did little to forge a relationship with his team as their reaction to this was less than positive.

Mr. K Tariq everything you do even what you did today is a big thing
Shane Oi what did you do that for?
Mr. K Is that how teams should act?
Shane no but he's nasty. how did he [Tariq] get them? [points]
Mr. K He got them because he worked really hard in the class for me raking the sand pit
Sev We never got them
Mr. K What should you say?
Shane Hello sir
Mr. K what should you say to Tariq?
Sev well done
Mr. K Well done that's the important thing that's what you should be saying to him
(Naturally occurring talk, week 19)

The fact that Mr. K had to repeatedly prompt the students to give Tariq positive feedback undermined his effort to include Tariq in the competition. Indeed this conversation was yet another public display of exclusion that further alienated Tariq from his team. He did not take part in any of the lessons after the half term. That said, Mr. K recognised that this was not reflective of the experiences of most teams.

Mr. K. ya but having said that though you know when we put them in the teams we worked out the teams and the majority of those teams that were mixed worked. The only ones that didn't particularly work were the ones that had pupils with problems in and things like that Everybody else tried to

get on with the group that was probably because the group stayed constant. Whereas if you have a mixed lesson and you say to them get into a group they will choose who they are with and will always choose the same people and not necessarily the right people that they should be working with. do you understand what I'm saying? so if I put them into groups one week it could be one group they only just get to know whose working with them and the next if you do something else its a different group again. So I think that staying in the same group is fine. I think if you haven't got a particularly good group it is hard work but most of those groups yesterday did work around that didn't they? there were no groups that there were no super groups because we did that on purpose didn't we? we had mixed ability but I don't think that they all had emotional problems but in the end the kids just ignore that child like ya Tariq was one the other one mmm I can't think of his name. Yes and in a way because the kids seem to miss quite a few lessons I don't think they benefited

Toni ya Tariq didn't do a single lesson

Mr. K I think they would have made excuses anyway ya Tariq is a very bad case

(Individual Interview, week 20)

Although the teachers recognised that Tariq's situation was a particularly bad case, it was not unique. Similarly Mr. K recognised that life for Sam, and his teammates, in Sport Education could be difficult.

Mr. K I think getting back to this I think some of them were frustrated if they had people like Sam in their team but that's life isn't it you're always going to get people like Sam it's just the luck if he's in your form? yes but again its weighing that against- but all the other groups I think life for Sam must be horrible anyway but Sam doesn't help himself Sam is an extreme case

(Individual Interview, week 20)

During the previous term I had observed Sam being teased for his speech impairment and during the Sport Education season I saw this continue. Members of his own team joined in with others who were teasing him about a variety of issues. In the example below Sam wore the wrong Tshirt to class and the students began teasing him about it, pulling the side of it trying to annoy him.

Sam Stop touching it, would you mind, this cost £80

Kate Right yeah, more like 80 pence from the charity shop

Carol Don't you mean 80p not 80 pounds?

(Naturally occurring talk, week 13)

Privileges that other team mates were given, such as the opportunity to stick points on the noticeboard were denied to Sam. His position on the social hierarchy denied him the chances that other students had in Sport Education. Some pupils in the class aimed to reproduce the hierarchies of power that gave them privileges like the example below.

Mr. K Sam well done three points for coming first
Drew Give them to me I will stick them up
Mr. K I gave them to Sam
Drew He'll probably lose them

(Naturally occurring talk, week)

During the first lesson of the Sport Education season both Sam and Hamim argued about Drew's self-selection as captain of the team. Over the course of the season Hamim had dealt with this issue and worked with Drew for the team's benefit. However Sam, possibly because he had not developed positive relationships with other team members, continued to resist any leadership from other pupils in the team.

Sam OK I'm doing everything
Hamim not any more
Sam OK what have you crossed me out of?
Mr. K Everybody has to be doing an even number of events(.) Hamim Sam
 come back over
Drew which one would you like to come out of?
Sam I want to do this this and this
Nadeem I want relay
Mr. K so Sam what are you doing?
Sam what?
Mr. K what are you doing next week?
Sam I don't know (..) anything

(Naturally occurring talk, week 19)

Although Sam began this interaction expressing a desire to be involved in all of the events in the final competition, he ended the interaction stating that he would do 'anything'. He was clearly disillusioned by the season and his opportunities for decision making on the team. It was hoped that the Sport Education season would tackle the ways in which some students exerted dominance over others in the class, however it was apparent that this did not happen for those who were most disaffected in the class.

6.7 Conclusion

The data presented in this study lends support to the values claimed for the Sport Education experience and endorses, to some extent, what is known about some pupils and Sport Education. However, it does highlight complexities and raises concerns over issues of equity and the exclusion of already marginalized students. The discussion here has also allowed some of the issues raised in chapter four to be considered. In particular this analysis raised issues about the dynamic nature of social goal orientations and what motivates young people to adopt certain agendas in physical education classes.

It is apparent that teachers had some success in modifying the environment in the physical education class, particularly in the latter stages of the season when they approached the management and instruction of the lesson with careful planning¹. This had, in turn, an impact on the agendas pursued by the young people. Although I recognise that some of the difficulties with the Sport Education season may have arisen through poor planning for instructional accountability in the early phases of the season, this is no doubt a feature of implementing change in schools where teachers gradually modify aspects of their teaching to maximise the benefits that accrue from the intervention programmes. Siedentop (1994) pointed out that Sport Education is not meant to replace physical education. However there are many strategies that the teachers implemented during this intervention that may have positive effects on their every day teaching of physical education. For example the effects of implementing reward strategies as a motivational tool are well documented. Similarly many studies have highlighted the importance of clear and precise instructions in optimising pupil learning. However the teachers in this study did not utilise many of these strategies on a daily basis in their lessons. Pope and O'Sullivan (1998) point out that change within a culture must begin at an individual level through recognition of the multiple factors that promote or inhibit progress. Although outside factors can contribute towards possibilities for change, specific changes to sport or physical education are determined largely by individuals within the school culture. It is necessary to further explore what

¹ It must be recognised that this was the teachers' first attempt at Sport Education. I return to the issue of how Sport Education was implemented in chapter seven and consider the implications of this on the study.

teachers hope to achieve through the implementation of Sport Education, how they plan for change with the Sport Educational model, and how they introduce Sport Education to pupils in school. The interplay between these three aspects of implementation is a future direction for study that I would like to pursue.

The competitiveness of this season was perceived as particularly important by the teachers: not only did the highly competitive nature of this season contribute to the high level of task engagement, particularly when combined with clear instructions about the accountability of tasks. The competitiveness also led to some pupils foregoing their social agendas in favour of the competition. However friction within teams was occasionally exacerbated by the desire to do well in the competition and it was apparent that while the competitiveness of the environment worked in favour of the model in most instances, this was not a universal effect.

This chapter has identified that, whether their experience was positive or negative, the enduring aspect of the team had a significant effect on these young people's experiences of physical education. Disrupting the dominant culture pervading the physical education class was a key aim of this programme in order to modify the student agendas. The Sport Education season challenged the social hierarchical groups in the classroom by reconfiguring many of the existing structures. However the new structures that were put in place provided many opportunities for dominant pupils to exert their position in the social hierarchy to privilege their experiences of Sport Education. It was quickly apparent that the dominant pupils managed to reaffirm their positions on the social hierarchy and in many cases found new avenues for the expression of their dominance in the lesson. Kinchin, Penney and Clarke (2001) argued that *"there is a need to recognise that there may be dangers of marginalisation and exclusion of some pupils in contexts of Sport Education as there are in more traditionally structured curricula and lessons. Increasing the extent to which children take more ownership for their learning does not always mean these learning experiences will be more equitable"* (p 43). This holds important implications for physical educators. If Sport Education is to address issues of equity and inclusion at school this aspect needs further research. The uncertainty of the early lessons of the season, both for the teachers and the pupils, led to the further alienation of some already

disaffected young people. It is worth considering whether the use of Sport Education may have served to intensify and make more explicit the exclusion of some pupils. The effects of introducing an instructional model such as Sport Education with pupils who have social and behavioural problems is something that needs further examination.

Although Sport Education helped modify the culture dominating the physical education class, a critical assessment needs to be made of the school systems in which the dominant peer culture based on social hierarchies flourishes, creating an environment where learning is compromised. While the potential for engagement in instructional tasks is unquestionable, Sport Education is undoubtedly a site where inequalities are reproduced. It is an examination of these issues, in addition to other central themes identified within the thesis, that the concluding chapter focuses on.

Chapter 7: In-conclusion...

7.1 Introduction

The previous three chapters have built up a picture of the experiences of one group of teachers and pupils revealing a multifaceted, dynamic and complex classroom ecology jointly constructed by students and teachers with numerous, and often diverse, agendas. Moreover, they have attempted to trace how these young people engaged with physical education tasks and aimed to chart the motivations and agendas of these particular young people, and to explain the interplay between individual goal orientations, teacher led task systems and engagement in physical education.

The final chapter is presented in ten sections. Following the introduction I attempt to draw together the findings of the three analysis chapters. I aim to look reflectively at the study and highlight the main ideas that have been generated at a substantive level. This discussion is organised around the young people and teachers' agendas developing a collective analysis of classroom life. I aim to illustrate the classroom ecology in a graphical form utilising Merritt's (1982) conception of tasks as a set of interrelated vectors. Having re-examined the classroom ecology framework, the discussion turns to a consideration of some key issues that emerged from the analysis chapters. In doing so I consider the implications for those involved in research, practice or policy development with and for young people. In addition I want to examine some of the key issues that have been identified through the analysis of the data, and discuss their implications for future research. With particular reference to issues associated with Sport Education and changing teachers' practice I explore the possibilities of increasing levels of engagement in physical education tasks. Finally this chapter reflects on and speculates beyond the results and considers my development through the PhD process.

Before moving on, however, it may be useful to provide a brief reminder of the aim of this research. This study has been concerned primarily to describe and explain a case of pupil engagement in physical education and to generate at a substantive level (Glaser and Strauss, 1978) theory which can make sense of the events at Hilltop school. The

aim is to provide some insights into why things happened the way they did. It attempts to discover what happened in this case and to explain these happenings. It is, essentially, an exploratory study. This chapter is intended to present an interpretation of events that will engage in and extend discussions surrounding the issues of young people's engagement in physical education and how this can be improved.

Overcoming the problem of stopping short at the point of description and explanation and failing to draw conclusions from this thesis was something with which I struggled. What follows in this chapter is an attempt to draw together the analysis integrating the theoretical frameworks used to guide my thinking over the course of the study. Through the next section I try to emphasise the dynamic relationship between motivational and ecological theories thus outlining a framework to explain what was happening in the class. By grounding the theory in this instance I hope to have gained the subtlety, ambiguity and complexity of what was happening in this school, integrating my analysis with a variety of theoretical perspectives which have helped me construct a meaning of the classroom ecology in this school.

Although this study is rich in detail, its findings are not easily cumulated for the purposes of developing a theory of how and why young people engage in physical education tasks. I struggled with the problem that to summarise the findings would somehow oversimplify the study, to ignore the context and to fail to capture the uniqueness of each situation, and yet it was not feasible to present the analysis without a conclusion as this would not move the study beyond that of a descriptive study. The main purpose behind the use of the interpretive approach in this study was to discover a great deal about an aspect of behaviour that has been neglected over the past few decades and to explore how this is influenced by the wider socio-cultural values of young people in contemporary society.

The conclusions are often fragmented in nature but this symbolises the experiences of the young people and teachers in this context. Of course this raises a key question in how to reach some form of conclusion without over-simplifying the varied and changing experiences of the young people and teachers. Although I outline the implications of the issues emerging from this study for future practice which, at the very least, we need to consider, this study has made particularly clear the complexities of

introducing change in schools. To provide some final interpretation and focus on a rather limited range of issues is not to undermine the complexity of the study but merely to give me the opportunity to extend the discussion into areas that I believe are of importance to those aiming to improve practice in schools.

7.2 Conceptualising the classroom ecology as a set of interrelated vectors

In this section I will look, in turn, at the teacher and student agendas, utilising Merritt's (1982) conception of classroom actions as a set of related vectors with direction, momentum and energy. One of the many reasons why this theoretical framework is so useful in relation to this study is because it allows for a consideration of how tasks are jointly constructed by teachers and young people in the classroom. The social construction of knowledge necessarily incorporates a consideration of socio-cultural factors which emerged as key issues in relation to the negotiated classroom ecology.

Central to the conceptualisation is a consideration of how teachers convey the direction, momentum and energy of their tasks and I will deal with these issues in turn in relation to both teacher and student agendas. Utilising Merritt's (1982) conception of the teachers' programmes of action as vectors I have created a graphical form of the classroom ecology. Diagrams 7.1 and 7.2 illustrate the order and learning components of teachers' tasks as axes on which task vectors can be plotted. Researchers such as Doyle (1985) and Tousignant and Siedentop (1983) have commented that these are the key factors with which teachers are concerned.

Diagram 7.1 illustrates a programme of action with learning and order elements with equal weight. Diagram 7.2 illustrates a programme of action with stronger order than learning components, emphasising the finding that many teachers do not focus on student learning but direct their planning to provide for student enjoyment and participation and avoid incidents of misbehaviour (Placek, 1983, 1984). The evidence presented in chapters five and six clearly indicated that the teachers' programmes of action in this school were traditionally dominated by managerial concerns. These diagrams illustrate in a rather simplistic way the relative strength of the order and learning components of the teacher's agendas.

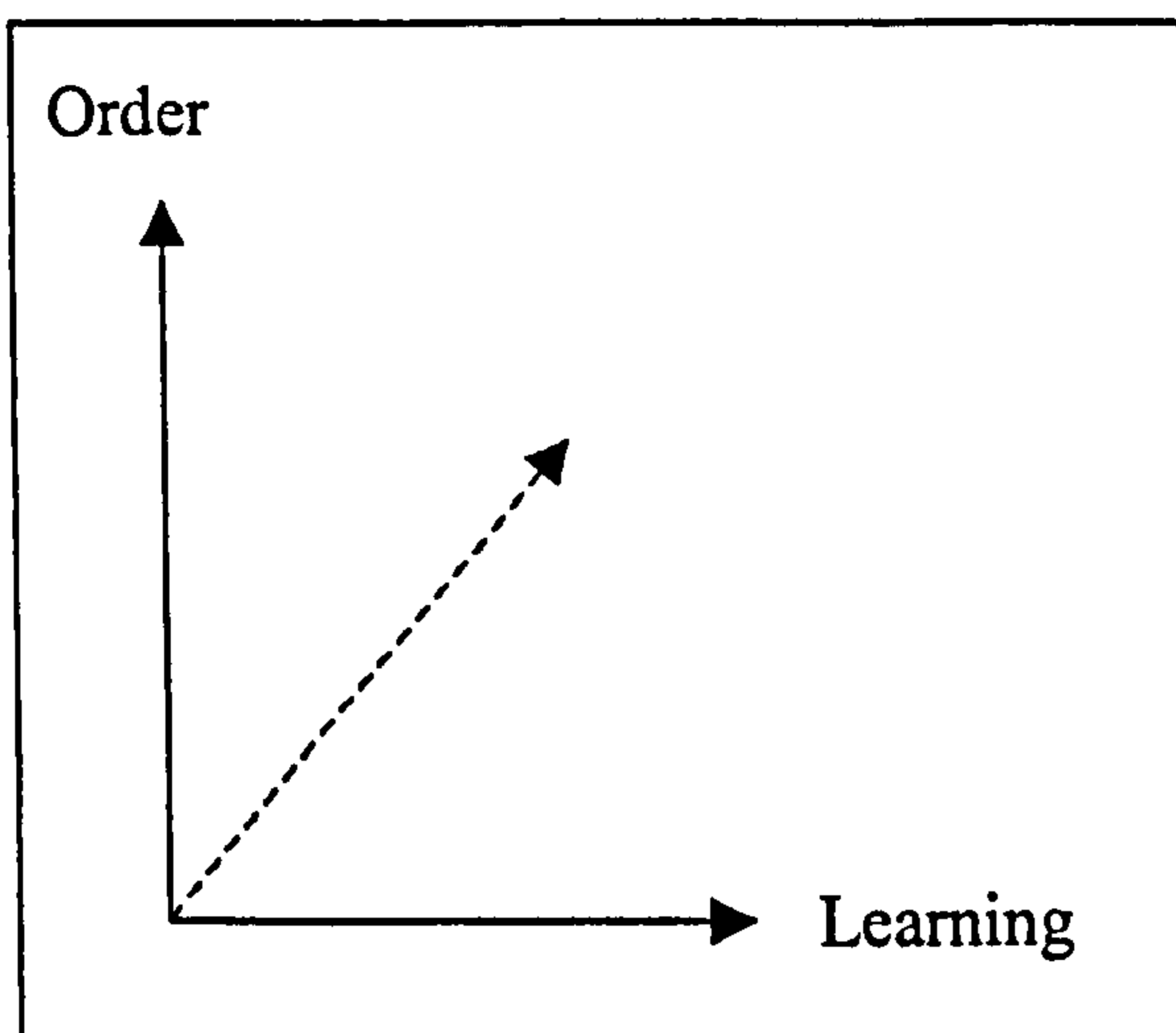


Diagram 7.1 A teacher task vector with order and learning components plotted onto the classroom ecology graph.

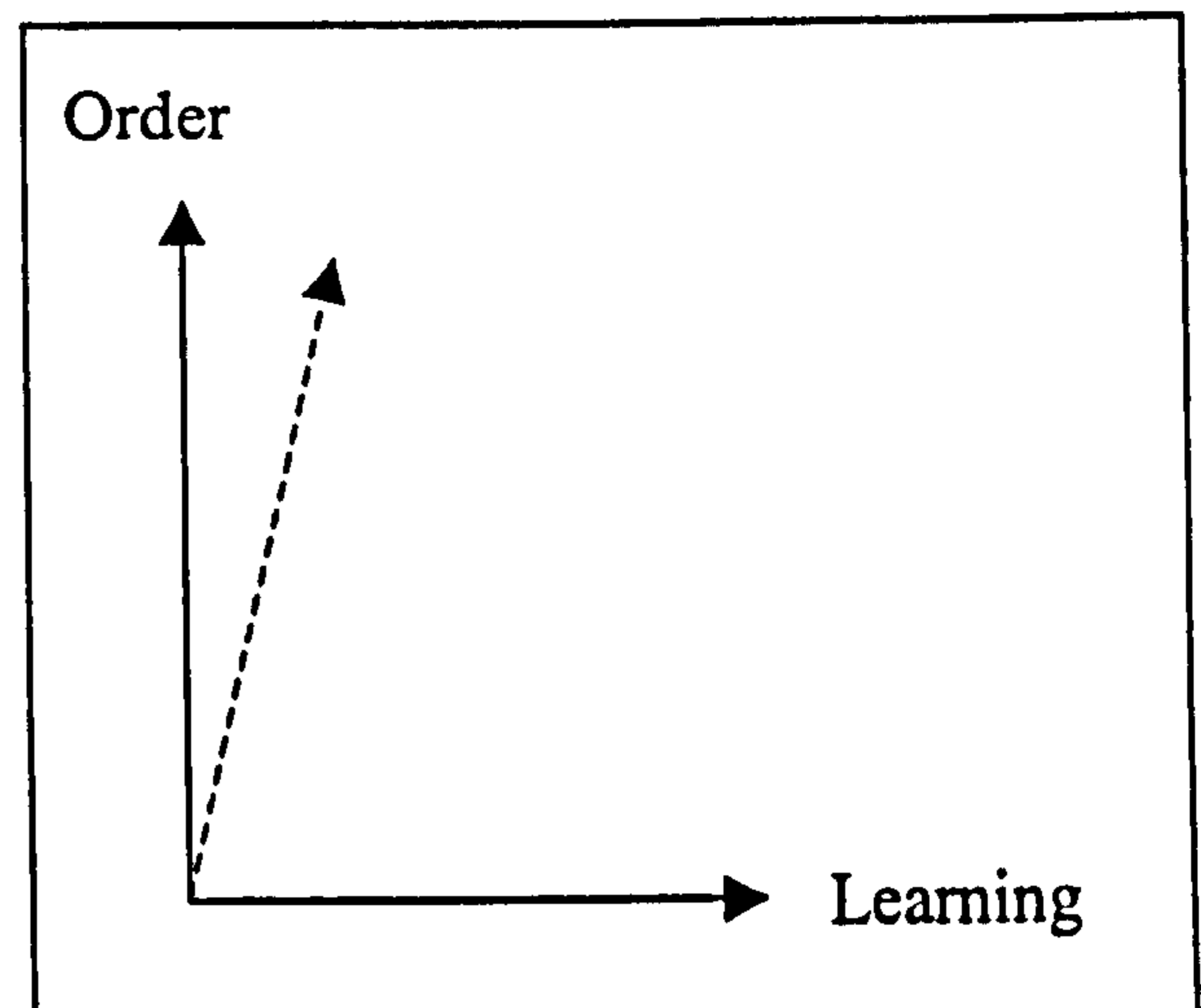


Diagram 7.2 A teacher task vector, with a stronger order than learning component, plotted onto the classroom ecology graph.

As discussed in some detail in previous chapters of the thesis Doyle (1977) contended that tasks are driven by the accountability strategies in place and thus the force of the vector is determined by the accountability associated with each task. Siedentop (1988) maintained that some teachers might be able to establish such a strong on-task environment, and with such a strong accountability system in place, that students would suspend their socialising goals to operate within the boundaries of the instructional task system. From the analysis presented in chapters five and six it is clear that tasks were most often explained in partially explicit terms without specific conditions of practice and lacking criteria to judge how well it was performed.

Diagrams 7.1 and 7.2 identify a single quadrant within which task vectors operate. Throughout chapter five the analysis of the data indicated that the tasks designed by the teachers lie exclusively in this quadrant reflecting that the teachers, unsurprisingly, did not assign tasks with the purpose of negative learning or order components. In the absence of the competing agendas, engagement in tasks would be determined by these teacher led vectors. However, it is acknowledged that despite the teachers' efforts teacher task vectors were not often representative of student action. As a result the graphical representation of vectors illustrated above gives an incomplete analysis of the classroom ecosystem at the school. In coming to understand the way in which tasks are jointly constructed I agree with Doyle (1977) who contended that too much attention is placed on the teacher as a causal factor in the classroom. The analysis emphasised, particularly in chapters four and five, that student action frequently lay outside quadrant

one, and it is to the issue of how student agendas influence action that the discussion now turns.

7.3 Student agendas in physical education

This section outlines some of the most noticeable patterns and configurations of student agendas that were presented in the main analysis chapters. In respect to student agendas, Allen's (1986) analysis of young people's behaviour in school was a useful framework from which to work. Allen (1986) identified two main student agendas, to socialise and to achieve a passing grade. She claimed that students use six strategies to achieve their two major goals, including figuring out their teachers, giving the teachers what they want, having fun, minimizing work, reducing boredom, and staying out of trouble (see figure 2.2.1). Although Allen (1986) identified two primary and six secondary agendas these did not all appear in this context. Indeed the primary agenda of 'passing the course' identified by Allen was particularly notable by its absence as no formal assessment was made. The evidence presented in chapter four highlighted the disparate agendas adopted by the young people in this study and of those in Allen's (1986) study. The diagram overleaf summarises the key student agendas identified in chapters four and five.



Diagram 7.3 Agendas held by the young people in their physical education class¹

Before I attempt to represent these student agendas on the classroom ecology graph, thus illustrating the role they play in determining engagement patterns during physical education lessons through the student action vectors, there are a number of issues to which further consideration will be given. Firstly I will look at agendas two, three and four which all entail a recognition of the socio-cultural context that impinges on the agendas that young people pursue during their physical education lessons.

¹ The agendas identified in this diagram are not exhaustive and many subthemes could easily be identified. The dynamic and fluid nature of the student agenda meant that different agendas took precedence at various times during the lesson and for this reason I have chosen to represent only those key agendas that emerged repeatedly in the analysis. Numerous examples can be seen in chapter four of how young people drew on these, and other, agendas.

A number of specific examples were presented in earlier chapters of the ways in which the young people emphasised resources or abilities that they felt would be valued by their peers and of how they tried to make these resources salient in their physical education class. For example an issue I considered in earlier chapters was the active construction of femininity: this was of central concern to many of the girls and the majority of young people in this class closely adhered to the imposed boundaries between feminine and masculine behaviour. A number of the girls described experiences of constructing identities more harmonious with the hegemonic femininities of the peer group and reflexively managed their identities through their engagement in grooming behaviours. However, this analysis does not deconstruct how young people construct such values in physical education classes.

A recognition within recent studies that social fields² do not stand independently ring-fenced has led some physical education researchers to look more closely at the links between schooling and culture, and to suggest that it is a mistake to assume that young people are free from socio-cultural values when learning (e.g. Kirk, 1993a; Chen, 1999; Azzarito & Ennis, 2003). It became clear in my interviews with the young people that, although I was asking specifically about physical education lessons, they remained under the influence of the discourses, norms, and regulatory controls of other fields such as the media, peers, and physical culture. Moreover, when the young people entered their lessons, they brought with them learning that had been acquired and accumulated from other social sites. Holroyd (2003) emphasised that the field of school does not stand alone within society but is embedded within a larger system of social relations. Furthermore, Kirk (1999b) highlighted that in a society in which schooling can be seen to represent much of young people's social and cultural experiences, it is important not to discount the complex social, cultural, political and environmental contexts in which schools operate. Given the presence of the concept of socio-cultural value in the student

² Bourdieu introduced the concept of 'field' into his work partly as a means to look more closely at the relationship between agents and structures (Robbins, 1991). Using this concept it is possible to look at a society as a multi-dimensional space comprising a number of fields, each with their own specific rules but part of the society as a whole (Bourdieu, 1985).

agendas I have identified, there is a need to consider the overlaps between physical education, physical culture³ and popular culture.

Rich and Sandford (in press) argue that young people now command considerable weight as consumers, and companies and organisations have responded to this situation by using the media field to brand and target elements of popular culture specifically for and at the youth market. Physical activity and leisure are no exception to an increased socio-cultural influence, particularly in the media, and given that the pervasive and powerful influence of the media field is well-established (Giddens, 1991; Kellner, 1992; Ralph *et al*, 1999), it is perhaps not surprising that recent research shows young people to be clearly influenced by the discourses of popular physical culture (e.g. Miles *et al*, 1998; Chen, 1999; Flintoff & Scraton, 2001; Wright & Macdonald, in press). There is a need to acknowledge the increasingly persuasive social influence on young people in contemporary society and the role this may play in influencing student agendas in physical education. In relation to the example provided from chapter four of the construction of particular forms of femininity for girls in physical education Cockburn (1999) completed a study of magazines marketed at teenage girls. She found that the magazines provided clear reinforcement of established notions of what it is to be feminine and teenaged. Cockburn argued that teenage girls are presented with two options: on the one hand a girl can be a non-sport young woman who is safe in the sense of belonging to her collectively identified group; on the other hand she can be an assertive and active individual who risks alienation from those around her. These polarised and conflicting images were also evident in the analysis presented in chapter four. It is argued that an acceptance of the discourses of physical culture, some of which are powerful yet potentially harmful, should be challenged by physical educators as, although these discourses are transmitted through social sites outside of the school, it has been suggested that physical education as a discipline at worst embraces and at best does little to challenge them (Rich and Sandford, in press). Bearing in mind the powerful and critical role of the media in consumer culture it should be remembered that young people's engagement with physical education tasks represent more than a simple choice; they are, in effect, an affiliation to a particular identity group. Whether

³ The term physical culture is a valuable one to employ here, as it encompasses those practices and discourses associated not only with physical education, but also with the broader contexts of sport, physical activity, recreation and leisure (Rich and Sandford, in press).

physical educators recognise these issues in their planning and implementation of physical education programmes is a key issue that future research should address.

7.4 Agendas of value

In relation to the issue of socio-cultural value I would like to return to the agenda of displaying valued resources and, in particular, to the display of physical ability. My preoccupation with achievement goal theory unsurprisingly emerges again at this stage. In chapter two I outlined achievement goal theory and the almost exclusive focus over the past two decades on task and ego goals orientations as key determinants of task engagement. As I outlined in chapter four references to 'being good' or 'not so good' were prevalent throughout the young people's descriptions of physical education, however, displaying physical competence was not identified as a key agenda in the analysis, although it did emerge at times. In contrast to consistent findings by sport psychology researchers, such as Ames (1992), Nicholls (1984), and Roberts (2001), who demonstrated the pervasiveness of ability in goal orientation research, my analysis revealed the inapplicability of this simplified theory for many of the young people who took part in this study.

Notwithstanding this finding, the recent work of Elliot and Harackewicz (1996), who developed a 4*4 matrix of achievement goal orientations proposing the existence of approach and avoidance goals, appears to be useful in the analysis of the young people's discussion of ability, including physical, academic and social ability. This framework accommodated and helped explain the young people's concerns about not 'looking like a fool'. Avoiding the portrayal of incompetence was of significant value to many of the young people and is represented by the fifth key agenda in diagram 7.3. I find it difficult to reconcile the lack of importance attached to the display of physical competence, with little emphasis placed on achievement, and the subject matter of physical education where the content often involves competitive sport.

Although I have indicated here that physical ability did not emerge as a valued attribute for many of the young people in this class, this appeared to be mediated by the social context of the display. It was apparent that some dominant pupils in the class could control, to some extent, what was socially valued and the value of physical ability in

this class was in a state of constant change. There seems to be something unique about the physical education context where social interaction between the young people frequently resulted in ability being publicly evaluated and it was apparent that some young people felt that the public evaluation of their peers was an acceptable practice even under the gaze of their teachers.

Undoubtedly achievement goal theory as it was originally conceived of by Maehr and Nicholls (1980) with a range of culturally diverse goals is recognisable in the complex, diverse and fluid agendas identified in diagram 7.3. However, since it was originally proposed by Maehr and Nicholls (1980) social elements such as social approval goals and social validation goals have been proposed but have not received comparable attention to other more 'measurable' factors and the culturally diverse range of goals have all but disappeared from the theoretical framework. The assumptions that have underpinned this theory have been influenced by the positivistic tradition and the consequent narrow methodological approach to the research area has resulted in development of a theory based on *scientific proof* rather than an attempt to understand the goal orientations young people have in physical education lessons. Pringle (2000) argued that achievement goal theorists omit valuable socio-cultural factors from their analysis and treat the social context of physical education as non problematic.

Although the approach I have used to the analysis of data in this study has highlighted the importance of integrating achievement goal theory with ecological perspective, and although I do not wish to advocate a return to the segregation that dominated pedagogical research over the past thirty years, I also recognise that achievement goal theorists may need to focus on identifying the range of goal orientations that exist in isolation from a consideration of how these impact on classroom behaviour. I recognise that a doctoral study has provided me with a privileged opportunity to explore the overlapping elements of goal orientation theory and classroom ecology perspectives in order to explore young people's engagement in physical education. Furthermore, I recognise that many researchers do not have the contact time with pupils that allows them to explore multiple perspectives of motivation, engagement and learning in schools. Although it may appear that I am advocating a return to the relative isolation of research into achievement goal theory I suggest that it is merely the realisation that parallel streams of research may advance the study of physical education and the study

illuminates the need for a broader debate on advances in achievement goal theory research. Moreover, achievement goal theory has made significant advances in explaining motivation but, without attention to the potency of the social goal orientations that young people hold, it is doubtful whether effective pedagogical practices and policies can be developed.

I suggest that there continues to be a need for a critical assessment of the research into motivation in school that highlights the importance of local context, including the particular formal and informal culture of the school and the tensions inherent in this relationship. Recognising that young people may not have a static and unidimensional view of achievement is central to moving this agenda forward. I also propose that in order to explore the cultural variation and fluid nature of alternative goal orientations researchers may need to adopt methodologies that lie outside of those traditionally associated with psychological research. It is evident that many sport psychologists are already adopting interpretivist approaches to research studies (Faulkner and Finlay, 2002).

7.5 Plotting student agendas on the classroom ecology graph

The student agendas that I identified in diagram 7.3 can be categorised by their positive or negative order and learning components and thus represented in diagrammatic form⁴. To include student agendas in the diagrammatic form I have chosen, it is necessary to display a broader scale on which the vectors can be plotted. Diagram 7.4 incorporates negative learning and order components in the representation of the classroom ecology to allow for student agendas that undermine as well as support the teacher led tasks to be plotted. Thus the plotting range increased to allow for vectors in four quadrants as shown in diagram 7.4.

⁴ Although I acknowledge that graphing student agendas on axes determined by the teacher agendas is perhaps not ideal, this has been done to emphasize the impact of student agendas on teaching and learning in physical education rather than the influence of teaching on student agendas which would perhaps be represented in a different way.

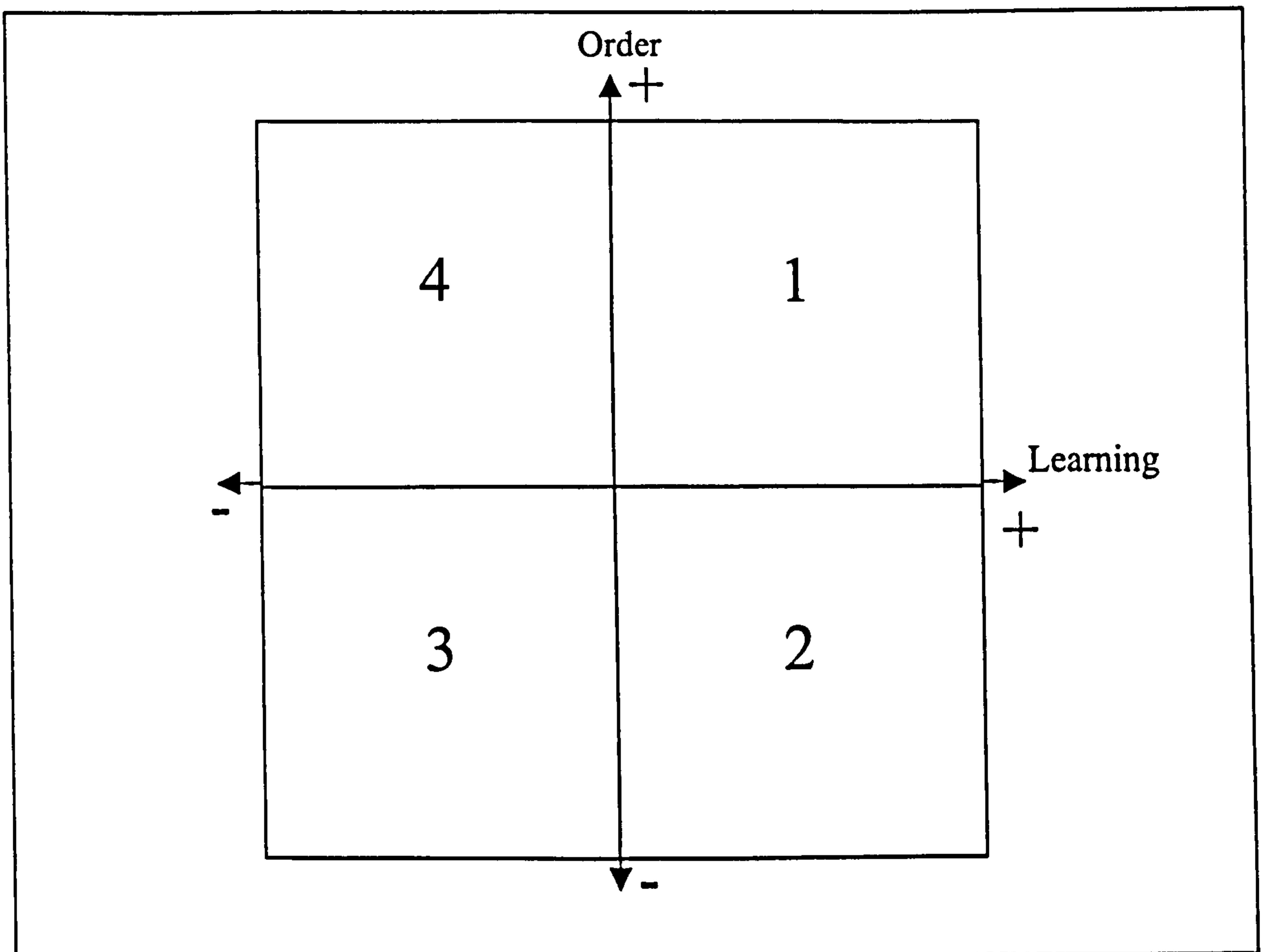


Diagram 7.4 Four quadrant classroom ecology graph⁵

Four quadrants are identified in diagram 7.4 in which to locate student agendas. A pupil with an agenda of keeping the teacher 'on side' may pursue actions that support positive order components, thus pursuing action vectors that lie in quadrant one or four. When combined with an agenda of creating a valued identity, such as being 'girly', which may have a negative learning component, then the student action vector would be placed in quadrant four, thus undermining teacher learning agendas but supporting the teachers' order agendas. In contrast, an agenda of having fun combined with the creation of an identity of being a disruptor might result in student agendas located in quadrant three, with negative learning and negative order components, thus directly opposing the teacher's programme of action. I contend that the relative strength and direction of the teacher vector and student vector determines the resultant engagement pattern in an additive way.

⁵ Given the teachers' perceived lack of autonomy in the implementation of accountability structures in relation to disciplining students, as discussed in chapter five, additional school led vectors may also need to be added to diagram 7.4 to highlight the role of the school in determining engagement with classroom tasks.

Those with higher status and popularity had the greatest influence on their peers and thus played an important role in determining the strength with which the young people pursued their agendas. Social comparison, when imposed by peers, appeared to be an especially salient factor affecting young people's judgments about themselves, others and tasks. However as outlined in chapter two, Ames (1992) argues that it is not the mere availability of social comparison information that is problematic, it is when this information becomes emphasised that it becomes problematic. It was apparent that the underlying tensions of the social hierarchy were manifested in the way pupils pursued their own agendas and then negotiated with the teacher led agendas. The motivation to conform to the socio-cultural values and the dominant individuals was undoubtedly related to the strength⁶ with which the young people pursued their agendas.

7.6 Negotiated Agendas

As I outlined in more detail in chapter five the conflict between teacher expectations and those of the dominant peer group in this class lead to frequent negotiations. Their conflicting agendas inevitably resulted in negotiation. As Massengale and Sage (1995) point out, ultimately negotiation has to do with power, the use of power and the distribution of power. The relative strength of the teacher and student agendas was a significant factor in determining the result of the many negotiations that took place.

As I argued in earlier sections of this thesis, Siedentop (1988) contends that some teachers might be able to establish such a strong on-task environment, and with such a strong accountability system in place, that students would suspend their agendas to operate within the boundaries of the instructional task system. Notwithstanding this assertion, Siedentop et al. (1994) suggested that teacher led tasks were most often lacking strength: they were explained in partially explicit terms, that is, the conditions of practice and the specific skill to be practiced but the task lacked criteria to judge how well it was performed. Similar to the findings of Siedentop *et al.* (1994) my

⁶ Numerous students have examined how perceived ability, attributions, sense of belonging also influence the adoption of goal orientations. I do not contend that these factors are not influential but they have not been examined in this study. A thorough review of factors that may be influential is provided elsewhere by Rovegno (in press).

observations indicated that teachers relied heavily on verbal interactions to hold pupils accountable for their behaviour rather than embedding accountability systems into the content of the task. The lack of performance criteria in teacher led tasks was evident throughout the Spring term and persisted well into the Summer term.

In the absence of accountability, sustained engagement in an activity was determined by the teachers' ongoing contingency developed task system (Alexander, 1983), or as one teacher described it her perpetual need 'to go on at them', and by the strength of the student vectors to support or undermine the teachers' agendas. The range of types and levels of student engagement indicates that these two factors had significantly more strength than the primary vector and thus were more influential.

The individual engagement patterns highlight the dual role of the teacher and pupils in determining engagement patterns. Although the two dimensional diagrams I have utilised in this analysis suggest a relatively static and uniform classroom ecology this is not intended and the dynamic individualised nature of this process where tasks are continuously being renegotiated by the teachers and pupils is recognised, although not captured in the diagrams illustrating the process. These models present a visual representation of the classroom ecology that may assist in understanding the way in which young people and teachers jointly construct their classroom ecology and in the exploration of factors from other fields that may have a role in determining the ecology.

Although many problems arose in the implementation of Sport Education I acknowledge that the implementation of the model improved the engagement levels of many young people in this class. In looking to the future it seems inevitable that more teachers will become involved in this curricular innovation, thus I recognise the need to examine issues that teachers may want to consider when planning for student engagement. It has been shown in previous chapters that when implementing Sport Education the teachers began to strengthen the content embedded accountability in their tasks. The analysis also highlighted that the young people adopted new agendas which supported rather than challenged the teacher agendas. The competitiveness of the season was perceived by the teachers as a particularly important factor in changing the classroom ecology. The highly competitive nature of this season contributed to the high level of task engagement and when combined with clear instructions about the

accountability of tasks the students pursued agendas supporting the teachers' order and learning agendas. The competitiveness also led to some pupils foregoing their social agendas in favour of the competition resulting in fewer competing vectors. As these issues have already been dealt with comprehensively in previous chapters I will not engage with that discussion again here other than to note that this was a positive finding of Sport Education. However a number of questions remain in relation to the classroom ecology model and Sport Education that I feel are worthy of additional discussion here. Firstly I will consider the ways in which physical education policies and practices attempt to regulate young people's bodies, deny young people agency in the creation of an embodied identity, and ultimately contribute to alienation from physical education lessons.

The second key student agenda identified in diagram 7.3, and discussed comprehensively in chapter five, is the creation of a valued identity. It is now increasingly recognized that it is through the body that individuals experience, act, and actively construct understandings of both self and others, and that, given the complex nature of social life in contemporary society, these processes contribute to an individual's development of multi-dimensional embodied identities (Holroyd, 2003; Hunter, in press). In the next section I will explore the ways in which the regulation of the young people's bodies during physical education lessons impacted on their sense of agency in creating a valued identity.

7.7 Regulation of the body

Evidence suggests that there is a strong association between the young people's engagement with their peers, the media and physical culture (Brettschneider, 1994; Kirk, 1993a; Holroyd, 2003), and that material possessions, clothing in particular, are perceived by young people as important resources both for their 'presentation of self' (Goffman, 1990) and for the construction of embodied identities (Holroyd, 2003). Not

only is appropriate clothing deemed to signify their tastes and interests, but it is also a means by which they can gain significant physical capital among their peers⁷.

Section 5.2 highlighted the contentious issue of the uniform in physical education and the changing rooms emerged as a key site for negotiation between the teachers and girls in relation to the regulation of the pupils' bodies. The understanding of bodily regulation within the physical education literature draws heavily upon the work of Foucault (1980, 1991), who argued that a shift in the locus of control in contemporary society, from external to internal, has meant that the body can now be perceived as the ultimate site for discipline, regulation and control. Moreover, the arrangement of young people's bodies within the school allows for those in positions of power (i.e. the staff) to maintain a degree of order and control (Foucault, 1991; Kirk, 1999; Tait, 2000).

Hilltop school had clear rules about the students' self presentation for physical education lessons. It was unclear whether the school or department drafted these policies but the teachers justified the time they spent reinforcing the dress code for physical education lessons drawing on discourses of safety, hygiene and maintaining standards. Mrs. A argued that the tying up of hair for physical education lessons was a safety concern and she reinforced this with the pupils on a regular basis. However, in relation to the other ways in which staff attempted to regulate the young people's bodies, she drew on discourses of maintaining school standards. Researchers exploring issues of the body within education contend that the school uniform is seen to represent a tool for regulating and managing behaviour (e.g. Symes & Meadmore, 1996; Dussel, 2004), a reason that can perhaps be seen to underpin the teachers' attempts to ensure that the students wore the correct uniform for physical education lessons. Mrs. A commented "*they are pushing us to see how far they can go*" and "*once you let it slip, it slips with everything*" (see section 5.2.2), thus emphasising her beliefs that the control and regulation of the body is instrumental in maintaining discipline in schools. It is argued that the uniform can be seen to reflect the values, norms, and ideals of the school and can represent the literal embodiment of corporeal control.

⁷ This, in part, helps to provide an understanding of the resistance that some young people showed in relation to the compulsory and prescriptive nature of the physical education uniform. The teachers' attempts to regulate the young people's bodies through practices such as the removing of make up, tying hair up and wearing a uniform is an issue to which I will return in the next section.

In discussions with Miss S about the physical education uniform rules the issue of hygiene was raised as a key reason for the reinforcement of the uniform policies. She informed me that the young people were required to wear white socks for physical education lessons to ensure that they did not wear the same socks to following lessons. She also pointed to the difficulties of preventing girls from wearing their school tights under their socks in the winter. Holroyd (2002) argues that through the regulation of the body the controlling authority of the school can transcend the physical boundaries of the institution and influence individuals' perceptions of appropriate behaviour. The hidden curriculum is perhaps so 'pedagogically influential' (Oliver & Lalik, 2004 p.115) because there are significant implications for students' acquisition of knowledge and construction of embodied understandings of self. Through acceptance of and conformity with the regulatory practices of the school, and perhaps more importantly an embodiment of the implicit values that they promote, recent studies show that young people develop an appropriate habitus which allows them to function effectively (and appropriately) within the school (Holroyd, 2003)

Moreover, it was the extent to which the young people were denied agency in the regulation of their bodies that I found particularly concerning in this school. Far from empowering individuals, social practises such as those described above may leave young people feeling powerless, labelled, alienated from their identities (and, perhaps, their bodies), and believing that they have little or, worse still, no control over base essential elements of their lives. Although they tried to negotiate with the teacher in relation to their hair and socks, they did not question the purpose of these rules. However, in relation to having a t-shirt with no logos and having to wear black shorts or a skirt, the pupils questioned the purpose of such rules and persistently attempted to negotiate with the teachers in relation to their reinforcement. Researchers such as Holroyd (2003) argue that this opposition stems from the fact that the image a uniform affords young people is often far from the 'ideal' image that counts for physical, and hence social, capital within the peer group. The absence of an explicit explanation for this rule undoubtedly contributed to the power struggles between the teachers and pupils. Though their social position does not afford them a position of power in the school, young people are, of course, less able than adults/teachers to resist or contest the conditions of their school that may leave them feeling disengaged and as others have

pointed out, the contemporary conditions of schooling amplify the distinction between the child and adult as they afford young people little agency (Postman, 1994). At worst, this can leave pupils having a 'sense of being imprisoned or controlled by schools' (Lynch, 2001). The analysis clearly indicated that the girls felt more 'trapped' by the physical education uniform in co-educational lessons indicating that the creation of an embodied identity may be a more important factor in this setting. The extent to which male judgements were a salient feature in the girls' experiences of physical education is a concern and would benefit from further examination. The central position of the body in girls' construction of an explicitly heterosexual identity ensured that the culture in the co-education and single sex classes differed. Throughout the thesis I have recognised that learning takes place within an environment that is saturated with social and cultural meaning; one in which particular discourses are given value over others.

Drawing upon the work of Foucault (1980), Kirk and Colquhoun (1989) acknowledge '*a shift in the locus of social control within capitalist societies from mass, external control of the body to an individual, internal mode of corporeal control*' (p.418). Rich and Sandford (in press) contend that the move towards encouraging individual responsibility, autonomy, self-surveillance and control is a significant one when considering learners and popular physical culture. Alongside the implementation of Sport Education during the summer term came an increased level of responsibility in relation to the physical education uniform. Firstly the teacher no longer went to the changing room in advance of the lesson and instead met the students at the pavilion or in the gym. The teams were aware that there were clear rewards for attending in the correct uniform. Therefore the students were not allocated points if they wore black socks or a watch but they were not penalised for wearing the wrong t-shirt. Each team member was given a t-shirt which they designed and modified for their team. They could also wear a plain white t-shirt if they chose. Although the teacher continued to regulate the young people's bodies in many ways through the points system it was apparent that the young people either perceived an increased sense of agency or alternatively did not pursue identity agendas with the same vigour. Irrespective of the explanation it was apparent that the teachers and students no longer entered into negotiation to the same degree in relation to the physical education uniform and the teacher seemed to enter the lessons with a more positive disposition. That said it was evident that long standing beliefs about the uniform playing a central role in the creation

of discipline were evident and Mrs. A commented that she did not like the pupils looking scruffy in different colours during lessons.

7.8 What does this study tell us for improving practice in schools?

In undertaking this study and reviewing the research of others, it is evident that there remain numerous research needs in relation to how teachers and students jointly construct the classroom ecology, both in traditional lessons and in lessons where models like Sport Education are used. As I argued earlier, the purpose of this research was not to develop a set of prescriptive guidelines for teachers to follow, but the challenge, as I see it, is to generate at a substantive level a theory that makes sense of events at this school. Lawrence Stenhouse (1975, p142) argued that educational theory claims to be *“no more than to be worth putting to the test in practice”* and to be *“intelligent rather than correct”*. In taking this approach to educational research, I plan to examine the implications of this research for policy and practice in physical education in this section drawing on the analysis presented earlier.

Given the dissatisfaction that a number of the teachers and young people in this study expressed regarding engagement levels, as highlighted in sections 4.6 and 5.2.2, and given the overwhelming focus on what is socio-culturally valued in the agendas I identified, it would appear that it is necessary to heed the call for a more culturally relevant pedagogy that takes account of these changes. There is a fundamental need for physical educators and policy makers to readdress their perceptions of physical education and pedagogy to encompass a broader spectrum of sport, exercise and leisure practices, to incorporate aspects of popular physical culture (Rich and Sandford, in press). The work of Siedentop (1994), Hellison (1995), Ennis (1999) demonstrates the possibilities for creating more culturally relevant curricula for young people in physical education classes.

Research concerning the complex, interrelated, and multi-dimensional experiences of young people has highlighted the need to relax the strict regulations on this issue of a physical education uniform to allow for young people to construct identities in line with popular physical culture (Holroyd, 2003; Rich and Sandford, in press). This study clearly highlighted that when young people are given responsibility for their own attire

in physical education lessons, albeit within broad guidelines and with clearly defined consequences, the power struggles and negotiation that sets expectations for the remainder of the lesson are all but eliminated. Over the last decade there have been numerous calls for schools to review their practices in relation to school uniforms by researchers (Kirk, 1999; Flintoff and Scratton, 2001) and by development organisations such as the Youth Sport Trust⁸.

If Sport Education is to offer the culturally relevant curriculum that many of its advocates claim for it, then we must begin to identify evidence which allows us to judge the possibility and desirability of this claim. Explicit in the analysis presented in this thesis is a consideration of the transformative potential of physical education practices and this necessarily engages us with issues of equity and inclusion.

Undoubtedly it was apparent that, through the implementation of Sport Education, the young people began to adopt agendas that supported the teacher led task systems. However, the competitive nature of the season contributed to the salience of alternative agendas and this may be as a result of the perception that, as advocates claim, Sport Education provides an authentic experience of sport with which young people engage. Whether the implementation of Sport Education fundamentally provided culturally relevant experiences for the young people is difficult to ascertain, however it was evident that the competitive nature of the experience may have exacerbated friction in a number of teams. Through the deliberate selection of teams, and thus the reconfiguration of social groups, there was an expectation that those young people who had previously been marginalised by their peers would gain a sense of belonging as they relied on their team members for success. However, as I presented in chapter six, it was evident through the analysis that those whose positions were already privileged unsurprisingly resisted change and further excluded those with low social capital.

During the initial weeks of the season the social hierarchies were in a state of flux and this seemed to exacerbate the desire of popular students to exert power to reaffirm their positions in this changing environment. The assignment of teams was the first place

⁸ The improving practice recipe cards provided for teachers attending the Girls in Sport CPD training identify that relaxing the compulsory physical education uniform requirements may improve participation rates in lessons.

where this became obvious. Thus the initial implementation of Sport Education only served to make the student agenda of maintaining or improving your social position even more salient within the class. Attempts to gain a privileged position because of academic intelligence or athletic ability were a contentious issue and the new structures provided many opportunities for dominant pupils to exert their position in the social hierarchy to privilege their experiences of Sport Education. The previously dominant pupils in the class aimed to reproduce the hierarchies of power that gave them privileges. The valued position of captain was recognised by the young people and it was quickly apparent that the dominant pupils used these new avenues for the expression of their dominance in the lesson. Although previous studies of Sport Education suggest that the level of disparity in sport activities is addressed in Sport Education with the assumption of roles which promote peer teaching or coaching, the assignment of roles was submerged in the drama of power hierarchies in this study and thus the implementation of Sport Education served to produce rather than challenge inequality. In this class the powerful individuals held the roles of captain or coach and the 'others' were assigned what were perceived by the student to be meaningless roles such as 'kit checker'. Although the disruption of established power hierarchies opened opportunities for alternative abilities to enter into the hierarchy operating in the class, it was apparent that the previously dominant pupils controlled the valued roles such as captain. For certain team members their position on the social hierarchy denied them the chances that other students had in Sport Education. It was hoped that the Sport Education season would overcome the ways in which some students exerted dominance over others in the class, however it was apparent that this did not happen for those young people who were already marginalised by their peers.

In this context, Sport Education was undoubtedly a site where inequalities were produced and reproduced. Although the transformative potential of the model is unquestionable in some respects, further consideration of the appropriateness of implementing this model unchanged with disaffected youth is needed. Indeed, the uncertainty of the early lessons of the season seemed to increase the extent to which they were excluded from physical education experiences. This continued throughout the season with certain young people becoming increasingly isolated, withdrawn and disaffected. These issues highlight the complexities of implementing Sport Education and raise concerns about the equity of the experience and the exclusion of already

marginalized students in physical education. The analysis presented in chapter six further emphasises the need to recognise the potential dangers of marginalisation and exclusion of some pupils in contexts of Sport Education. There have also been calls for a recognition of inequality in more traditionally structured curricula and lessons. This study holds important implications for physical educators interested in implementing Sport Education in schools. If Sport Education is to address issues of equity and inclusion of disaffected pupils at school this aspect needs further research. It is worth considering whether the use of Sport Education may have served to intensify and make more explicit the exclusion of some pupils. The effects of introducing an instructional model such as Sport Education with pupils who have social and behavioural problems is something that needs further examination.

Although Sport Education helped modify the culture dominating the gym and sports field during class time, a critical assessment needs to be made of the school systems in which an oppressive peer culture based on social hierarchies flourishes, creating an environment where learning is compromised. It is important that schools, and in particular physical education teachers, better recognise the roles they play in promoting the conditions, albeit unwittingly, within which particular groups of students are privileged over others. Pedagogues who wish to contribute towards student learning cannot afford to ignore their behaviour and the factors that motivate that behaviour. Evans (2004) argued that, although he does not advocate compensatory education, schools could and should confront structures that reproduce inequality in schools. He suggests that a critical analysis of school practices (their curriculum, pedagogies, forms of assessment and organisation) is needed to achieve an equitable and inclusive future for young people in physical education classes.

Given what is at stake for the pupils who become subordinated in physical education classes, it is incumbent on those who oversee the curriculum, to monitor and over-ride the propensity to both privilege and oppress. Schools must recognise that they too play a role in the reproduction of peer cultures of acceptance and rejection. Physical educators need to lead the way in developing and implementing deliberate and strategic actions that can counter such influences in the physical education class and within the wider structures of the school. These data reaffirm the need for a critical assessment of school practice and in particular of co-educational teaching in physical education as it

appears that agendas that oppose the teacher led tasks are more prevalent in co-educational lessons. The physical education profession needs to challenge the oppressive gender (and ethnic and socio-economic) stereotypes within popular physical culture and recognise the potential for physical education to become a less contradictory and alienating experience for many pupils. Schools need to tackle these issues by examining where stereotypes are either supported or unchallenged by the practices of teachers.

I do not suggest that Sport Education is a simple remedy for all teachers' problems in relation to student engagement in physical education classes, however I agree with others that Sport Education is not a passing fashion (Tinning, 1995) and that the potential exists to change the classroom ecology in many ways through the use of Sport Education. Indeed, given the many difficulties in this school it is difficult to envisage the model described by advocates that delivers such broad and meaningful change to practice for schools. For this reason I will now turn to a consideration of the implementation of Sport Education in this school. In doing so it is necessary to acknowledge that Sport Education was a new instructional model for these teachers and was very much a learning experience for them.

7.9 Professional learning

Given the extensive promotion of the Sport Education curricular model by organisations such as the Youth Sport Trust⁹, the head of department was eager to be involved in the study. Obviously this meant that the teachers had not previously implemented the model and their involvement was not based on self selection. This was a learning experience for the teachers and one that I believe necessitates some consideration due to the significant role that the implementation of Sport Education played in this study. In

⁹ Sport Education is the first step of the Youth Sport Trust Step into Sport programme. This programme has attracted significant funding and attention over recent year in light of the launch of the Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links (PESSCL) strategy by the Prime Minister in 2002. The overall objective of the PESSCL strategy is to enhance the take up of sporting opportunities by 5-16 year olds. It is being delivered by the Department for Education and Skills and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport through eight programmes, being overseen by a project board made up of representatives from schools, the physical education professional associations, OFSTED, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, the Youth Sport Trust, Sport England, government departments and national governing bodies of sport. Step into Sport is one of the eight programmes.

particular this section focuses on the complexities of the professional learning that took place in the physical education department over the course of the study. Given that I have based my analysis of the way in which young people learn on social constructivist perspectives, I have unsurprisingly taken the same approach to the analysis of teachers' learning in the implementation of Sport Education.

Sport Education was introduced to the teachers by a leading academic in the area over a single morning and lunchtime CPD¹⁰ programme. The professional learning literature identifies that learning can take place in both formal and informal ways. It was anticipated that the teachers would learn about Sport Education in the single day CPD programme and then continue with informal methods of professional learning during the implementation of the model. Indeed, the CPD provider encouraged the teachers to contact him on an ongoing basis with questions or comments about the model, in line with Garet *et al*'s (2001) argument that good quality CPD needs to have a 'sustained duration' to encourage a depth of coverage. The assumptions I had made about how the teachers would learn in schools evidently showed my lack of familiarity with the environment and my naivety about school life. The theoretical perspective of learning I had internalized in relation to the young people had evidently not been transferred to my consideration about how teachers learn and I had not planned beyond the initial CPD programme to ensure that effective professional learning took place.

Armour and Yelling (2004) argued that professional learning would be more likely to occur within physical education if communities of practice existed within physical education departments. Wenger (1995) argued that a community of practice may form where an affinity is felt between certain groups and that in secondary schools, the academic department-based structure may result in members of a department having a stronger sense of belonging (Siskin, 1994) thus assisting in the creating of a learning community. Rather than assuming that such a community existed as a result of the department based structure, it would have been helpful to consider what elements of the structure, tradition, history or cultures that existed within this physical education department may have acted as a barrier to the teachers' professional collaboration and

¹⁰ CPD stands for continuing professional development. The DfEE (2000) defines effective CPD as "*an activity that increases the skills, knowledge or understanding of teachers, and their effectiveness in schools*" (DFEE, 2000, p.3).

thus inhibited learning. Indeed, Guskey (2002) argued that CPD should be tailored to the individual cultures of the school. The high staff turnover, the Ofsted report (1997) indicating that the department were failing, and the introduction of a new head of department were a few of the factors that may have restricted the creation of such a group. The head of department who initiated this study hoped that it would introduce change in a traditional and failing department (Ofsted, 1997) and this was her first attempt at promoting professional development with the staff since she had taken the post.

Ward and O'Sullivan (1998) attempt to explain the lack of learning and collaborations in some schools with their theory of 'pedagogical reductionism', which they explain as occurring when teachers are happy with the way they teach and don't feel the need to further their skills or understandings. I argued early in this thesis that change within a culture must begin at an individual level through recognition of the multiple factors that promote or inhibit progress (Pope and O'Sullivan, 1998). Although the teachers expressed concerns about the implementation of Sport Education in relation to the practicalities of the model, there was not any apparent recognition by the teachers in this study that personal change would improve the young people's learning in physical education. In contrast to findings by researchers such as Brunton (2003) and Kinchin (2001) who found that the teachers involved expressed concern about their abilities to teach Sport Education and how to react to changes, the teachers in this study expressed no concerns about their own ability to implement the model. Their complacency and lack of reflection about their own teaching methods and styles was problematic and I maintain that to implement effective pedagogic practices in this school there was a necessity for the teachers to systematically reflect on their own teaching practices.

The three teachers involved in the implementation of Sport Education had very different teaching histories. I worked most closely with Mr K who had over ten years of teaching experience and with Mrs A who had almost twenty years of experience in the same school¹¹. Neither shed the patterns of their teaching easily and the complacency with which they treated the implementation of a fundamentally different teaching model

¹¹ Miss S was in her NQT year and may have had more success in adapting her teaching given that she would have had less time to develop a fixed style.

may have been a contributing factor to the difficulties they faced with the exclusion of some students by their teams. Fullan (2001) contended that complacency is a serious problem in the implementation of change at school level.

That said, I acknowledge again that it was the head of department who initiated this study in the school and the teachers evidently had some concerns about the initiative. Lortie (1975, cited in Guskey, 1994) states "*teachers, like professionals in many fields are reluctant to adopt new practices or procedures unless they feel they can make them work*" (p4). Many of the difficulties with the Sport Education season may have arisen through lack of confidence in the model. The teachers' comments clearly attributed difficulties to the practicalities of implementing such an initiative in a 'real' setting. I acknowledge that schools are busy places and that teachers are overworked. The less than ideal environment for implementing change is not in question here. However, as Kirk (1992) argues, it is the sort of 'self-evident' truths that need to be rendered problematic and I am dubious about the extent to which the teachers were fully committed to the implementation of this curricular model.

That said Guskey emphasises that it is only "*the experience of successful implementation that changes teachers' attitudes and beliefs. They believe it works because they have seen it work, and that experience shapes their attitudes and beliefs.*" (2002, p.383-384) and over the course of the Summer term it was apparent that the teachers began to experience some success in implementing Sport Education, despite their complacency. Because the student agendas gradually began to support the teacher led agendas, the teacher needed to spend less time 'on at' the pupils as the points system and student support supplied much of the energy necessary to maintain the task system. This may have encouraged the teachers to engage with increased vigour in the model.

As discussed more comprehensively in chapter six, it became apparent that, as the Sport Education season progressed, the teachers began to consider what standards they expected from the pupils during the lesson. The teachers' agendas during the early part of the season were dominated by order agendas and little engagement in learning tasks was evident. The teachers gradually spent less time planning the managerial tasks for entry to the class, distributing equipment and so on, and turned their focus to the learning that was taking place. An important feature of implementing change in schools

is the teachers' ability to gradually modify aspects of their teaching to maximise the benefit they accrue from the intervention programmes and, although this seemed unlikely at some stages, this process gradually took place. Similar to the findings of Pope and O'Sullivan (1998) the teachers in this school gradually adopted new strategies to improve the learning that occurred. The teachers' early resistance to change was difficult to overcome because of their willingness to engage at a minimal level with the change process.

Wenger (2004) describes how communities of practice could be 'cultivated' in different institutions and evidently the community within this department needed some facilitation. Indeed, it seemed that Sport Education acted as a catalyst for collaborative learning at times over the course of the Summer term. The initial object of change according to Sarason (as cited in Connell, 1993) 'is not students, the classroom or the system; it is the attitudes and conception of educators themselves' and this became particularly evident as the study progressed. Although my presence and questioning undoubtedly facilitated a new collaborative system to some extent, I also suggest that the structure of Sport Education is a sufficiently different approach that may help initiate teacher collaboration.

Finally it is imperative that we bear in mind that relinquishing a teaching pedagogy with which you are familiar is a daunting and challenging prospect and ultimately the teachers succeeded in doing this to some extent. I have no doubt that the teachers had the best of intentions, and, although I have been critical to some extent about the implementation of Sport Education, I acknowledge that this was a learning experience for the teachers and that my planning for this experience was less than ideal. A consideration of the way in which the physical education department culture influenced the professional learning that was possible in advance of the study may have impacted on the way in which Sport Education was introduced to the teachers in this school and I acknowledge that this is a limiting factor in my consideration of the effectiveness of Sport Education.

7.10 Critical Self Reflection.

In the final section of the chapter, I wish to reflect on the development of the study from its conception to its final form in this thesis by highlighting a number of issues which I believe to be of major significance in this process. I entered the PhD process rather naively with limited experience of research or of teaching, unprepared for the challenges that lay ahead. A key feature of this experience was my privileged position in beginning this journey under the guidance of co-supervisors with diverse research approaches in the pedagogy and psychology fields, although this was also one of my greatest challenges. I began my doctoral studies with the aim of exploring the impact of teacher imposed motivational climates on the achievement goal orientations of the students and thus on their engagement in physical education. Through the guidance of my two supervisors I was directed to literature that rarely overlapped. With two supervisors it is perhaps unsurprising that this journey has been marked by an intellectual re-orientation as I was gradually introduced to a wide range of 'competing' viewpoints. It became increasingly apparent that the danger for this thesis, as for any research, lay in its potential trivialisation by the use of a single theoretical approach. As the study evolved and my aims broadened I followed a path which unfortunately resulted in the subordination of one supervisor's research agenda. Ultimately the questions I asked and methodologies I chose imposed a distance between my research and an individual who assisted me through the first year of my doctoral studies. Although I believe I was extremely careful in adopting an objective and open-minded approach to the research, I was nevertheless aware that I could have been criticised for adherence to particular orientations whichever route I had chosen. Unsurprisingly this was a defining moment in this experience and underlines my preoccupation with the barriers between educational and psychological approaches to research. One of the benefits of the ethnographic approach was that it allowed me the time to reflect on each approach and on the way in which aspects of the young people's and teacher's experiences brought colour to their theories. Whilst this was a complex, challenging and yet exciting process, at times I felt overwhelmed by the distance between the theories guiding my thinking; moments of revelation were dwarfed by endless reading in one area or the other, rarely intertwined. However, throughout I returned to my key understanding that discussion of student or teacher motivation in one discipline is related to the discussion of behaviour in another. Whilst I have tried to integrate the classroom ecology and achievement goal theory approaches, I believe that in many

ways I have only served to highlight the inadequacies of each approach. I cannot imagine how I might have analysed the data if relying on one of these approaches in isolation. I think that by reflecting on this journey the reader has some indication of where the study and its author began and so will be in a better position to judge the residual influences of my early experiences in this process. Hammersley's (1986) description of his own research as a 'voyage of discovery' (p62) is thus an apt description of my experience. Rather than standing alone, this thesis represents a reorientation in my research approach and thus is viewed very much as a springboard into future research. It is hoped that some of the issues that have been only briefly discussed here can be explored and examined more thoroughly in subsequent studies.

References

- Adler, P. A. and P. Adler (2001) *Peer power: Preadolescent culture and identity*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press.
- Adler, Pg., Kless, S. J., and Adler, P. (1992) Socialization to gender roles: Popularity among elementary school boys and girls. Sociology of Education, 65, 169-187.
- Alderson, P. (1995) *Listening to Children: Children, Ethics and Social Research*. Ilford: Barnados.
- Alexander, K. (1983). Behavior analysis of tasks and accountability in physical education (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1982). Dissertations Abstracts International, 43, 3257A.
- Alexander, K. and Luckman, J. (2001) Australian teachers' perceptions and uses of the sport education curriculum model. European Physical Education Review 7(3): 243-268.
- Alexander, K., Taggart, A. and Medland, A. (1993) Sport education in physical education: Try before you buy. Achper National Journal 142, 16.
- Alexander, K., Taggart, A. and Luckman, J. (1998) Pilgrims progress: The sport education crusade down under. Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance 69(4), 21-23.
- Alexander, K., Taggart, A. and Thorpe, S. (1995) Government and school contexts for the development of sport education in Australian schools. Achper Healthy Lifestyles Journal 42(4; 150), 4-5.
- Allen, J.B. (2001) A model of social motivation in youth sport. unpublished manuscript, personal communication.
- Allen, J.D. (1986) 'Classroom management: Students' perspective, goals, and strategies', American Education Research Journal, 23, 437-459.
- Almond, L. (1997) Sport education: A new perspective for sports colleges. In L. Almond (ed.) *Physical education in schools*. London, Kogan Page Ltd, 34-51.
- Ames, C. (1984) Achievement attributions and self-instructions under competitive and individualistic goal structures. Journal of Educational Psychology 76(3), 478-487.
- Ames, C. (1992a) Classrooms: Goals, structures and student motivation. Journal of educational psychology 84(3) 261-271.
- Ames, C. (1992b) Achievement goals, motivational climate and motivational processes. *Motivation in sport and exercise*. G. C. Roberts. Champaign, ILL., Human Kinetics, 161-176.

- Anderman, L. H. and Anderman, E. M. (1999) Social predictors of changes in students' achievement goal orientations. Contemporary educational psychology 25(1): 21-37.
- Anderson, A., and Miles, S. (1999) 'Just Do It?': young people, the global media and the construction of consumer meanings. In S. Ralph, J. Langham Brown and T. Lees (eds.), *Youth and the Global Media: Papers from the 29th University of Manchester Broadcasting Symposium*. Luton: University of Luton Press.
- Anderson, G., and Herr, K. (1999). The new paradigm wars: Is there room for rigorous practitioner knowledge in schools and universities? Educational Researcher, 28(5), 12-21, 40.
- Antaki, C., Condor, S. and Levine, M (1996) 'Social Identities in Talk: Speakers' Own Orientations', British Journal of Social Psychology 35, 473-92.
- Armour, K. M. and M. R. Yelling (2004). Continuing professional development for experienced physical education teachers: Towards effective provision. Sport, Education and Society 9(1), 95-114.
- Armour, K., and Jones, R. (1998) *Physical Education Teachers' Lives and Careers: PE, Sport and Educational Status*. London: Falmer Press.
- Arnold, P. J. (1989) Competitive sport, winning and education. Journal of Moral Education 18(1), 15-25.
- Atkinson P (1992) *Understanding Ethnographic Texts*. Sage
- Azzarito, L. and Ennis, C.D. (2003) A Sense of Connection: Toward social constructivist physical education. Sport, Education and Society, 8(2), 179-198.
- Bailey, K. R. (1993) *The girls are the ones with the pointy nails*. London, Ontario: Althouse Press.
- Bain, L.L. (1976) The hidden curriculum in physical education. Quest, 24, 92-101.
- Bain, L.L. (1978) Differences in Values Implicit in Teaching and Coaching Behaviours. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 49, 5-11
- Bain, L.L. (1985) The hidden curriculum re-examined. Quest, 37, 145-153.
- Bain, L.L. (1990) A critical analysis of the hidden curriculum in physical education. In D. Kirk and R. Tinning (Eds), *Physical Education , Curriculum and Culture: Critical Issues in the Contemporary Crisis* (pp.23-42) Lewes: Falmer.
- Bandura, A. (1977) Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. Psychological review 84(2), 191-215.
- Bandura, A. (1986) *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

- Bartky, S. (1988) Foucault, femininity and the modernization of patriarchal power. In I. Diamond and L. Quinby (Eds.), *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on resistance* (pp. 61-86) Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Bell, C. (1998) Sport education in the elementary school. *Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance* 69(5), 36-39.
- Bennett, G. and Hastie, P. (1997) A sport education curriculum model for a collegiate physical activity course. *Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance* 68(1), 39-44.
- Biddle, S. J. H. (1997) Cognitive theories of motivation and the physical self. In K. Fox (ed.) *The physical self: From motivation to well being*. Leeds, UK, Human Kinetics, 59-82.
- Biddle, S. J. H., Soos, I. and Chatzisarantis, N. (1999) Predicting physical activity intentions using a goal perspectives approach: A study of hungarian youth. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sports* 9, 353-357.
- Birrell, S., and Cole, C. (1990) Double fault: Renee Richards and the naturalization of difference. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 7, 1-21.
- Blumenfeld, P. C. (1992) Classroom learning and motivation: Clarifying and expanding goal theory. *Journal of educational psychology* 84(3), 272-281.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258) New York: Greenwood Press.
- Brettschneider, W-D. (1994) Youth and sport in Europe: implications for physical education. *British Journal of Physical Education*, 25 (1), 30-34.
- Brown, D. (1999) Complicity and reproduction in teaching physical education. *Sport, Education and Society* 4(2), 143-159.
- Browne, J. (1992) Reasons for the selection or nonselection of physical education studies by year 12 girls. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 11(4), 402-410.
- Browne, T. B. J., Carlson, T. B. and Hastie, P. A. (2004) A comparison of rugby seasons presented in traditional and sport education formats. *European Physical Education Review* 10(2), 199-214.
- Brunel, P. C. (1999) Relationship between achievement goal orientations and perceived motivational climate on intrinsic motivation. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sport* 9(6), 365-374.
- Brunton, J. A. (2003) Changing hierarchies of power in physical education using sport education. *European Physical Education Review* 9(3), 267-284.
- Brustad, R. J. (1992) Integrating socialization influences into the study of children's motivation in sport. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology* 14, 59-77.

- Brustad, R. J., Babkes, M. L. and Smith, A. J. (2001) Youth in sport: Psychological considerations. In R. N. Singer, H. A. Hausenblas and C. M. Janelle (eds.) *Handbook of sport psychology*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 604-635.
- Cahn (1994) *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century Women's Sport*. New York: The free press.
- Carlson, T. (1995a) 'Now, I think I can.' the reaction of eight low-skilled students to sport education. *Achper Healthy Lifestyles Journal* 42(4; 150), 6-8.
- Carlson, T. B. (1995b) We hate gym: Student alienation from physical education. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 14, 467-477.
- Carlson, T. B. and Hastie, P. (1997) The student social system within sport education. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 16(2), 176-195.
- Carpenter, P. J. and Morgan, K. (1999) Motivational climate, personal goal perspectives, and cognitive and affective responses in physical education classes. *European Journal of Physical Education* 4(1), 31-44.
- Charmaz, K. (1998) Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin, and Y.S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research*. London, UK, Sage Publications, 509-535.
- Chen, A. (1999) The Impact of Social Change on Inner-City High School PE: an analysis of a teacher's experiential account. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 18(8), 312-335.
- Christensen, P. and James, A. (2000) Childhood Diversity and Commonality: Some Methodological Insights. In P. Christensen and A. James (eds.) *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (pp. 160-178) London: Falmer.
- Cockburn, C. (1999) The Trouble with Girls...: A study of teenage girls' magazines in relation to sport and PE. *British Journal of Physical Education* 30 (3), 11-15.
- Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. (1996) *Making sense of qualitative data*. London, Sage Publications.
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994) *Research methods in education*. London, UK, Croom Helm.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2000) *Research methods in education* (5th edition) London, UK: Routledge Falmer
- Coleman, J. and L. B. Hendry (1999) *The nature of adolescence*. London, Routledge.
- Collier, C. (1998) Sport education and pre-vice education. *Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance* 69(5), 44-45.
- Collier, C.S. and O'Sullivan, M. (1997) Case Method in Physical Education Higher Education: A Pedagogy of Change? *Quest* 49, 198-213.

- Cooper, H. M. (1989) *Integrating research: A guide for literature reviews*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Cotterell, J. (1996) *Social networks and social influences in adolescence*. London, Routledge.
- David, M., Edwards, R. and Alldred, P. (2001) Children and school-based research: 'informed consent' or 'educated consent'? *British Educational Research Journal* 27(3), 347-365.
- Davies, B. and Harre, R. (2000) Positioning: The discursive production of selves. In B. Davies (ed.) *A Body of Writing 1990-1999*. Oxford: Altamira Press.
- Deci E.L., and Ryan, RM (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Deci, E.L. (1975). *Intrinsic motivation*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Deci, E.L. (1987) Theories and paradigms, constructs and operations: Intrinsic motivation research is already exciting. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality* 2(2), 177-185.
- Deci, E.L. and Ryan, R.M. (1991). A motivational approach to self: Integration in personality. In *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*. Vol. 38: Perspectives on Motivation (edited by R. Deinstbier), pp. 237-288. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.
- Denscombe, M. (2002) *Ground Rules for Good Research: A ten point guide for social researchers*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Denzin, N. (1970) *The research act in sociology*. London, Butterworth.
- Digelidis, N. and Papaioannou, A. (1999) Age group differences in intrinsic motivation, goal orientations and perceptions of athletic competence, physical appearance and motivational climate in Greek physical education. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sport* 9: 375-380.
- Dodds, P. (1985) Are the Hunters of the Function Curriculum Seeking Quarks or Snarks? *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 3, 91-99
- Dodds, P., Griffin, L. L., and Placek, J. H. (2001) A selected review of literature on the development of learners' domain-specific knowledge. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 20, 301-313.
- Doyle, W. (1977) Paradigms for research on teacher effectiveness. In L.S. Shulman (ed.), *Review of research in education*, pp. 163-198. Itasca, IL: F. E. Peacock.
- Doyle, W. (1979) Classroom tasks and students' abilities. In P.L. Peterson and H.J. Walberg (eds.), *Research on teaching: Concepts, findings and implications*. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

- Doyle, W. (1986) Classroom organization and management, In M.C. Wittrock (Ed.) Handbook of Research on Teaching, (pp392-431) New-York: Macmillan,3rd ed.
- Doyle, W. (1992). Curriculum and pedagogy. In P.W. Philips (Ed.), Handbook of research on curriculum (pp. 486-516). New York: Macmillan.
- Doyle, W., and Carter, K. (1984) 'Academic tasks in classrooms', Curriculum Inquiry, 14, 129-149.
- Duda, J. L. (1989) The relationship between mastery and competitive orientation and the perceived purpose of sport among male and female high school athletes. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology 11, 318-335.
- Duda, J. L. (1992) Motivation in sport settings: A goal perspectives approach. In G. C. Roberts (ed.) Motivation in sport and exercise. Champaign, IL., Human Kinetics, 57-92.
- Duda, J. L. and Nicholls, J. G. (1992) Dimensions of achievement motivation in schoolwork and sport. Journal of educational psychology 84(3), 290-299.
- Duda, J.L., Olson, L.K., & Templin, T. (1991). The relationship of task and ego orientation to sportsmanship attitudes and the perceived legitimacy of aggressive acts. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 62, 79-82.
- Duncan, M. C. (1990) Sports photographs and sexual difference: Images of women and men in the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games. Sociology of Sport Journal, 7, 22-43.
- Duncan, M. C., and Sayaovong, A. (1990) Photographic images and gender in Sports Illustrated for Kids. Play and Culture, 3, 91-116.
- Duncan, M. C., Messner, M. A., Williams W., and Jensen, K. (1994) Gender stereotyping in televised sports. Los Angeles: Amateur Athletic Foundation.
- Dussel, I. (2004) Fashioning the schooled self through uniforms: a Foucauldian approach to contemporary school policies. In, B.M. Baker and Heyning, K.E. (Eds) Dangerous Coagulations? The Uses of Foucault in the Study of Education (pp.85-116) New York: Peter Lang.
- Dweck, C. S. (1986) Motivational processes affecting learning. American Psychologist 41(10), 1040-1048.
- Dweck, C. S. (1999) Self theories: Their role in motivation, personality and development. Philadelphia, USA, Psychology Press.
- Dweck, C. S. and Elliott, E. S. (1983) Achievement motivation. Handbook of child psychology: Socialization, personality and social development. M. Hetherington. New York, Wiley, 643-691.
- Dweck, C. S. and Leggett, E. L. (1988) A social-cognitive approach to motivation and personality. Psychological review 95(2), 256-273.
- Eccles JS, Wigfield A, Schiefele U. 1998. Motivation. In N Eisenberg (Ed.),

- Eder, D. (1982) Differences in communicative styles across ability groups. In C. Wilkinson (ed.) *Communicating in classrooms* (p245-264) New York: Academic Press
- Edwards, A. (2002) Responsible research: Ways of being a researcher. British Educational Research Journal 28(2), 157-168.
- Edwards, D. (1997) *Discourse and Cognition*. London: Sage
- Edwards, D. and Potter, J. (2001) Introduction to discursive psychology. How to analyse talk in institutional settings: A casebook of methods. A. McHoul and M. Rapley. London, Continuum International, Chapter 3.
- Elliot, A. J. and Harackiewicz, J. M. (1996) Approach and avoidance achievement goals and intrinsic motivation: A mediational analysis. Journal of personality and social psychology 70(3), 461-475.
- Elliot, A. J. and McGregor, H. A. (2001) A 2x2 achievement goal framework. Journal of personality and social psychology 80(3), 501-519.
- Emmers, A.P. (1981). *After the lesson plan: Realities of high school teaching*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Ennis, C. D. (1999) Creating a Culturally Relevant Curriculum for Disengaged Girls. Sport, Education and Society, 4(1), 31-49.
- Epstein, J. L. (1989) Family structures and student motivation: A developmental perspective. In C. Ames and R. Ames (eds.) *Research on motivation in education*. San Diego, CA, USA, Academic Press, 259-295.
- Erlandson, D.A., Harris, E.L., Skipper, B.L. and Allen, S.D. (1993) *Doing Naturalistic*
- Evans, J. (2004) Making a Difference? Education and 'Ability' in physical education. European Physical Education Review, 10(1), 95-108.
- Ewing, M.E. (1981) *Achievement orientations and sports behaviour in males and females*. Doctoral thesis. University of Illinois.
- Faulkner, G. and Finlay, S.-J. (2002) It's not what you say, it's the way that you say it! Conversation analysis: A discursive methodology for sport, exercise and physical education. Quest 54, 49-66.
- Fernandez-Balboa, J. (1993) Socio-cultural characteristics of the hidden curriculum in physical education. Quest, 45, pp230-254.
- Fernández-Balboa, J-M. (Ed) (1997) *Critical Postmodernism in Human Movement, Physical Education, and Sport*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Flintoff, A. and Scraton, S. (2001) Stepping into active leisure? Young women's perceptions of active lifestyles and their experiences of school physical education. Sport, Education and Society 6(1), 5-21.

- Fontana, A. and Frey, J.H. (2000) The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (2nd ed., pp. 645-672) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1991) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Fox, K. (1988) The child's perspective in physical education, part 5: The self-esteem complex. *The British Journal of Physical Education* 19(5), 247-252.
- Fox, K. R. (1997) *The physical self and processes in self-esteem development. The physical self: From motivation to well-being*. K. R. Fox. Champaign, Human Kinetics.
- Fox, K. R. and Corbin, C. B. (1989) The physical self-perception profile: Development and preliminary validation. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology* 11, 408-430.
- Fox, K. R., Goudas, M., Biddle, S. J. H., Duda, J. L. and Armstrong, N. (1994) Children's task and ego goal profiles in sport. *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 64, 253-261.
- Fullan, M. (1993) *Change Forces: Probing the depths of educational reform. School Development and the Management of Change Series*. Bristol: Falmer Press.
- Fullan, M. (2001). *Leading in a Culture of Change*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Fullan, M. (2001). *The New Meaning of Educational Change, 3rd Edition*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gage, N. L. (Ed.) (1963) *Handbook of Research on Teaching*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Garet, S. M., C. A. Porter, L. Desimone, B. F. Birman and K. S. Yoon (2001). What makes professional development effective? Results from a national sample of teachers. *American Educational Research Journal* 38(4), 915-945.
- Giddens, A. (1977) *The new rules of sociological method*. London: Hutchinson.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (ed.) (2003) *The Progressive Manifesto. New Ideas for the Centre-Left*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1975) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago, Ill: Aldine
- Goffman, E. (1990) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin.

- Grant, B. C. (1992) Integrating sport into the physical education curriculum in new zealand secondary schools. Quest 44, 304-316.
- Greendorfer, S. (1983) Shaping the female athlete: The impact of the family. In M. Boutilier and L. SanGiovanni (Eds.), *The Sporting Woman* (pp. 135-155) Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers.
- Griffin, P. (1985). Teachers' perceptions of the responses to sex equity problems in a middle school physical education program. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 56, 103-110.
- Griffiths, V. (1995) *Adolescent girls and their friends: Feminist ethnography*. Aldershot, UK, Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Gumperz, J. (1982a) *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. (1982b) *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guskey, T. R. (1994). Results-oriented professional development: In search of an optimal mix of effective practices. Journal of Staff Development 15, 42-50.
- Guskey, T. R. (2002). Professional development and teacher change. Teachers and Teaching: theory and practice 8(3/4), 381-391.
- Hammersley, M. (1999). *Researching school experience: Ethnographic studies of teaching and learning*. London, Falmer Press.
- Hammersley, M., Ed. (1986). *Case studies in classroom research*. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- Harding, S. (1987) *Feminism and Methodology*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Harris, J.R. (1998) *The Nurture Assumption: why children turn out the way they do* (London, Bloomsbury).
- Harter, S. (1980) The development of competence motivation in the mastery of cognitive and physical skills: Is there still a place for joy? *Psychology of motor behavior and sport*. G. C. Roberts and D. M. Landers. Champaign, IL, Human Kinetics: 3-29.
- Harwood, C., Hardy, L. and Swain, A. (2000) Achievement goals in sport: A critique of conceptual and measurement issues. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology 22, 235-255.
- Hasbrook, C. A. (1995) Gendering practices and first graders' bodies: Physicality, sexuality and bodily adornment in a minority inner-city school.
- Hastie, P. (1998) Applied benefits of the sport education model. Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance 69(4), 24-26.

- Hastie, P. (1998) Skill and tactical development during a sport education season. Research quarterly for exercise and sport 69(4), 368-379.
- Hastie, P. A. (1995) An ecology of a secondary school outdoor adventure camp. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education 15, 79-97.
- Hastie, P. A. (1996) Student role involvement during a unit of sport education. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education 16(1), 88-103.
- Hastie, P. A. (1998) The participation and perceptions of girls within a unit of sport education. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education 17(2), 157-171.
- Hastie, P. A. (2000) An ecological analysis of a sport education season. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education 19(PART 3), 355-373.
- Hastie, P. A. and Buchanan, A. M. (2000) Teaching responsibility through sport education: Prospects of a coalition. Research quarterly for exercise and sport 71(PART 1), 25-35.
- Hastie, P. A. and Pickwell, A. (1996) Take your partners: A description of a student social system in a secondary school dance class. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education 15, 171-187.
- Hastie, P. A. and Siedentop D. (1999) An ecological perspective on physical education. European Physical Education Review 5, 9-29.
- Hastie, P.A. (1997) 'Factors affecting the creation of a new ecology in a boys-only physical education class at a military school', Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 68, 62-73.
- Hastie, P.A. (2000) 'An ecological analysis of a sport education season. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education', 19(3), 355-373.
- Hastie, P.A., and Saunders J.E. (1991). Accountability in secondary school physical education, Teaching and Teacher Education 7, 373-382.
- Hellison, D. (1995) Teaching responsibility through physical activity. Champaign, Ill: Human Kinetics
- Hellison, D. (2000) Physical activity programs for underserved youth. The ACHPER Healthy Lifestyles Journal 47(2), 15-17.
- Henley, N. M. (1977). Body politics: Power, sex, and nonverbal communication. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Heyman, G.D. and Dweck, C.S. (1992) Achievement goals and intrinsic motivation: Their relation and their role in adaptive motivation Motivation and Emotion, 16 231-247
- Hill, W.M. (1977) Learning Thru Discussion: Guide for Leaders and Members of Discussion Groups. London: Sage.

- Hodkinson, P. (2001) Reworking Subculture: Young People and Elective Affiliations of Substance. Paper presented at the BSA Youth Study Group.
- Holroyd, R. (2002) Standing out and fitting in: Negotiating the complexities of peer culture in adolescence. *Young People 2002: Research, Practice and Policy*, Keele University.
- Holroyd, R.A. (2003) Fields of Experience: Young People's Constructions of Embodied Identities. Unpublished PhD, Loughborough University, Loughborough.
- Hunter, L. (in press) The body as a site for learning. *The ACHPER Healthy Lifestyles Journal*.
- Hunter, L..T. (2002) Young people, physical education, and transition: understanding practices in the middle years of schooling. Unpublished PhD, University of Queensland.
- Hutchby, I. and Drew, P. (1995) Conversation analysis. In J. Verschueren, J.-O. Ostman and J. Blommaert (eds.) *Handbook of pragmatics: Manual*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia, John Benjamin, 182-189.
- Ignico, A. A. (1990) The influence of gender role perception on activity preferences of children. *Play and culture* 3(4), 302-310.
- Institute of Youth Sport (2000) Towards 'girl friendly' physical education? A report on a large scale, school based intervention. Pre-Olympic Scientific Congress, Brisbane, Australia. Authors: Kirk, D., H. Fitzgerald, J. Wang, S. Biddle and C. Claxton
- James, A., Jenks, C., and Prout, A. (1998) *Theorizing Childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jones, D. and Ward, P. (1998) Changing the face of secondary physical education through sport education. *Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance* 69(5), 40-43.
- Jones, D. L. (1992) Analysis of task systems in elementary physical education classes. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 11, 411-425.
- Kane, M. J. (1996). Media coverage of the post Title IX female athlete: A feminist analysis of sport, gender, and power. *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy*, 3(1), 95-127.
- Kane, M. J., and Greendorfer, S. (1994) The media's role in accommodating and resisting stereotyped images of women in sport. In P. Creedon (Ed.), *Women, media and sport: Challenging gender values* (pp. 28-44) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kavussanu, M and Roberts, G.C. (1996). Motivation in physical activity contexts: The relationship of perceived motivational climate to intrinsic motivation and self-efficacy. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 18, 264-281.

- Kavussanu, M. and Roberts, G. C. (2001) Moral functioning in sport: An achievement goal perspective. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology 23, 37-54.
- Kay, T. A., (1995) *Women and Sport A Review of Research*. London: Sports Council.
- Kellner, D. (1992) Popular culture and the construction of postmodern identities. In S. Lash and J. Friedman (Eds.), *Modernity and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kinchin, G. (2001) A high skilled pupil's experiences with sport education. Achper Healthy Lifestyles Journal 48(PART 3/4; 171), 5-9.
- Kinchin, G. D. (2001) Using team portfolios in a sport education season. Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance 72(PART 2), 41-44.
- Kinchin, G. D. and O'Sullivan, M. (1999) Making physical education meaningful for high school students. Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance 70(5), 40-44.
- Kinchin, G. D. and O'Sullivan, M. (2003) Incidences of student support for and resistance to a curricular innovation in high school physical education. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education 22, 245-260.
- Kinchin, G. D., Wardle, C., Roderick, S. and Sprosen, A. (2004) A survey of year 9 boys' perceptions of sport education in one English secondary school. Bulletin of Physical Education 40(PART 1), 27-40.
- Kinchin, G., Penney, D. and Clarke, G. (2001) Teaching the national curriculum for pe - try sport education. British Journal of Teaching Physical Education 32(PART 2), 41-44.
- King, L.H. (1983) Pupil classroom perceptions and the expectancy effect. South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education 11 (1) 54-70
- Kinkema, K. M., and Harris, J. C. (1998) MediaSport studies: Key research and emerging issues. In L. Wenner (Ed.), *MediaSport* (pp. 27-54) Boston: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Kirk (1997). Schooling bodies for new times: The reform of school physical education in high modernity. In J.-M. Fernandez_Balboa (Ed.), *Critical aspects in human movement: Rethinking the profession in the postmodern era* (pp. 39-64). Albany:SUNY Press.
- Kirk, D. (1992) Physical Education, Discourse, and Ideology: bringing the hidden curriculum into view. Quest, 44, 35 - 56.
- Kirk, D. (1993a) Curriculum work in physical education: Beyond the objectives approach? Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 12, 376-387
- Kirk, D. (1993b) *The Body, Schooling and Culture*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.
- Kirk, D. (1998) *Schooling Bodies: School Practice and Public Discourse*. London: Leicester University Press.

- Kirk, D. (1999a) Physical culture, physical education and relational analysis. Sport, Education and Society 4(1), 63-73.
- Kirk, D. (1999b) Embodying the School/Schooling Bodies: physical education as disciplinary technology. In C. M. Symes, D. (Ed.), *The Extra-Ordinary School: Parergonality and Pedagogy* (pp. 181-196) New York: Peter Lang.
- Kirk, D. (2000) Guest editorial. European Physical Education Review 6 Special Issue: Physical Education and sporting excellence(2), 115-117.
- Kirk, D. (2002) Quality physical education: Can it be achieved by applying the professional sports model? Commonwealth International Sports Conference, Manchester.
- Kirk, D. and Almond, L. (1999) Sport education as situated learning in physical education: Making links to citizenship, leadership, and critical consumerism. Paper presented to the AIESEP International Congress, Besançon, France, 7-9 April.
- Kirk, D. and Macdonald, D. (1998) Situated learning in physical education. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 17 (3) pp.376-387.
- Kirk, D. and Tinning, R. (Eds) (1990) *Physical Education, Curriculum and Culture: Critical Issues in the Contemporary Crisis* (pp.23-42) Lewes: Falmer.
- Kirk, D., and Colquhoun, D. (1989) Healthism and Physical Education. British Journal of Sociology of Education, 10(4), pp.417 - 434.
- Kirk, D., and Kinchin, G. (2003) Situated learning as a theoretical framework for sport education. European Physical Education Review, 9, 221-235.
- Kirk, D., and Macdonald, D. (1998) Situated learning in physical education. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 17, 376-387.
- Kosma M., Cardinal B.J. and Rintala P (2002) Motivating Individuals with Disabilities to be Physically Active, Quest 54 (2) 116-32
- Kvale, S. (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications.
- Lakoff, G. (1987) *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, IL,
- Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991) Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Leaman, O. (1984) *Sit on the sidelines and watch the boys play: Sex differentiation in physical education*. New York: Longmans for schools council.
- Lenskyj, H. (1990) Power and play: Gender and sexuality issues in sport and physical activity. International review for the sociology of sport 25(3), 235-245.

- Lewis, A. (1992) Group Child Interviews as a Research Tool. *British Education Research Journal*, 18(4), 413-421
- Lewis, A. and Lindsay, G. (eds.) (2000) *Researching Children's Perspectives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lewko, J. H. and Greendorfer, S. L. (1988) Family influences in sport socialisation of children and adolescents. In Smoll, F.L. et al (eds) *Children and Sport* 287-300.
- Lintunen, T., Valkonen, A., Leskinen, E. and Biddle, S. J. H. (1999) Predicting physical activity intentions using a goal perspectives approach: A study of Finnish youth. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sports* 9, 344-352.
- Lloyd, J. and Fox, K. R. (1992) Achievement goals and motivation to exercise in adolescent girls: A preliminary intervention study. 11-16.
- Locke, L.F. (1977) Research on teaching physical education: New hope for a dismal science. *Quest* 28 2-17
- Lund, J. (1992) 'Assessment and accountability in secondary physical education', *Quest*, 44, 352-360.
- Macdonald, D. (2002) Extending agendas: physical culture research for the twenty-first century. In D. Penney (Ed) *Gender and Physical Education: Contemporary Issues and Future Directions* (pp.208-222) London: Routledge.
- MacPhail, A., Kirk, D. and Kinchin, G. (2004) 'Sport education: Promoting team affiliation through physical education.' *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 23(PART 2), 106-122.
- Maehr, M. L. (1984) Meaning and motivation: Toward a theory of personal investment. *Research on motivation in education: Student motivation*, Academic Press Inc, 115-144.
- Maehr, M. L. (2001) Goal theory is not dead - not yet, anyway: A reflection on the special issue. *Educational Psychology Review* 13(2), 177-185.
- Maehr, M.L. and Nicholls, J.G. (1980) Culture and Achievement motivation: A second look. In N.Warren (ed) *Studies in cross-cultural psychology*, Vol 3 (pp 221- 267) new york: academic press
- Marshall, C. and Rossman, G.B. (1991) *Designing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Martino, W. (1999) 'cool boys', 'party animals', 'squids' and 'poofters': Interrogating the dynamics and politics of adolescent masculinities in school. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20(2), 240-263.
- Massengale, J.D. and Sage, G.H. (1995) Shared Power through Negotiation in Higher Education. *Quest* 47, 64-75

- Mean, L. (2001) Identity and discursive practice: Doing gender on the football pitch. Discourse and Society 12(6), 789-815.
- Merritt, M. (1982). Distributing and directing attention in primary classrooms. In L. C. Wilkinson (Ed.) *communicating in the classroom* (pp. 223-244) New York: Academic Press.
- Metzler, M. W. (2001) *Instructional models for physical education*. Boston, USA, Allyn and Bacon.
- Midgley, C., Arunkumar, R. and Urdan, T. (1996) If I don't do well tomorrow, there's a reason: predictors of adolescents' use of academic self-handicapping behavior. Journal of Educational Psychology 88, 423-434
- Midgley, C., Kaplan, A., and Middleton, M. (2001) Performance-Approach Goals: Good for what, for whom, under what circumstances, and at what cost? Journal of Educational Psychology Vol 93 No1 pp77-86
- Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. London, Sage Publications.
- Miles, S. (2000) *Youth lifestyles in a changing world*. Guildford, UK, Biddles Ltd.
- Miles, S., Cliff, D., and Burr, V. (1998) 'Sticking Out and Fitting In': Consumption, Consumer Meanings and the Construction of Young People's Identities. Journal of Youth Studies, 1(1), 81-96.
- Morgan, D.L. (1997) *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research* (second edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Nicholls, J. G. (1984a) Achievement motivation: Conceptions of ability, subjective experience, task choice and performance. Psychological review 91(3), 328-346.
- Nicholls, J. G. (1984b) Conceptions of ability and achievement motivation. In R. Ames and C. Ames (Eds.), *Research on motivation in education: Vol 1. Student motivation* (pp. 39-68) New York: Academic Press.
- Nicholls, J. G. (1985) Adolescents' theories of education. Journal of educational psychology 77(6), 683-692.
- Nigles (1998). I thought only fairy tales had supernatural power. A radiant feminist analysis of Title IX in physical education. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 17(2), 172-194.
- Ntoumanis, N. and Biddle, S. J. H. (1999) A review of motivational climate in physical activity. Journal of sports sciences 17, 643-665.
- O'Kane, C. (2000) The Development of Participatory Techniques: facilitating children's views about decisions which affect them. In P. Christensen and A. James (eds.) *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (pp. 136-159) London: Falmer.

- O'Sullivan, M., Siedentop, D. and Locke, L. (1992) Towards collegiality: competing viewpoints among teacher educators. *Quest*, 44, pp266-280.
- O'Sullivan, M., Siedentop, D. and Tannehill, D. (1994) 'Breaking out: Codependency of high school physical education', *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 13, 421-428.
- O'Sullivan, M., Stroot, S.A. and Tannehill, D. (1989) 'Elementary physical education specialists: A commitment to student learning', *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 8, 261-265.
- Oliver, K. L., and Lalik, R. (2000) *Bodily Knowledge: Learning about Equity and Justice with Adolescent Girls*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Oliver, K. L., and Lalik, R. (2001) The Body as Curriculum: learning with adolescent girls. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 33(3), 303-333.
- Oliver, K.L. and Lalik, R. (2004) 'The beauty walk': Interrogating whiteness as the norm for beauty within one school's hidden curriculum. In, J. Evans, B. Davies, and J. Wright (Eds) *Body Knowledge and Control: Studies in the Sociology of Physical Education and Health* (pp. 115-129) London: Routledge.
- Oppenheim, A.N. (1992) *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*. London: Pinter Publishers.
- Paechter, C. (2001) Power, bodies and identity: How different forms of physical education construct varying masculinities and femininities in schools. British Educational Research Association Annual Conference, Leeds.
- Paechter, C. (2002) Masculinities, femininities and physical education: Bodily practices as reified markers of community membership. British Educational Research Association Annual Conference, Exeter.
- Pagnano, K. and Langley, D.J. (2001) Teacher perspectives on the role of exercise as a management tool in physical education *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 21 pp57-74.
- Patton, M. Q. (1987) *How to use qualitative methods in evaluation*. London, UK, Sage.
- Penney, D. (2003) Sport education and situated learning: Problematizing the potential. *European Physical Education Review* 9(PART 3), 301-308.
- Penney, D. (Ed) (2002) *Gender and Physical Education: Contemporary Issues and Future Directions* (pp.208-222) London: Routledge.
- Penney, D., Clarke, G., and Kinchin, G. (2002) Developing physical education as a 'connective specialism': Is Sport Education the answer? *Sport, Education and Society* 7 (1), 55-64.
- Peshkin, A. (2000) The Nature of Interpretation in Qualitative Research. *Educational Researcher*, 29 (9) pp.5-9.

- Pintrich, P. R., and Garcia, T. (1991) Student goal orientation and self-regulation in the college classroom. In M. Maehr and P. R. Pintrich (Eds.) *Advances in motivation and achievement*, Vol. 7: Goals and self-regulatory processes (pp. 371-402) Greenwich, CT: JAI.
- Pitcher, E. G., & Schultz, L. H. (1983). *Boys and girls at play: The development of sex roles*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.
- Placek, J. (1983) Conceptions of Success in Teaching: Busy, Happy and Good?' in T. Templin and J. Olson (eds.), *Teaching in Physical Education*, pp. 46-56. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Placek, J., and Locke, L. F., (1986) 'Research on teaching physical education: New knowledge and cautious optimism', Journal of Teacher Education, 37 (4), 24-28.
- Placek, J.H. and Dodds, P. (1988) A critical incident study of preservice teacher beliefs about teaching success and non-success. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport
- Pope, C. C. and O'Sullivan, M. (1998) Culture, pedagogy and teacher change in an urban high school: How would you like your eggs done? Sport, Education and Society 3(2), 201-226.
- Pope, C. C., and O'Sullivan, M. (2003) Darwinism in the gym. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 23, 311-327.
- Potter J. (1996) *Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. London: Sage
- Potter, J. and Wetherall, M. (1987) *Discourse and Social Psychology*. London: Sage
- Pringle, R. (2000) Physical education, positivism, and optimistic claims from achievement goal theorists. Quest 52, 18-31.
- Prvulovich, Z.R. (1982) In defence of competition. Journal of Philosophy of Education, 16 (1), 77-78.
- Punch, S. (2002) *Research with Children: The Same or Different from Research with Adults*. Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research.
- Ralph, S., Langham Brown, J., and Lees, T. (Eds.) (1999) *Youth and the Global Media: Papers from the 29th University of Manchester Broadcasting Symposium*. Luton: University of Luton Press.
- Renold, E. (2001) Learning the 'hard' way: Boys, hegemonic masculinity and the negotiation of learner identities in the primary school. British Journal of Sociology of Education 22(3), 369-385.
- Renold, E. (2001) 'Square-girls', femininity and the negotiation of academic success in the primary school. British Educational Research Journal 27(5), 577-588.

- Rich, E. and Sandford, R.A (in press) Learners and Popular Culture. In Kirk, D., O'Sullivan, M. and Macdonald, D. Handbook of Physical Educational Research. Routledge.
- Roberts, G. C. (1993) Motivation in sport: Understanding and enhancing the motivation and achievement of children. Handbook on research in sport psychology. R. N. Singer, M. Murphey and L. K. Tennant. New York, Macmillan, 405-420.
- Roberts, G. C. (2001) Understanding the dynamics of motivation in physical activity: The influence of achievement goals on motivational processes. In G. C. Roberts (Ed.) Advances in motivation in sport and exercise (pp. 1-50) Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Roeser, R. W., Midgley, C. and Urdan, T. C. (1996) Perceptions of the school psychological environment and early adolescents' psychological and behavioral functioning in school: The mediating role of goals and belonging. Journal of educational psychology 88(3), 408-422.
- Rovegno, I. (1994) Teaching within a curricular zone of safety: School culture and the situated nature of student teachers' pedagogical content knowledge. Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, 65, 269-279.
- Rovegno, I. (2005 in press) 'Constructivist Perspectives on Learning' in Kirk, D., O'Sullivan, M. and Macdonald, D. Handbook of Physical Educational Research. Routledge.
- Ryan, A. M., Gheen, M. H. and Midgley, C. (1998) Why do some students avoid asking for help? An examination of the interplay among students' academic efficacy, teachers' social-emotional role, and the classroom goal structure. Journal of educational psychology 90(3), 528-535.
- Sacks, H. (1964) Lecture 4 - an impromptu survey of the literature. Lectures on conversation, volume 1.
- Sarason, S. (1996). Revisiting the Culture of the School and the Problem of Change. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J. and LeCompte, M. D. (1999) Essential ethnographic methods: Observations, interviews and questionnaires. Walnut Creek, California, Altamira Press.
- Scraton, S. (1986) Images of femininity and the teaching of girls' physical education. In j. Evans (ed.),. Physical education, sport and schooling(Brighton: Falmer Press)
- Scraton, S. (1987) Boys muscle in where angels fear to tread - girls' subcultures and physical activities. In j. Home et al (eds.),. Sport, leisure and social relations(New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 160-186.
- Scraton, S. (1992) Shaping up to womanhood: Gender and girls' physical education. Buckingham(Open University Press)

- Shulman, L. S. (1986) Paradigms and research programs in the study of teaching: A contemporary perspective. In M. C. Wittrock (Ed.) *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd Ed.) (pp. 3-36) New York: MacMillan.
- Siedentop, D. (1988). An ecological model for understanding teaching/learning in physical education. In, *New horizons of human movement: Proceedings of the 1988 Seoul Olympic Scientific Congress*. Seoul: SOSCO.
- Siedentop, D. (1991) *Developing teaching skills in physical education* (3rd edition). Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.
- Siedentop, D. (1994a) *Sport Education: Quality pe through positive sport experiences*. Champaign, IL, Human Kinetics
- Siedentop, D. (1994b) The sport education model. in D. Siedentop (Ed.), *Sport education: quality PE through positive sport experiences* (pp. 3-16) Champaign, IL : Human Kinetics.
- Siedentop, D. (1995) Improving sport education. *Achper Healthy Lifestyles Journal* 42(4; 150), 22-23.
- Siedentop, D. (1998) What is sport education and how does it work? *Journal of Physical Education Recreation and Dance* 69(4), 18-20.
- Siedentop, D. (2002a) Ecological perspectives in teaching research. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 21, 427-440.
- Siedentop, D. (2002b) Sport education: A retrospective. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 21(PART 4), 409-418.
- Siedentop, D., Doutsis, P., Tsangaridou, N., Ward, P. and Rauschenbach, J. (1994) Don't sweat gym! An analysis of curriculum and instruction. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education* 13(375-394)
- Silverman, S. The student as the unit of analysis: Effect on descriptive data and process-outcome relationships in physical education. *Teaching in physical education*. T. J. Templin and J. K. Olson. Champaign, IL, Human Kinetics.
- Simons, H. (1984) *Conversation Piece: The practice of interviewing in case studies*. In R. McCormick (ed.) *Calling Education to Account*. London: Heinemann.
- Skaalvik (1995) *School experiences among adults with reading and writing problems* Trondheim Norway
- Skaalvik, E. M. (1997) Self-enhancing and self-defeating ego orientation: Relations with task and avoidance orientation, achievement, self-perceptions, and anxiety. *Journal of educational psychology* 89(1), 71-81.
- Skaalvik, E. M., Valans, H. and Sletta, O. (1994) Task involvement and ego involvement: Relations with academic achievement, academic self concept and self esteem. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 38(3-4), 231-243.

- Solmon, M. A. (1996) Impact of motivational climate on students' behaviors and perceptions in a physical education setting. Journal of educational psychology 88(4), 731-738.
- Stanley, L. (1990) *Feminist praxis: Research, theory and epistemologies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Limited.
- Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1983) *Breaking out*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Stenhouse, L. (1975) *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*. London: Heinmann.
- Strauss, A.L. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (2nd ed.) Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Symes, C. and Meadmore, D. (1999) Force of Habit: the school uniform as a body of knowledge. In C. Symes, and Meadmore, D. (Ed.), *The Extra-Ordinary School: Parergonality and Pedagogy* (pp. 171-191) New York: Peter Lang.
- Taggart, A., Medland, A. and Alexander, K. (1995) goodbye superteacher! teaching sport education in the primary school. Achper Healthy Lifestyles Journal 42(4; 150), 16-18.
- Tait, G. (2000) *Youth, Sex, and Government* (Vol. 3) New York: Peter Lang.
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. (1986) The social identity theory of intergroup conflict. In S. Worchel and W. G. Austen (Eds), *Psychology of intergroup relations*, pp. 7-24. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tannehill, D. and Zakrajsek, D., (1993) Student attitudes toward physical education: A multicultural study. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education 13, p78-84
- Tannehill, D., Romar, J. E., O'Sullivan, M., England K. and Rosenburg, D. (1994) Attitudes towards physical education: Their impact on how physical education teachers make sense of their work. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education 13, 406-420.
- Theeboom, M., De Knopp P. and Weiss, M. R. (1995) Motivational climate, psychological responses and motor skill development in children's sport: A field based intervention study. Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology 17, 294-311.
- Thorne, B. (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Thorpe, R. and Bunker, D (1986) The curriculum model in R. Thorpe, D. Bunker, and L Almond *Rethinking games teaching* p7-10 Loughborough England
- Tinning, R. (1995) The sport education movement: A phoenix, bandwagon or hearse for physical education. Achper Healthy Lifestyles Journal 42(4; 150), 19-21.

- Tinning, R., and Fitzclarence, L. (1992) Postmodern Youth Culture and the Crisis in Australian Secondary School Physical Education. Quest, 44, 287-303.
- Tousignant, M., and Siedentop, D. (1983) A qualitative analysis of task structures in required secondary physical education classes. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 3 (1), 47-57.
- Treasure, D. C. and Roberts, G. C. (1995) Applications of achievement goal theory to physical education: Implications for enhancing motivation. Quest 47, 475-489.
- Treasure, D. C. and Roberts, G. C. (1998) Relationship between female adolescents' achievement goal orientations, perceptions of the motivational climate, belief about success and sources of satisfaction in basketball. International Journal of Sport Psychology 29, 211-230.
- Treasure, D. C., Carpenter, P. J. and Power, K. T. D. (2000) Relationship between achievement goal orientations and the perceived purposes of playing rugby union for professional and amateur players. Journal of sports sciences 18, 571-577.
- Urda, T. C. and Maehr, M. L. (1995) Beyond a two-goal theory of motivation and achievement: A case for social goals. Review of Educational Research 65(3), 213-243.
- Vallerand, R. J. and Losier, G. F. (1999) An integrative analysis of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in sport. Journal of Applied Sport Psychology 11, 142-169.
- Vallerand, R. J. and M. S. Fortier (1998) Measures of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in sport and physical activity: A review and critique. In J. Duda (ed.) 'Advances in sport and exercise psychology measurement' Morgantown, WV, USA, Fitness Information Technology, 81-101.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993) Principles of critical discourse analysis. Discourse and Society 4, 249-283.
- Veal, M.L. (1988) 'Pupil assessment practices and perceptions of secondary teachers.' Journal of Teaching in Physical Education. 7 (4) 327-342.
- Vescio, J., Taylor, T. and Toohey, K. (1999) 'An Exploration of Sports Participation by Girls from Non-English Speaking Backgrounds', ACHPER Healthy Lifestyles Journal 46(2/3), 14-19 .
- Walkerdine, V. (1997) 'Redefining the Subject in Situated Cognition Theory', in D. Kirshner and J.A. Whitson (eds) Situated Cognition: Social, Semiotic and Psychological Perspectives, pp. 57-70. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum .
- Ward, P., & O'Sullivan, M. (1988). Similarities and differences in pedagogy and content: Five years later. Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 17, 195-213.
- Watts, M. and Ebbut D. (1987) More than the sum of the parts: Research methods in group interviewing. British Educational Research Journal 13(1), 25-34.

- Weiner, B. (1979) A theory of motivation for some classroom experiences. Journal of educational psychology 71(1), 3-25.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Wenger, E. (2004). *Communities of practice: A brief introduction*.
- Wentzel, K. R., (1991) Classroom competence may require more than intellectual ability: Reply to Jussim Journal of Educational Psychology, 83 (3) 271-284.
- Wetherall, M. and Potter, J. (1992) *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- White, S. A., Duda, J. L. and Keller, M. R. (1998) The relationship between goal orientation and perceived purposes of sport among youth sport participants. Journal of Sport Behavior 21(4), 474-483.
- Whitehead, J. (1995) Multiple achievement orientations and participation in youth sport: A cultural developmental perspective. International Journal of Sport Psychology 26, 431-452.
- Whitehead, J. R. and Corbin, C. B. (1997) Self-esteem in children and youth: The role of sport and physical education. In K.R. Fox (ed.) *The physical self: from motivation to well being* (pp 175-204) Champaign, ILL: Human Kinetics.
- Whitty, G. (1985). *Sociology and school knowledge*. London: Methuen.
- Wilkinson, S. (2000) Women with breast cancer talking causes: Comparing content, biographical and discursive analyses. Feminism and Psychology 10(4), 431-460.
- Williams, A., and Bedward, J. (2001) Gender, Culture and the Generation Gap: student and teacher perceptions of aspects of national curriculum physical education. Sport, Education and Society, 6(1), 53-66.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1995) *The art of fieldwork*. Walnut Creek, California, Altamira Press.
- Woodhead, M. and Faulkner, D. (2000) Subjects, Objects or Participants? Dilemmas of Psychological Research with Children. In P. Christensen and A. James (eds.) *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (pp. 9-35) London: Falmer.
- Wren, D. J. (1999) School Culture: exploring the hidden curriculum. Adolescence, 34(135), 593-596.
- Wright, J. (1996) The construction of complementarity in physical education. Gender and education 8, 61-79.
- Wright, J. (1997) The Construction of Gendered Contexts in Single Sex and Coeducational Physical Education Lessons. Sport, Education and Society, 2(1), pp. 55-72.

Wright, J. and Macdonald, D. (in press) Young people and physical culture. Sport, Education and Society.

Yelling, M and Penney, D (2002). Physical activity and physical education: Pupil activity rating, reason and reality. Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference, University of Exeter, September.

Young, I.M. (1990) *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Appendix 1 Timetable Structure

Day	Teacher	Number of Pupils	Co-education or single sex lessons	Research observation periods
Tuesday	Mr. K	24	Co-educational	Spring and summer
Tuesday	Mrs. A	24	Co-educational	Summer
Tuesday	Miss S	23	Co-educational	Summer
Wednesday	Mrs. A	18	Girls	Spring and summer
Wednesday	Miss S	17	Girls	Occasionally when team teaching
Wednesday	Mr. K	18	Boys	Spring when swimming and orienteering
Wednesday	Mr. A	18	Boys	Spring when swimming and orienteering

Appendix 2

An illustrative example of a coded interview segment and linked memo

The thematic analysis began with the use of simple codes and brief memos illustrated below. Initially this involved the identification of key themes running through the data.

Miss S	its back to the school rules. They're only supposed to wear one ring and a watch... its a safety issue the hair to a certain extent is a safety issue. This is basic PE things that everybody knows and if you start off- you have to decide if you really hammer that you know every lesson- or let it go and I've decided and the department has that you hammer it because that's what we want to do so we're on a looser in so much as we are on at them in inverted commas as soon as they come in They know the rules they are pushing us to see how far they can go- so do you just say I'm sick to death of this and ignore it once you let it slip- it slips at everything- so that is why I do keep on at them (.)I do feel like a bag and everything but to me they should know, you know- and I will justify it forever till the school says we have no school uniform	<p>Regulation of body – safety, school rules, maintaining order</p> <p>Accountability – verbal interaction</p> <p>Negotiation – young people pushing teacher</p>
--------	--	---

The next level of analysis provided more detail to these initial codes. As the analytic process continued, I used memos to explain the categories in more detail and make associations between them.

Miss S's clearly feels that she must uphold the school rules for a number of reasons. In particular she indicates that the uniform is a symbol for order in the classroom. Her comment once you let it slip it slips at everything highlights this belief. Kirk (1999) commented that the arrangement of young people's bodies within the school allows for those in positions power (i.e. staff like Miss S.) to maintain a degree of order and control. Symes & Meadmore, (1996) contend that the school uniform is seen to represent a tool for regulating and managing behaviour. Yet Miss S also distances herself from this regulation by commenting '*I will justify it forever till the school says we have no uniform*'. It could be suggested that she understands that perhaps she cannot justify her argument about controlling young people's behaviour through the use of a uniform and for that reason uses the school rules as a rationale for her action. In this way the rules may be simply implemented rather than contested.