PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SOCIALISATION - PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE IN INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

There is an abundance of research literature concerned with various aspects of socialisation and physical activity, though sporting activity has received more attention than physical education. The intention here is to raise a number of issues to provoke thought and perhaps direct attention to growing concerns about the future of physical education, for whilst for some it is regarded as the "womb" of sport, if current world - wide trends continue, there will be no physical education through which socialisation can occur. That is why the redefinition of concepts of physical education together with a reconstruction of physical education present challenges, which can only serve to improve the status, state and quality of the service to be delivered and so contribute to extend opportunities for engagement in physical activity to all cultural and sub-cultural groups over the full life span as well as in all institutional and wider societal communities over the four points of the compass.

Keywords: physical education, sporting activity, socialisation, trends

Zusammenfassung

Körpererziehung und Sozialisation - Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft im internationalen und vergleichenden Hinblick

Manche Untersuchungen befassen sich mit unterschiedlichen Sozialisationsaspekten in Verbindung mit körperlichen Aktivitäten, obwohl die erholungssportliche Aktivitäten mehr Aufmerksamkeit als Körpererziehung erwecken. Unser Absicht ist, zahlreiche, denkanregende Fragen zu stellen um dadurch eine direkte Aufmerksamkeit auf die steigende Sorge um die Zukunft von Körpererziehung zu lenken. Trozt der Einstellung, dass die Körpererziehung "die Wiege" des Sports ist - sollten die jetzigen Welttrends auch in der Zukunft aufrechterhalten werden, gibt es keine Körpererziehung als Grundlage zur Sozialisation. Die Redefinierung der Körpererziehnungvorsätze, zusammen mit der Rekonstruktion derer Durchführung ist die Herausforderung, die zur Verbesserung der Lage und Qualität des Unterrichtsfachs "Körpererziehung" führen sollte und dadurch eine Grundlage bilden würde zur Ausbreitung der Möglichkeiten aller Kultur- und Subkulturgruppen und ihre Anteilnahme an körperlichen Aktivitäten lebenslänglich - in allen institutionalisierten und breiteren gemeinschaftlichen Gesellschaftsgruppen in allen vier Himmelsrichtungen.

Schlüsselwörter: Körpererziehung, erholungssportliche Aktivitäten, Sozialisation, Trends

There is an abundance of research literature concerned with various aspects of socioalisation and physical activity, though sporting activity has received more attention than physical education. The intention here is to raise a number of issues to provoke thought and perhaps direct attention to some of the work in other fields of study from which inspiration and/or guidance might be derived for future study engagement. It is also intended to draw attention to growing concerns about the future of physical education, for whilst for some it is regarded as the "womb" of sport, if current word-wide trends continue there will be no physical education through which socialisation can occur.

State and Status of Physical Education

Throughout history, physical activity has been considered an important component of the educational process and in diverse ways has been a significant element in all cultures. In its formal education institutional form - "physical education" - it has enjoyed a continuing presence. This presence has largely been grounded in the Aristotelian concept of "harmonious balance" and variously linked with a range of instrumental outcomes, including individual/group survival, preparation for the rigours of life, politics, militarism, nationalism, conformity, social control through promotion of obedience to authority etc., character building and other psycho-social qualities, healthy well-being, enhancement of

quality of life and so on. It is a presence, which implies that it has passed the "test" of time. But, has it? In the present century, physical educators have repeatedly been called upon to defend and justify the inclusion of physical education as part of the school curriculum. Numerous commentators (Antala, Sykora and Sedlacek, 1992; Bohomme, 1992; Fasting, 1992; Graham, 1990; Hardman, 1993, 1994, 1995; Janzen, 1995; Karhus, 1992; Nielsen, 1992; Pulis, 1994; Rashid, 1994; Riley, 1992; Tuohimaa, 1993; Wamukoya & Hardman, 1992) have argued that physical education has low subject status and esteem, is being ever more marginalised and undervalued by authorities, is suffering from budgetary controls with inadequate financial, material and personnel resources, decreasing curriculum time allocation, either a predisposition against sporting competitive activity of the promotion of the few (sporting elite) with the concomitant neglect of the participation of the many, and instability because of influences and pressures from groups with vested interests in sport and fitness - the latter, somewhat ironically, in themselves valuable contributory components in the holistic view of health-related physical activity. As the next millennium draws near, school physical education, a significant sphere of human activity appears to be under threat in many countries and in all continental regions of the world. One not insignificant view of physical education is embraced in one Minister of Education's comment (cited in Janzen, 1995) that despite the support given to physical education, "the attitudes of society had not been positively affected by their physical education experience within the school system" (p.8). The Minister's indictment raises several questions about socialisation and its processes: what do we mean by socialisation?; why socialisation (socialise into what)?; and if we know what we mean and what we want to socialise individuals into, who does it, how and when?

Meaning of Socialisation

For Lenin (1932), *socialisation* involved learning "the elementary rules of social life" (p.73). Whilst there may be a grain of truth in such a simplistic interpretation, its appropriateness has to be seen in the context and historical period in which it was set. Perhaps today, it is more relevant to suggest that *socialization* is something that is required of an individual and that it is a process whereby individuals become participating members of society which, in turn, induces its "members to behave in socially acceptable ways" (Crane, 1992, p. 178), absorbing "the values, standards, and beliefs current in that society" (Coleman, 1992, p. 5). Thus, the process involves transmission of cultural patterns - norms, values, ideas and practices - from generation to generation, from group to group, from one individual to another. Implicit in such a definition is the acquisition of personalities as functioning members

of society" (Calhoun, 1987, p.259). The clear inference is that social qualities are not innate, rather they are essentially environmentally determined through social interaction.

As an aside to the argument, there is potential for a revisit to the nature v. nurture issue, for recently reported research concerned with twins separated at birth appears to indicate that the life experiences thought to have shaped us are merely ornamental add-ons and that parental and other external influences during youth, the loadstones of character formation, have had little more effect than a book or a television programme - in essence our genes are who we are! It might be some cause for concern to view ourselves "as victims of our genes" but that may be preferable to being "victims of our environment" (Wright, 1995, p.20). Bouchard and colleagues, at the University of Minnesota, have inferred from their studies that

"the diverse cultural agents of our society, in particular most parents, are less effective in imprinting their distinctive stamp on the children developing within their spheres of influence - or are less inclined to do so - than has been supposed" (Wright, 1995, p.18).

To avoid becoming bogged down in the nature v. nurture debate, let it be assumed here that genetic differences are not the cause of behavioural differences. The human being's genetic inheritance is seen to be a constant, which is subject to historical change (development) associated with a variety of circumstances and conditions, amongst which are physical, cultural and psycho-social contexts and contents (norms, values etc.) (Grupe, 1992). The transitions which are effected during the life-time vary "from one society to another, and no one of these particular cultural bridges should be regarded as the 'natural' path to maturity" (Benedict, 1967, p.144). Also relevant here is the potential for socialisation to be subject to ideological and political manipulation. There are numerous examples of such manipulation in history and non more so than in recent times.

Physical and Sporting Activity: Issues in Socialisation

A review of literature reveals that the term 'socialisation' is both diffusely and ambiguously applied and that there are no consistently uniform conceptions and expectations of the socialising effects of sporting activity (Heinemann, 1992). Research concerned with attitudes and their relation to behaviour in a range of sport-related contexts has proven inconclusive and the challenge remains to determine why people do not engage in sporting activities, even though its health and general well-being enhancement effects are widely accepted. Whilst there are many protagonists who have

provided supportive evidence for the benefits to be derived from engagement in physical activity and socialising effects on positive behavioural outcomes, there are also antagonists, whose research points to disbenefits and negative outcomes. Many of the underlying assumptions on the influence of sporting activity (and by implication, physical education) as a socialising agency, facilitating social accomplishments, promoting social status and mobility, transmitting dominant modes of behaviour and developing positive character traits have remained unsubstantiated and unproven. Indeed, Heinemann (1974) has even claimed that there is no such thing as the socialisation effect of sport. Ogilvie and Tutko (1971) and Bailey (1975) have challenged character building assumptions. Coleman (1961, Eitzen (1984), Sparkes and Dickensen (1985, 1986) and Wohl (1970) have drawn attention to dangers of withdrawal from participation and overspecialisation. 'Official' values may be internalised by partipants, who may be treated differentially by teachers for adherence to the dominant ideology (Davidson and Lang, 1966; Hargreaves, 1967; Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Hendry, 1978; Mutrie, 1981). there is some evidence to suggest that sport is divisive and can militate against integrative values (Lambert, 1973; Krotee and Benson, 1986).

Participation in sport has more often than not been lauded for its benefits and not for some of its less laudable qualities, such as 'win at all costs' attitudes and elitism. Since, as it is often claimed, society is competitive (or since individuals are innately competitive), sport acts as a microcosm of society, wherein children may learn and practise those qualities which will make them socially successful. Or, it is argued that the strict enforcement of clear and agreed rules by an impartial authority on pain of sanction provides children with an unambiguous model of correct social conduct, and encourages thair willing obedience to legitimate order. This kind of argument fails to address the ultimate questions. It presupposes that the above outcomes, if they occur, are desirable. But there are further questions such as 'Is competition a social virtue?'; 'Do we want our children to be 'successful' in those terms?'; if we do, 'Can everyone be successful, or will we have to deal with the 'failures' produced as well?'; 'Do we want our children just to follow rules obediently?'. An educational argument would need to address such questions - they cannot be swept under the carpet by presenting them as claims about socialisation. Critical examination and explanation of the inter-relationships of culture and socialisation through comparative/cross-cultural study of the phenomenon of sport has largely been neglected. If sport and its accompanying sport socialisation process do represent a microcosm of society, it seems by identifying and comparing different cultures and their respective sport and socialisation patterns and participants, we may better understand the part that sport may play in society building.

Socialisation Agencies

The main agencies responsible for the transmission of cultural patterns are the social groups to which a person belongs and is exposed, and these extend differentially throughout the life-time. Some of the norms, values and practices will refer to positions or roles in society, thus, there will be expectations and prescriptions of behaviour appropriate to various and different roles. The efficacy of socialistation will depend on the nature of, and amount of conflicts between, the agents (some of which may be competing agencies, e.g. school and club) to which the individual is exposed.

Ostensibly, a powerful socialisation agent is the family, which is rather unique in its individual members' beckgrounds and the dynamic relationship between individuals. There is constant contact, assessment and evaluation of the outside world on a daily basis. Families tend to interpret the social world in specific characteristic ways. Since family life offers opportunities for major social opportunities and contact with societal institutions, its power to influence the future of its young cannot be overlooked. Some offer much more scope, opportunity and satisfaction than others; family-based experiences represent prototypes for the learned interpersonal relationships and attitudes towards other individuals and groups. Child-rearing techniques, whether restrictive/permissive, warm/cold, friendly/hostile, calm and detached/anxious and emotional, may have long-lasting cognitive and emotional consequences. In developing an uderstanding of the social world, children come to understand what is allowed or disapproved and how others will respond to their behaviour. Any cultural differences relate to the particular set of moral and social rules.

School is a major socialising agent. Clearly for many, the school contributes to the educational development of young people (it should not be forgotten, however, that some 40 million children in the world - in Pakistan one-third of school age population - never have the opportunity of attending a school!). The young may be influenced by specific teachers, by specific subjects, by being introduced to peers, by being eyposed to new ideas or by being required to adhere to a particular institutional routine. The school might prescribe, recommend or encourage specific outside school contracts, which themselves act as socialising agents. Hendry (1978) and Start (1966) found links between sports participation and conformity with school values. Hendry (1978) and Eitzen (1984) suggested that extent of student identification with school values determines the influence of school physical education on the students themselves. It is also the case that young people may acquire beliefs and behaviours precisely antithetical to the school's explicit objectives. *Teaching style*, ranging from formal, irected, teacher-centred to informal, student-centred

and 'laissez-faire' has been considered for its efficacy in facilitating internalisation (knowledge and understanding, technical competence, social skills etc.), but findings are inconclusive, beyond indicating that examinable subjects are more likely to be taught in a formal, teacher-centred way (a teaching style expected by students who feel threatened by its absence), whereas subjects emphasizing creativity, social skills and personal development are more likely to be taught in an informal way (Smith & Cowie, 1991, p.p.116-117). For physical education, this would suggest a range of teaching styles. *Teacher expectations* and related student-teacher interaction seem to produce differential responses but in a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' way. *Self-concept*, a topic I shall return to, is a social product arising out of interaction and is influenced by interpretation attached to perceptions of others. A *teacher's personal factors*, attitudes, beliefs can affect the personal and social development of students but the evidence is conflictual.

A particularly complex stage of human development occurs during years of *adolescence*. During these teenage transitional years, the individual experiences pubertal changes, which impact on physical, physiological and psychological systems and there is significant maturation of cognitive function. Major changes in the self concept are likely to occur and there are radical alterations in all social relationships to be negotiated. Effects of puberty in the school context should be understood for there is evidence to suggest that onset of puberty is associated with particular patterns of psychological adjustment: in boys, for example, early maturation is related to general self-confidence and social maturity (refer Tanner, 1978; Conger & Petersen, 1984). Physical changes (shape, size and functions) affect perceptions of identity and have a role to play in self-concepts and self-esteem (Brooks-Gunn and Petersen, 1983; Coleman & Hendry, 1990).

A young individual's peers, especially during teen years, are a powerful source of ideas and experiences. Depending on their shared activities and sociometric make-up, peer groups can expose young people to a range of experiences, institutions and concepts that parents and relatives do not. The power of peers to shape a sibling's perspectives is manifest in parents' concerns about their mixing with the 'wrong crowd'. Peer group research should, however, heed the significance of cultural and sub-cultural factors, because practices and experiences cannot be divorced from wider material and socio-cultural contexts of which they form part.

Different societies have different social structures. For example, the 'closed' social structure in the Indian caste system, fixes position for life; the 'open' social structure in N. America/Europe is achievement orientated. Different social groups have different cultures (beliefs etc.), and each time a new culture is joined, learning occurs to act within it. Thus, there are behavioural differences in different cultural groups. hardman, Krotee and Chrissanthopoulos (1988) and Hardman (1989) have reported cultural differences amongst students and teachers towards competitive sport. Ichimura and Naul (1991) found that differences in the former West German and Japanese females' socialisation (when and where it occurred, and perpetrators of introduction) into soccer were accounted for by cultural and sub-cultural differences. The differences were manifested in playing the game itself, sports socialisation of females and general attitudes to the role of women in society. Joining new cultures is a life-long process, therefore logically physical education should be a life-long experience! Individuals are socialised into sport culture, and sport can help socialise participants into society - cooperation, responsibility for actions and so on. A comparative research study (Gambetta & De Pauw, 1995) focusing on elderly American and German people's attitudes toward physical activity showed differences in choices of activity, the age at which individuals were initiated into activity and agencies of socialisation. American senior citizens were disposed toward choice of activities, which had high 'visible presence' and had 'organised programmes'; German seniors tended towards activities associated with 'clubs' of their affiliation. Both sample populations cited 'self-motivation' as a primary factor in decisions to participate and identified 'friend/spouse' as the initiator(s) of participation. American males ranked 'wives' as a main reason for initiating activity significantly higher than German males, and German females ranked 'husbands' significantly higher than their American counterparts as the reason. The American sample subjects were found to be more likely to identify the 'doctor' as a reason for initiation into activity and cited 'health and fitness' and 'relaxation' - herein possibly lies the link with medical practitioner initiation - as motivators; the German subjects rated 'pleasure/enjoyment' as important reasons for activity engagement. It was also noted that active life-styles commenced at a later age amongst the American subjects: possible causal explanations may be found both in differences in school physical education and sport programmes and the socio-cultural differences in terms of sports club affiliation.

Cross-cultural research involving Asian cultures reveals that priority is allocated to academic/intellectual development and not physical achievement (see later references to Hong Kong and People's Republic of China). Further, some research reported by Carroll (1993) revealed that ethnic minority group women in Britain accepted domestic and family duties and responsibilities as part of their lives in ways that males do not. It was found that no female group participated in major team sports and yet in the physical education curriculum in England and Wales, hockey and netball dominate the programme for girls: hockey was disliked for the pain incurred and being played in the mud! Higher participation rates were found amongst Christians and 'Non-believers' lowest rates were amongst

Muslims, Sikht and Hindus. The study concluded that gender, religion and cultural matters were highly significant determinants. For Muslims in particular, cultural traditions, which relate to privacy of the body, changing facilities, mixed sex sessions and 'Ramadan' are influential factors on participation or rather non-participation. Findings from a number of studies (Carrington, Chivers and Williams, 1987; Carrington and Williams, 1988; Carroll and Hollinshead, 1992, 1993) suggest

"partiarchal relations are culturally reproduced in leisure and equal opportunity policies have little chance of succeeding without taking into consideration cultural and religious traditions and values, and that Asian communities do not value physical education and sport as much as other groups" (Carroll, 1993, p.61).

Other societal factors such as the socio-economic structure of the young person's environment and exposure to the mass media, especially television may influence an individual's understanding to society. The physical and social environment is important because of the range of experience open to young people - hence, a remote rural environment compared with an urban inner city environment exposes individuals to quite different sets of people, institutions and experiences. Off-site visits place young people in different learning environments, which can both be more realistic and appropriate in, and to, the learning process. Youngsters can become part of a sporting environment where there is access to a living and active community, and where they can play an active role throughout their life-span. Mass media do bring common experiences perhaps not otherwise observed, and attitudes and behaviours can be reinforced by television and commercials in particular. Sporting experiences of young Asian males in Britain are shped more by racism than any other factor (Carrington, Chivers and Williams, 1987; Bradford Youth Research Team, 1988). For Asians, class transcends societies and is a major determinant in sports participation: 75% of the population in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh live on/below the poverty line in rural areas hence, participation in sport is simply not an available option.

Major socialisation occurs as a result of the operation of the politico-economic system itself, and is enhanced further by the socio-cultural climate, ethos, the ideology and the goals it generates: British imperialism socialised whole nations into sport (e.g. cricket); State interventionism in the former GDR, Cuba and the People's Republic of China, strictly delimiting the nature and scope of participation; American market place sport commercialism; Muslim States, where fundamentalism imposes strict constraints on delivery and participation; and Australian States and Canadian Provinces, where economic realities have led to rationalisation and determined educational and social priorities to the detriment of physical education programmes.

Socialisation and Gender Issues

Extensive cross-cultural research (Goldman and Goldman, 1982) has shown that sex-trait stereotypes are common across all 'western' countries, even those with significant cultural diversity (Williams and Best, 1982). The child and adolescent have been prepared for the sex role to be occupied in adult life by developmental experience within the family. Female experience has been orientated towards domestic work and motherhood, that of males to activities away from the home and to employment in the labour market. To some extent this reflects the direct influence of parents, relatives, teachers and others; it also reflects historical traditions, the impact of the mass media, the sexual division of labour in the economy, and the prevailing sex stereo-types. The influence of different socialising agents, including parents, varies at different periods in the life-cycle.

The significance of parents in fostering sex-appropriate values, attitudes and behaviour has long been recognised. Female children are perceived as physically more vulnerable than males hence, there is a tendency to treat them with more physical care. More encouragement is given to males to be independent, physically active, adventurous, mobile and exploratory in their local environment. Interests are sex-typed by means of language, toys, clothes, play, games, sports etc. Within the family, females tend to be assigned tasks traditionally carried out by the mother and males assigned tasks carried out by the father. Emotional control is more encouraged in male than in female offsprings. Many of these traits and concomitant behaviour are underlined in pre-school establishments and reinforced and institutionalised during compulsory school years, though there are variations associated with type of school, characteristics of teachers, religion, race and social class (Poole, 1983). Differentiation has been seen to occur in curricular subjects (perhaps, none more so than physical education and sport) and in school rituals with sex associations such as sports days, uniforms and dress, and sex-typed sporting activities (Bernstein, 1977). Physical education traditionally has socialized people into seeing and cultivating qualities and pre-dispositions which set males and females apart and NOT what they have in common.

There are of course many influences (significant amongst which are age, peers and the media, particularly television), all of which come together in a complexity of a mix of influence. Despite recent social, occupational and economic changes which render traditional sex stereotypes and beliefs about gender differences outmoded, gender and sex-role development still accords with traditional and family role expectations, although there is evidence to suggest that in some countries limited developmental shifts in keeping with current adult roles in society are occurring (Furnham and Stacey, 1991). There is a need to address curricular, pedagogical and

organisational questions of how, when, why, regardless of sex, people can be brought together whilst respecting and educting them in all their diversity. Differences may divide or enrich politics and lives; they are a "resource and a source of possibility, opportunity and creative change, rather than... a problem or barrier to be removed" (Evans, 1993, p.21).

Physical Education, Sport and Socialisation:

Historical and Contemporary International Context

Physical education and sport as process and product of socialisation have, over time, been differentiated and subject to change as values, and value structures, have changed in societies and cultures. A few examples selected from historical and contemporary contexts will serve to illustrate the point.

Industrialisation and associated urban growth in early 19th century Britain contributed to an erosion of traditional controls. The more hedonistic pleasure activities of the labour force were seen as threats to productivity and social order, the latter unsettling the internal disciplines of the middle class world. Social control, it was believed, could be achieved by altering the 'exterior conditions' in the practice of leisure; directed socialisation, through the rationalisation (i.e. ordered and controlled, preparing the mind and body for work) of recreational engagement, into activities deemed 'respectable' or 'moral' or 'improving', was one instrument utilised to set these qualities into the consciousness of the workers. Thus, employers and reformers in the Victorian era saw recreation as an important instrument for educating the labouring classes in the social values of middle class orthodoxy; it was a tool to forge more effective behavioural constraints in leisure. Diversion from drink was the general strategy employed by introducing new amenities and providing "...a proper environment for exposure to the superior example, whose values would ultimately be internalised" (Bailey, 1978, p.41). One 'reforming' employer-entrepreneur, Samuel Greg in his Cheshire mill, provided music classes, gardens, a playground and tea parties for his workers, trusting that "...By gently guiding them...you may...(make)...them what you wish them to be" (Bailey, 1978, pp.42-43). Elsewhere, councillors, philanthropists and social and religious workers led the 'civilising' mission to the poor, after all, "...the most urbanised nation must be the most civilised" (Meller, 1976, p.41). To achieve the advancement of the working classes, they were to be socialised into the 'right use of leisure' through, for example, attendence at night school or 'Mechanics Institutes' to have their minds stretched with 'Penny Encyclopaedic' knowledge, manuals on political economy or lectures on geology. Socialisation meant subordination of the 'lower orders' through a variety of contrived recreations. However, such social control over the labouring classes' behaviour was largely ineffective, because it was not internalised, a fundamental pre-requisite of socialisation (Mead, 1967).

In the second half of the 19th century, sport came to be regarded as 'rational'. This new respect had its origins in a desire for a healthy and fit nation and in the desire for improved moral education and socialisation. Under the influence of earlier European developments, grounded in Rousseau's writings, moral education came to the fore and physical activity had a significant role to play: playground physical exercises were believed to "extend the moral influence of the teacher" (Committee of Council, 1839-40, p.71), a theme which came to be the underlying tenet of 'muscular christianity', developed within and by English Public (private) boarding schools. Initially, team games provided a means of occupying 'boarders' in a 'positive' activity, which promoted healthy exercise and was perceived as an healthy antidote to ill-discipline associated with the informal pastimes of the early 19th century. From such social control antecedents was derived the belief that competitive sport, especially team games, was thought to have an ethical basis with a transfer of moral behaviour from the field to the world beyond: cricket, for example, was "all part of the business of preparing the young men for the 'great game' to come" (Dobbs, 1973, p.24). 'Official' approval of the values of games was seen in the Clarendon Commission's (1864) recognition that cricket and football fields are not merely places of exercise and amusement; they help to form some of the most valuable social qualities and many virtues.

The claims here were 19th century forerunners of 20th century developments, in which various commentators were persuaded of the qualities and virtues to be derived from participation in play, games and sport and which could be transferred into the broader social and institutional world. British author, H.G. Wells (1911), wrote of the value of imaginative floor games in "keeping boys and girls happy (and) building a framework of spacious and inspiring ideas in them for later life. The British Empire will gain new strength from nursery floor" (pp.9-10). American psychologist, G.S. Hall (1937), cited team sports activities facilitating group loyalty "to develop a spirit of service and devotion not only to town, country and race, but to God and the Church" (vol.1, pp.221-222). Mallery (1910) extolled the virtues of organised play in setting.

"...standards of self-control, of helping the other fellow, of fighting shoulder to shoulder for the honor of the team, if defeat preferable to unfair victory. These standards when translated into the language of political life we call Self-government, Respect for the law, Social Service and Good Citizenship" (p.156).

It was in the realm of play and through concomitant social interaction that Sutton-Smith argued (1972) that structured activity facilitates the provision of first behaviour patterns in reaching towards social organisation, an argument which echoes Cooley's (1962) belief in 'actual life' experiences derived and internalised from the likes of family and play group relations.

Many of the above concepts linking play and sport with transferable positive behavioural outcomes are shared by former British Prime Minister, John Major, who has been a key figure in the pre-eminent status of Games within the recently introduced and revised physical education national curriculum in England and Wales. In a prefatory statement to a Department of National Heritage (1995) policy document, *Sport - Raising the Game*, he asserts:

"Competitive sport teaches valuable lessons which last for life. Every game delivers both a winner and a loser. Sports men must learn to be both. Sport only thrives if both parties play by the rules and accept the results with good grace. It is one of the best means of learning how to live alongside others and make a contribution as part of a team. It improves health and it opens the door to new friendships. (It) enriches the lives of the thousands of people of all ages around the world (and) is a binding force between generations and across borders..., it is at the same time one of the defining characteristics of nationhood and pride" (Department of National Heritage, 1995, p.2).

The Department of National Heritage policy document endorses the ex-Prime Minister's prefatory statements by extolling the virtues of school sport, outcomes of which, it claims, are:

- young people's appreciation of the long term benefits of regular exercise and ability to make informed decisions about adopting a healthy and active lifestyle in future years;
- channelling of energies, high spirits, competitiveness and aggression of the young in a socially beneficial way;
- provision of lessons for life which young people are unlikely to learn so well in any other way; team spirit, good sportsmanship, playing within rules, self-discipline and dedication (p.6).

Physical education in England and Wales is identified as having an important role in perpetuating sport to achieve the ascribed outcomes. Competitive sport, especially team games, is given prominence here, because the Government

"believes fair play, self-dicipline, respect for others, learning to live by laws and understanding one's obligations to others in a team are all matters which can be learnt from team games properly taught" (Department of National Heritage, 1955, p.7).

In pursuit of such goals, it is recognised that curriculum time allocation is inadequate. Therefore, extra-curricular (lunch-times, evenings, weekends) engagement of four hours a week is advocated. To this end, a *Sportsmark* scheme, with the addition of an annual *Gold Star* award for the most innovative schools demonstrating outstanding achievement, is to be introduced.

In order to extend this co-called 'Sporting Culture' beyond the confines of school, the policy document expresses the need for a corporate approach and identifies Further and Higher Education Institutions, sports clubs, local government authorities, youth services, the Sports Council and its regional offices, Governing Bodies of Sport, as well as private sector sponsorship as having contributory roles to play and acting in partnership with Government.

Further historical illustration of the relevance of the thesis related to changes in concept and practice were the ideas of H.M.I. Jolly articulated in an address to the British (Medical) Association in 1976 in Glasgow. He was influenced by the cultural climate of the times in Britain: deteriorated physique, organic defects, disease, misery and death stemming from ignorance of personal and community, hygiene; and developments of enlightened physical education programmes for teachers and pupils in every European country except Britain, Spain, Portugal, Turkey and Greece (Britain stood "in this matter in the company of the least enlightened and least advanced European nations!" (Jolly, 1876, p.16). He pointed to the role of physical education in improving anatomical and physiological functions of the body (physical development), cleanliness (personal hygiene), and social skills (sociability). For Jolly (1876), 'true physical education' should produce "healthy, shapely, and powerful men" and "healthy, strong, and handsome women" with training administrered "equally to both sexes" (p.9). Jolly's ideas stand in contrast to the themes contained within the government's (post-1870 Education Act which heralded a system of state elementary education in England and Wales), instrumentary policy permitting 'drill' to be counted as school attendance for grant purposes. This drill (military in form) was the only officially approved form of physical education until 1890. It was introduced to socialise young boys into "habits of sharp obedience, smartness and cleanliness" (Committee of Council, 1870, p.cxxxvi) with the declared aim of inculcating "ideas of order, regularity and discipline without which it was difficult to obtain fully qualified soldiers and sailors" (Hansard, 1875, col.1203-1204). Some of the outcomes associated with control and discipline are reminiscent of the Spiess form of gymnastics, following the ban on Turnen in the early part of the 19th century.

In pre-colonial Africa, young people were socialised in informal educational settings, perpetuated by family and tribal elders, into physical and sporting activities as a preparation for surviving the rigours of life and hostilities generated by endemic inter-ethnic group warfare. Missionaries and colonial administrators commenced the process of infusion of European ideals. In British East Africa, a system was

imposed in the name of progress towards civilization and westernisation. It was progression, which included the goals of a healthy sound body (necessary for a responsible and content labour force) and sound character - the ideal colonial citizen. The fact that it lacked any real relevance for the indigenous population was immaterial!

In other countries, physical education has been regarded "as an essential element of education" (K.M.K., 1966) and as "indispensable for the upbringing and education of people" (D.S.B., 1966). Changes in societal values and a reshaping of education philosophy are cited as the rationale for the D.S.B.'s 'Second Action Plan for School Sport', (D.S.B., 1985). The rationale parallels those expressed for the curriculum changes in the former G.D.R.'s school physical education programme, introduced shortly before (re)-unification. Further parallels are to be seen in physical education curriculum aims of the G.D.R. and Länder Guidelines of the Federal Republic: health and physical efficiency, harmonious development, acquisition of sports skills, development of positive attitudes, habituation of pupils to positive behavioural codes and moral concepts such as fair play, and preparation for post-school leisure/life-time engagement etc. In the west, physical education came to have a formulative task in the education of 'all.round personality', which embraced the underpinning principles of life enrichment and the sportive active child. Similar principles were to be found in the east, where pupils were to be socialised into "leading a healthy life and to be brought up to regularly and systematically participate in sport during leisure time" (Körpererziehung, 1987, p.54), but the real emphasis was on the formulation of the 'socialist personality', in which socialist character traits, attitudes and convictions, including socialist patriotism and proletarian nationalism had a part to play. Herein, lies an illustration of the differences influenced by socio-cultural, political and ideological determinants: for the G.D.R. central authorities, the development of the 'socialist personality' encompassed physical, political and moral preparation "for the defence of the socialist fatherland (which was) the patriotic duty and honour of each young person" (Ministerium für Volksbildung, 1980, p.7).

To some extent, the former West and East German differentiations are mirrored in Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China (PRC). In Hong Kong, physical education is given a role in "building fit individuals" (Curriculum Development Institute, 1994, p.442). Hence, in the aims of school programmes, physiological and neuro-muscular efficiency and fitness, active life-styles and desirable social attitudes and patterns of behaviour (fair play, sportsmanship, community cooperation and sense of responsibility) feature alongside implicit development of self-esteem through confidence building acquisition of skills. Similar physiological, functional anatomical efficiency and skills development characterise physical education curricular aims in the PRC, but differentiations of social attitudes are apparent in the promotion of the spirit of unity (of 1.3 billion people), love of the socialist motherland, Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party, Liberation Army and Chinese leadership as well as the cultivation of communist morality (Qu, 1990, pp.62-63). As Xie (1990) so aptly comments, the quality of the labour force depends on the intellectual and physical strength of workers, for which physical training is utilised to achieve: "...it helps the workers master production skills faster and increases attendance and productivity" (p.31).

Nevertheless, and in contrast to the fundamentally influential Mao Gedong's thoughts that moral education and intellectual development are based on physical training, despite their different political economies and ideological persuasion, both Hong Kong and the PRC have inherited docrines embedded in Buddism, Taoism and Confucianism, common to which are quiet, studious and contemplative life and delicate physique with emphasis on the mind, and antipathy to participation in physical activity. The various incursions of western 'muscular christianity' have encountered resistance of the assumed greater importance of intellectual development: "...those who work with their brains rule and those who work with their brawn are ruled" (Li, 1989, p.71); and "those who have brawny extremities are simple minded" (Li, 1994, p.407). Parallels are to be seen here with references in the Anglo-Saxon speaking world to 'Jocks' and 'Muscular Morons'. Under the circumstances of "...All people...being ruled, unless they are scholars" (Ye, 1991, p.182), it is hardly surprising that in both cultures, parents stress academic achievement and that in Hong Kong less than 1% of students elect to take physical education examinations!

In Japan, changes and developments in the Japanese physical education curriculum have been predominantly shaped by political, economic and social demands and are, thus, also representative of the specific culture-bound forces. Prior to 1945, the so-called 'Old Physical Education' was aligned to a national policy to enrich and strengthen Japan and the formation of national morals with an emphasis on loyalty and patriotism. The post-1945 years of 'New Physical Education' have shown a shift to an over-riding policy of establishing a democratic and peaceful nation and have been marked by three distinct phases: phase one (1947-1957) was characterised by sound development of the mind and body, and by the moulding of social character; phase two (1958-1976) emphasised mastery of technical skills and the improvement of strength, the latter representing somewhat of an unpopular return to 'Old Physical Education' days; cultivation of moral (fairness) and social attributes (cooperation, proper behaviour); and phase three (1977-1989) reiterated

the development of skills, strength, moral and social qualities, sporting activity.

Since 1989 the trend to socialisation for life-time engagement has accelerated and has been accompanied by promotion of attitudes toward a 'cheerful, rich and vital life' (Maeda, 1994), which, with attributes to be attained through personal and social development, will contribute to the enhancement of the quality of life. Such trends are global and are readily discerned in school physical education programmes in countries, representing all regions of the world. Thus, we can read of a central core of curricular aims embracing motivation for active life-time participation, healthy well-being, motor competence, development of self-concepts, and social functioning including moral behavioural codes in European countries, Canada and the U.S.A., Brazil, Australia and New Zeland, Malaysia, South Korea and Taiwan, Kuwait, and Botswana, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa.

The concept of 'self' has long been a central issue for anthropologists, philosophers, psychologists and latterly child developmentalists. With it has emerged the notion of esteem of self as fundamental to healthy human development. One outcome has been that 'self-esteem' (i.e. Valuing oneself) has attracted the attention of research pedagogues, curriculum planners and educators etc., and there has been a concomitant increase in programmes concerned with personal and social development in many countries. This development is nowhere more obvious than in Anglo-Saxon speaking countries.

Physical education practitioners have a vested interest in young people's self-esteem enhancement. The traditions of British physical education were embodied in 19th century beliefs in the character-building qualities of competitive team sport. These remain pervasively dominant in school curricula in the 1990s, in which aims to foster self-esteem and other psycho-social related qualities such as social competence, self-realisation, emotional stability, moral development, confidence and achievement through the acquisition of physical competence and understanding of capabilities and limitations prevail. Additionally, constructs such as body image and perceived attractiveness, which are related to physical activity, fitness, and health are emerging as influential determinants of self-esteem from an early age and throughout the life-span. The recent trend towards the promotion of life-time involvement in sport and exercise as leisure and health-related activity strengthens the case for physical education as a life-span concept for its potential for nurturing a sense of self and related behaviours. Several researchers (Sonstroem, 1984; Sonstroem & Morgan, 1989; Gruber, 1986) have reported positive outcomes of engagement in physical exercise programmes on self-esteem. The problem for physical educators is an inadequate understanding of the complexities of the mechanisms involved in the processes of achieving self-esteem through exercise programmes. In a similar vein, curricular documents neglect to define or perationalise self-esteem and do not identify strategies for its attainment, rather they implicitly suggest an optimistic belief in enhancement through exposure. It is critical that the efficacy of teaching styles and interpersonal relationships, methods and curriculum content in fostering self-esteem be better understood. It is not only curricular documents, however, which set out aims and objectives etc., almost it seems, in a form of pious hope. Many governmental and other institutional documents present principles and intentions, but neglect to indicate the means and methods by which they are to be attained. The Council of Europe's (1995) *Declaration on the Significance of Sport for Society: Health, Socialisation, Economy* and Fitness Directorate Health Canada's (1994) *Active Living and Health Benefits and Opportunities are classic examples* (refer appendices 1. and 2.) in this genre.

Future Directions

1. Role of Physical Education

Contrary to earlier references to disbenefits and negative outcomes, it is widely acknowledged that physical activity can positively influence physical and psycho-social health - it is important at all stages in the life-cycle from childhood to extreme old age. Therefore, it seems logical to suggest that socialisation into and through physical activity should occur from 'womb' to 'tomb', i.e. a physical education over the full life-span.

If physical education is to sustain its presence both in formal and informal educational and socio-cultural settings, and continue to have a positive role as an instrument of socialisation, then issues have to be confronted. The rigidity and resistance to change, especially by the critically important agents involved, must be overcome. As educational opportunities increase world-wide, the nature of educational provision will inevitably change. The extent of change will depend on the relevance of the educational 'product' to scientific and technological advances and to accelerating social demands for educational opportunities to provide for life-time changes. Consequently, education in general, and physical education in particular, should respond to the needs of optimally developing individuals' capabilities and provide opportunities for personal fulfilment and social interactions, essential in human co-existence. Indeed, as the next millennium draws ever nearer and with the knowledge that educational experiences facilitate and help to enhance life-span welfare and well-being, physical education should be focally involved with the process of personal fulfilment in the future.

To this end, perhaps the better interests of children will be served by closer partnerships of parents and schools. It is desirable that gaps in understanding

between parents, teachers and pupils be bridged. Material, cultural and psychological factors relating to the home exercise a powerful influence on children's development and progress at school. But factors at school (organisation, policy, curriculum and general climate) interact with home factors and may compensate to some extent for adverse features in the family environment. The resilience of children may also be important - success despite social disadvantages. The message here is the desirability of bridging and gaps in understanding between parents, teachers and pupils.

It is worth rememebering that it is not the activity, but the reason for taking part that sustains participation. For the process of socialisation into life-span physical activity engagement, the school physical education curriculum is in need of re-appraisal both in regard to its fundamental purposes in view of social and peer culture and other projected and hidden changes, and to the pedagogic processes that might best bring about these purposes. There is a need to recognise the importance of understanding and reflecting on the contemporary youth culture in structuring a relevant curriculum. Research studies around the world indicate changing activity patterns of adolescents with gender distinctions blurring, sport culture and sport settings becoming more differentiated, traditional activities in decline and greater awareness of what is being sought (Brettschneider and Bräutigam, 1991; Krotee, Blair, Naul, Neuhaus, Hardman, Komuku, Matsumura, Numminen & Jwo, 1994). Generally, a body concept revolution (including the commercial market) is occurring. The body culture is expanding to incorporate body-building, yoga, tai chi chuan, budo, dance, therapeutic exercises, martial arts, jazz gymnastics etc., health practices, and sports tourism amongst others, and involving a range of social groups and sub-groups (Eichberg, 1993). Increasing numbers of new groups (women, senior citizens, ethnic minorities, members of different socio-economic strata, people with disabilities etc.) with different abilities and interests have become more physically active in both formal and informal settings. A world-wide expansion and differentiation of the service domain has also taken place (Nitsch, 1992).

These and similar trends have implications for the future of planned physical education curriculum development. Any reshaping, however, should recognise local and cultural diversities, traditions as well as different social and economic conditions and incorporate a range of aspects related to the all.round and harmonious development of the individual within society. In the pursuit of the greater values associated with enriched 'Quality of Life', at the very least this development should include strategies to foster Self-concepts and to promote awareness of the values of Health and Fitness, and Moral Issues and socialisation into habitual regular practice in the pursuit of those values.

(i) Self-concepts

In both developed, privileged and under-developed, under-privileged communities, education is a means of achieving a better quality of life. Physical education is schools can make a contribution to the education of young people. An initiation into purposeful physical activity transmits practices which can bring understanding of its significance within the culture, its transformative power in developing an enhanced appreciation, and contributing to the development, of the culture. It can, through engagement in purposeful activites, produce understanding and, thereby, more informed choice about 'What' and 'How' to do in life as well as facilitate understanding about the promotion of an individual's welfare and well-being. Physical education should be utilised to attract people to the joy and pleasure of physical activity as in the traditional Japanese philosophy of engagement in exercise for its own sake, and to achieve development through 'instrumental' body and self concepts which, in turn from acquired competence, will affect behavioural perceptions of self-adequacy, self-assurance, self-esteem and self-fulfilment and foster self-actualization.

Self-concept refers to self-description; *self-esteem* refers to a judgemental evaluation of oneself (awareness of what one is like and what one is capable of doing and becoming - it is equated with *self-knowledge*). The evaluation is in part determined by pervading societal values and cultural sub-groups; thus, in some cultures achievement and appearance may be dominant, whilst in others it may be rooted in the quality of social or spiritual relationships. Self-concept has to be seen in a multi-dimensional context, for a feeling of physical competence might also go alongside a feeling of social ineptitude. This might result in lower 'global' self-esteem, particularly if friendship is highly valued and desired. Physical education does not have exclusive rights to the promotion of self-esteem. Physical education programmes oriented to lifetime involvement in sport and exercise have to face the issue of developing a sense of perceived physical competence and success in children. There is a threat of 'discounting' ('importance weights') within the concept of perceived importance - hence, an individual may react to the physical domain and seek grafication elsewere if there is low perceived physical competence, which through 'importance weighting' cannot be discounted (Rosenberg, 1982; Harter, 1986; Fox, 1990). One implication for physical education is that if improvement of specific physical competencies is neither a socially nor individually sought-after commodity, then it will not impact deeply on self-esteem - pervasive value systems of young people have to be taken into account. It there is a sense of personal achievement, the individual may well be drawn close to the physical domain and this might help to prevent the need for 'discounting' and avoidance behaviour. There is a practical

challenge as to how perceptions of competence can be nurtured in individuals of different potentials. It should also be remembered that group of social values may be sufficiently powerful to overcome the competence or achievement motive; the athletically talented and successful young person may be drawn away because of a desire to be accepted as a member of a group whose value for sporting prowess is low. The increased interest in fitness education and health-related exercise has produced greater attention to the body and its physical condition. The health lobby argues for the need to educate young people to try to achieve and maintain a body that is healthy. But because appearance is a such a dominating construct, particularly amongst the young, issues such as weight management, slimness, obesity, muscularity, and the cultural and health connotations they carry, must be carefully addressed. Physical education will need to be selective in the values it attempts to promote and those it decides to challenge. A related and important concept that has implications for physical education (especially in terms of views and assessment of physical competence and appearance) is that of *self-acceptance*. By inference, it suggests that a stable core of self-esteem has been developed. Genetic factors produce a number of physical inequalities in life and most will not achieve high standards or excellence. Therefore, it is imperative that acceptance of limitations, whilst retaining motivation is fostered - a key here is 'self-improvement as a measure of success: may with physical handicaps seem to have accepted their limitations and yet still take on the challenge of personal improvement! The processes involved with self-esteem are incomplete without other significant support ' systems': peers, friends, parents, teachers, family, quality of competence information. Physical education can contribute by assisting children to develop an inner, stable core of self-esteem, that is independent of talents and inadequacies.

(ii) Health and Fitness

There is limited awareness of young people's perceptions of terms such as 'health', 'fitness' and 'exercise'. There is evidence to suggest that they tend to have multi-dimensional perceptions of health (Head, 1987; Murray and Jarrett, 1985), and have acquired information and knowledge from various sources (Williams, Wetton and Moon, 1989). However, understanding of health issues appears to be limited (Combes and Braun, 1989) and beliefs about health are not necessarily reflected in actual behaviours (Backett and Alexander, 1991; Silman, 1979). 'Health' is seen as 'fitness', or 'the ability to conduct everyday activities smoothly', but generally, there is little information about children's perceptions of fitness and exercise. Perhaps, health-related exercise programmes and their messages would be more effective if they took into account the way in which young people perceive and think about health, fitness and exercise issues. Thus, through increased

understanding of perceptions, teaching strategies can be devised to achieve a better conceptual understanding. Research (Harris, 1994) suggests that young people recognise exercise as a health-promoting behaviour but appear to have limited awareness of the potential social and psychological benefits of such behaviour, and yet the young people concerned participate to enjoy social and psychological benefits, such as social contact, achievement and social well-being. Perhaps, physiological values are valued more highly understood. Psycho-social aspects as well as physiological outcomes should be emphasised and individuals helped to adopt a 'fitness for life' or 'active life-style' philosophy.

For health-related fitness, an appropriate rationale and capacity for establishing the foundation of self-care of the functioning body should be developed, as body image and concepts are increasingly likely to play a greater role in the psychology of personal stability, which underscores personality and social effectiveness. But in so doing, it should not be regarded as a substitute for an integrated programme of physical education, which has, or ought to have, wider and more intrinsic purposes. Young people should be initiated into life-style management skills that keep them reflecting and acting upon their needs for activity. These skills will need to be reinforced with links into post-school lifelong participation. Genuine understanding should be developed through participation and reflection. If healthy practices have their roots in early childhood, it is important to increase understanding of the ground in which the seeds are sown as well as the processes which might help or hinder (Brustad, 1991). Young people need to be able to relate exercise to themselves, therefore, the focus should be on understanding and relevance. Value, respect and care about individuals and their contexts, involving consideration of their life circumstances is necessary (Harris & Almond, 1991). Meaningful learning involves making links with prior knowledge. Thus, the need for understanding people's attitudes, views and beliefs from the outset is essential as is assistance in "relating perceptions and experiences to their everyday lives" (Harris, 1994, p.149).

(iii) Moral Issues

Cultural theory stresses that the moral individual conforms to societal expectations, that each society sanctions its own moral conventions and that there are clear distinctions between developing and western cultures. As moral development is societal, morals are relative between cultures and there are no universal moral principles. Cultural theory emphasised conformity to dominant social groups and internalisation of transmitted conventions as its explanation of moral development (Kutnick, 1992, p.40). Moral education through the use of schools to promote the moral development of children is found in most countries. In his prefatory comments on the

UNESCO International Commission on 'Education for the Twenty-First Century', Jacques Delores (1993) referred to a weakening of societal value systems and called on education to contribute to the evolution of common values as well as to a better understanding of others. Moral value is characterised by the embodiment of concern for the promotion of a least certain human interests and avoidance of a least certain types of human harm and by ethical (honour, magnanimity, cooperative endeavour etc.) and social morality, a reciprocal acknowledgement of rights and duties and concern for human interests (Strawson, 1970). Moral education, the fostering of knowledge and understanding and emotional development, which are necessary conditions for critical thinking on moral issues and making rational moral judgements, which they translate into appropriate intentional behaviour, has long been associated with physical education and today features in the aims and objectives of school physical education programmes. Sporting activity may, indeed, be influential for the better, though some athletes, including professional sports people and those on performance enhancing drugs, are not exactly paragons of virtue - at best much in professional sport has a dubious image, therefore, participation may be mis-educative. It also has to be said, sports people do not have a monopoly of virtues, and abstainers do not seem particularly pernicious or vicious! Moreover, some commentators (Kraft, 1967; Sutton-Smith, 1972) on aspects of socialisation through sports' participation, intimate that learning to break the rules (cheating), deception, foul play etc. are readily grasped by young participants in games activities. The issue here is whether learning to win by violating the rules and yet which is effective in inducing team solidarity and cohesion, and at the same time is a preparation for life (Leonard, 1974; Sutton-Smith, 1972), is a *de-socialising* experience, and learning to win by observing the rules a *socialising* experience? Perhaps, the term 'socialisation' which signifies acceptance of culture patterns is less appropriate than a term which implies learning "elementary rules and attitudes necessary for human social life anywhere, anytime" (Calhoun, 1987, p.278). Nonetheless, virtues such as fair play, honesty, losing/winning gracefully and the like are fundamental in the concept of 'homo ludens', and it could be argued that physical activity is uniquely placed to inculcate many of the related and desirable moral vitues. A set of moral habits based on a content of moral codes that can be rationally defended (e.g. it is wrong to discriminate on grounds of race, colour, sex and religion) should be developed. A crucial moral value is concern for human interests - its development is a key to moral education. Physical education teachers can make or break on moral education. A focal core for consideration should include: discussion of moral values; commendation of morally praiseworthy behaviour; condemnation of gross breaches of moral values; embodiment of morally sound behaviour in activities engaged in; and reflection on attitudes to

pupils and style of communication. However, sustained efforts and greater resources are needed to increase the impacts. To these should be added research to assist in identifying the best pedagogic methods by which to achieve greater success, for pedagogical methodology is the crucial factor rather than the subject matter itself.
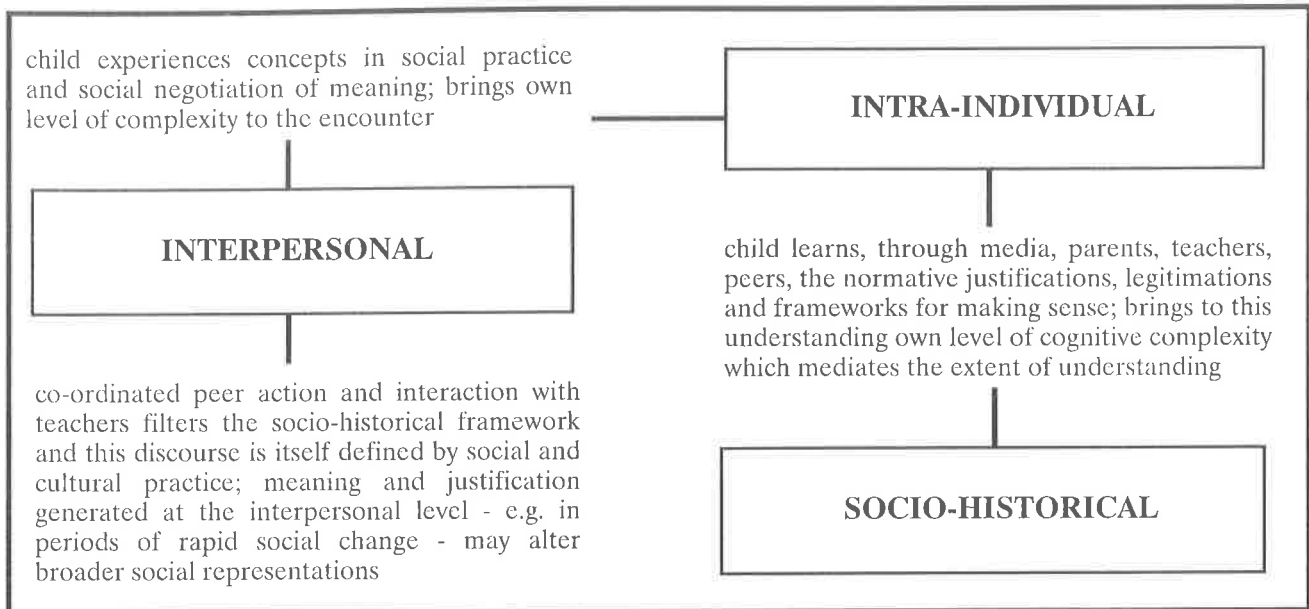
2. Research

In development psychology, a 'quiet revolution' from the idea of a solitary problem solver to that of a social being situated in, and drawing from, a particular cultural and historical context, has been taking place. The role of language, which eases the child into a particular cultural-social world is being stressed:

"its metaphors, its kinds of explanations, its categories, and its way of interpreting and evaluating events. These are not *invented* by the child; they are the common currency of the culture, the framework that determines the boundaries of the child's concepts" (Bruner & Haste, 1987, p.2).

This means that the child learns the 'commonsense knowledge' available in the culture. In a particular culture, social experience or context shapes the child's perceptions and conceptions and the frameworks and schemas which are transmitted to the child. Bruner and Haste (1987) claim there are three themes in relation to discourse: *scaffolding, negotiation of meaning*, and the *transfer of cultural representations*. On sex and related role differences, Lloyd (1987) has noted the through the ways that mothers respond to children as young as six months (toys given, behavioural language descriptors and style of linguistic interaction), they shape and scaffold the child's interpretation of their experience and this ensures that boys have a quite different framework for interpreting experience than girls. By only just after the end of the first year, boys and girls show noticeably different behaviours: effectively, they operate within the different representational schemes provided for them.

Haste (1987) has presented a 'model' of the relationship between three worlds which interact to influence young people's understanding of society (refer figure 1.). The *socio-historic* world is the domain of cultural mores, culturally defined and historically accumulated expected justification and explanation. The child comes into contact with it through symbols, metaphor and codes for action which reflect meaning and social categories, as well as direct instruction by parents, peers and the media. It delineates the scope and boundaries for the generation of rules and their justifications. It is a resource for the rules for conducting *interpersonal* (the domain of social interaction -the area in which meanings are negotiated and through which cultural norms and social conventions are learned) interaction, as well as for how one should engage in *intra-personal* (the domain in which individuals assimilate experiences and construct understanding)

child experiences concepts in social practice and social negotiation of meaning; brings own level of complexity to the encounter	**INTRA-INDIVIDUAL**
INTERPERSONAL	child learns, through media, parents, teachers, peers, the normative justifications, legitimations and frameworks for making sense; brings to this understanding own level of cognitive complexity which mediates the extent of understanding
co-ordinated peer action and interaction with teachers filters the socio-historical framework and this discourse is itself defined by social and cultural practice; meaning and justification generated at the interpersonal level - e.g. in periods of rapid social change - may alter broader social representations	**SOCIO-HISTORICAL**

Source: Weinreich-Haste (1984)

Figure 1. A model of the relationship between the intra-individual, the interpersonal and the socio-historical

reflection on rules and order. A two-way process is involved; the child's interpretations of the socio-historic resource depend on the level of cognitive complexity. In interactions with children, the interaction between cultural resources and individual levels of complexity are unconsciously manipulated; they are presented with particular messages, particular frameworks within which to make sense of the world, but the level of that message is adjusted to the child's level of comprehension. Thus, the child learns two things: the content of the message and the appropriate structure for conceptualising it, which has been presented by parents/ teachers as a scaffold for understanding, but which is expected to change with maturity. Intra-individual learning cannot be understood without reference to both interprersonal experiences and socio-historical circumstances.

Weinreich-Haste's model might well serve as one method offering a basis for research studies concerned with the nature of socialisation and physical education and sporting activity in cultural context.

Concluding Comments

The redefination of concepts of physical education together with a reconstruction of physical education present challenges, which can only serve to improve the status, state and quality of the service to be delivered and so contribute to extend opportunities for engagement in physical activity to all cultural and sub-cultural groups over the full life span as well as in all institutional and wider societal communities over the four points of the compass. They are challenges which should not ignore relevant scholarly research in the social and pedagogical sciences, which, in recent years have made significant progress in unravelling some of the 'mysteries' of socialisation processes in different and various cultural and cross-cultural contexts. They are also challenges which should not ignore the Past, but should learn from it, for together with the Present, it will help shape a more positive Future.

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