

SPORT FOR ALL?:

**An Ethnographer's Interpretation of the Underlying Factors Influencing
Children's Participation in PE and Sport and Their Consequences for an
Efficacious Implementation of the Guidelines for PE of the '5-14 Curriculum
and Assessment in Scotland: national guidelines: Expressive Arts..'**

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I hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis has been solely composed by myself and that the contents therein are my own.

Abstract:

In 1989 the Scottish Office Education Department (SOED) introduced a curriculum innovation entitled, '*Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland (CAS) a Policy for the 90's*'. Curriculum guidelines for PE were contained within '*Expressive Arts 5-14*' (SOED 1992). The immediate aim of the guidelines was to ensure that, '*Physical education should provide all pupils with opportunities to engage in purposeful and enjoyable physical activities*' (SOED 1992 p3).

This thesis is concerned to explore the underlying factors influencing the implementation of the guidelines for *5-14 CAS PE*. By critically examining 'socialisation' based explanations for children's involvement in PE and sport, this research suggests that the existence of pupil cultures in PE classrooms present problems for the implementation of policies in PE. The utilisation of an ethnographic approach, enables children's involvement in PE and sport to be understood from a cultural perspective and for theory to be elucidated from the daily patterns of behaviour of the individuals studied.

The research is contextualised through a discussion of the theoretical literature emanating from 'Differentiation - Polarisation Theory', education reform, elitism in PE and the function of sport in society. This literature is compared with the findings of the ethnography to provide a critical perspective from which to examine the guidelines for *5-14 CAS PE*.

The study finds that differentiation in PE classes is associated with children's experiences of success and failure. It observes that the ability to succeed or fail during PE and sport relates to early processes of socialisation and the cultural capacity for children to make choices. This capacity is found to relate to children's 'ideas of self'. The thesis locates these ideas in a group context in PE classes and sports areas; where children are found to derive status from their involvement in PE and sport. This process commences at primary school where children least oriented to sport are found to be alienated from sport and PE and to develop values in conflict with the values of high status children, PE teachers and adults who organise sports activities.

The thesis concludes that policies aiming to provide opportunities for 'all pupils' in both PE and sport, need to address the alienation of children during primary school and the value systems of children experiencing and inflicting this alienation. These value systems are identified during the ethnographic process, examined in relation to literature in the field and discussed with regards to the guidelines for *5-14 CAS PE*. This study, therefore, argues for a pupil-centred approach to PE teaching which takes account of the contrasting pupil cultures within PE classes and the wider aspects of differentiation and elitism that relate to the role of sport and education in Scottish society.

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INTRODUCTION

The inspiration to begin this thesis emerged from a number of sources. Whilst studying for a BSc in Social Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Ulster at Coleraine (1986-89). I developed an interest in some of the works of Paul Willis and George Orwell. I was fascinated by the parts of these authors' works which concentrated on the process by which every day cultural factors stimulated peoples behaviour. At this time, I cultivated an interest in how social science discussed the issues of structure and agency.

This interest in combination with my anthropological knowledge, brought forth the conclusion that it should be the role of social scientists to study micro-social features of society in order to cast light on macro-factors. This conclusion was underpinned by the impression that traditional sociology and anthropology struggled to account for processes of change in society. I argued as part of my degree dissertation that the techniques of social anthropology should be applied to the study of culture in the anthropologists own society because this would allow macro-level policy making to be stimulated by micro-level investigation. It was my aim on completing my undergraduate studies to carry out ethnographic research which would stimulate/contribute to policy making in Scotland.

The subject matter chosen (children's involvement in PE and sport) owed much to my life long participation in sport. I had spent time as a rugby coach of secondary school children. I was encouraged by Simon Harison (my director of studies whilst at Coleraine) to apply to study for a PhD. This sponsored an interest as to why children chose to give up their involvement in sport or chose never to participate in sport. I was interested to know what happened to children who (unlike myself) did not find success/enjoyment through PE and sports involvement.

This interest when united with my interest to contribute to policy making evolved into my eventual choice of thesis topic: the investigation of the underlying factors influencing children's participation in PE and sport and their consequences for an efficacious implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*.

In keeping with the anthropological background of the study **chapter one** of the thesis discusses the motivation which led this study to utilise an ethnographic approach to explore children and their cultures in schools. The problem of how to gain an understanding of the meaning of 'others' is discussed in connection with the aim of the research project: to develop an understanding of children's involvement in PE in sport which not only contributes to the knowledge of academia of this subject but which provides information which could further the process of PE and sports education by taking account of the relationship between children's involvement in PE (the micro level), policy initiatives (the intermediate level) and the role of sport and education in society (the macro level) .

Chapter two of the thesis locates the theoretical literature within which it is possible to understand the ethnographic findings of the study. It takes the form of a review of issues in PE, a review of literature concerning sports participation by school aged children and a review of issues concerning education reform. The aim in this chapter is to develop an understanding of the previous literature in the paradigm without placing too much emphasis on that literature. This aim is born out of the concern that the theories expressed in this thesis be developed from the ethnographic findings of the thesis rather than stimulated by the previous literature on children's involvement in PE and sport. This chapter culminates in a discussion of the nuances of education reform in order to define the educational climate within which the study occurred and the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* will be implemented.

Chapter three outlines the practicalities of the research process. The procedural factors of the ethnography are discussed in the context of planning and developing the practice of interviewing/participant observation. This chapter precedes the five chapters which outline the ethnographic experiences of the researcher. **Chapters four, five and six** concentrate on the PE area of the fieldwork. **Chapters seven and eight** concern the non-school issues of PE and sports participation.

Chapter four sets out the process through which children differentiate between each other during PE. It illustrates the divisive nature of issues of gender, skill levels, co-ordination levels and the ability to understand the concepts of PE.

Chapter five is separated into two distinct yet interrelated sections: differentiation during competitive activities and differentiation during non - competitive activities. These sections identify the relationship between children's ideas of self, processes of differentiation in PE classrooms and expected forms of behaviour amongst children. This relationship is identified as of crucial importance to the confidence of children in both competitive and non- competitive activities. Also, this chapter discusses the role of teachers in the process of differentiation.

Chapter six critically discusses the findings of the previous two chapters. It identifies a number of competing (conformist and non-conformist) value systems within PE classes. These value systems are described as crucial to child-child and teacher-child interaction. The interaction of children with different value systems is observed to lead to conflict. This chapter defines the consequences for policy making in PE of these competing value systems.

Chapter seven investigates the relationship between the patterns of behaviour of children during PE and children's patterns of 'free time'. The understandings developed in the previous chapters, namely, that children could be differentiated on the grounds of their skill levels (perceived and actual), confidence levels and the values they exhibited during PE lessons, are related to children's sports behaviour patterns. The influences affecting children outside of the school (i.e. non-school clubs, parents' help, friends and previous experiences of sport) are represented in terms of the children's responses to interviews carried out during the study. It is concluded that children's different opportunities to participate in social and club competitive ball sports results in differentiation during primary and secondary school PE which leads to the development of different groups in PE classes (identified in chapter six). Moreover, it is argued that the consequence on school children of the differential availability of sporting resources outwith PE must be addressed if policy makers are to influence children's behaviour during PE.

Chapter eight illustrates the nature of parental influence with regard to children's sports and 'free time' interests. The importance of issues such as the input of resources, availability of role models and parental encouragement are investigated in order to understand how parents support and instigate their children's interests. It concludes that teachers and policy makers who wish to increase children's involvement in PE and sport must address the influences on children's participation in these activities. Notably, they should recognise the effect on participation levels of differential resources in the home, the cultural capacity of children to make choices and parental control influencing children's confidence levels.

Chapters four to eight each contain a concluding section which discusses the relationship between the findings of the ethnography and the development of PE policy. These conclusions form the spine which supports both **chapter nine** and the overall thesis. **Chapter nine** argues that an efficacious and successful pupil-centred PE policy could be developed through teachers and policy makers comprehending the structural (resources in the home) and cultural influences (capacity to exhibit agency, peer group association) which underpin the individual and group behaviour of children in PE classrooms. It frames these influences within the context of policy initiatives in PE and sport and the role of sport and education in society . This chapter reaches the conclusion that the understandings presented in this thesis could help to stimulate change in the process of the implementation of PE policy to schools in Scotland.

CHAPTER ONE: IDEAS ON ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK:

The past ten years in Britain have seen a sea change in ideas about education. This has been characterised by almost constant curriculum and policy innovation. In Scotland innovation has taken the form of; the introduction of: school boards (Munn 1992), a national curriculum for the years 5-14 (Brown 1990), National Testing and the publication of school exam results (Gipps 1989), the implementation of performance indicators (Macpherson 1989, Spencer and McGregor 1992) school development plans (Munn 1992), revision of highers and the introduction and the development of the standard grade (Munn and Brown 1985, Mc Intyre 1985).

Current curriculum reforms, particularly the *5-14 Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: national guidelines: Expressive Arts'* guidelines for PE¹, draw attention to the importance of PE and sport for all children. This study will show that differential participation by children in PE and sport is located fundamentally in a nexus of social, cultural and personal features. To unravel this connection it is important to address the issue of the methods that researchers employ in the study of children and their cultures in schools.

This chapter will examine the motivation which led this study to utilise an ethnographic approach to explore children and their cultures in schools and therefore, to identify the underlying factors influencing the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*.

¹ for the purpose of this thesis these will be referred to as *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*.

The use of ethnography enabled children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling to be understood from a cultural perspective and for theory to be elucidated from the daily patterns of behaviour of the individuals studied. However, the use of an ethnographic approach is not without its difficulties, especially in the context of researching children in schools.

Locating the study in PE classrooms involved the researcher in contact with pupils, teachers and, ultimately, parents. This confronted the researcher with the problem of how to gain an understanding of what PE and sport meant to these individuals. This problem is central to all ethnographic works. Moreover, a reading of literature concerned with how social scientists and social anthropologists come to an understanding of the meaning of 'others' yields a number of areas of concern, these are:

The role of the ethnographer in the social area under study.

The use of reflexivity.

The location of actors' meanings in a wider order.

Previous use of ethnographic techniques in educational research.

Proposals for the use of ethnography in educational research.

Is Ethnography Rigorous?

Macro/Micro synthesis and the purpose of educational research:

This chapter illuminates each of these areas through the discussion of literature concerning theoretical aspects of ethnography and the understanding of the meanings of others. This discussion is, in turn, related to practical considerations concerning the use of ethnography in schools.

A number of questions are investigated during this chapter. They concern the level of involvement of researchers in the societies they study, the relationship between actors' actions and the wider society within which they occur and how the understanding of the meanings of others takes account of the researcher's own preconceptions and prejudices. The outcome of these questions is the development of a cohesive ethnographic research approach that identifies both the aims of the study and the techniques through which these aims are met.

It is appropriate here to classify a number of terms employed in this chapter. When referring to the 'behaviour of individuals' this is considered to mean the same as 'individual action and 'agency'². Culture is understood to refer to patterned individual behaviour. However, as a result of the process of ethnographic fieldwork cultures were identified as being forged through the interaction of individuals with similar and different patterned behaviour³, resistance between groups⁴ and the appreciation of a group's capacity to display different behaviour than other groups⁵. That is, the role of culture with regards to parents, pupils and teachers was defined during and on completion of the fieldwork stage of this thesis rather than prior to the commencement of the ethnography. Subsequently, a dialectic is identified between agency/culture and structure within which neither wholly determines the other. The importance of these concepts on research in education is discussed in the next chapter. Their importance for policy making in PE and sport is discussed throughout chapters four to nine.

² See Giddens (1976) on p22

³ Supporting Jenkins (1992) contention that life styles should be defined in terms of social interaction, self identification and the discovery of hidden unity.

⁴ Supporting Willis (1977) see p31.

⁵ See Bourdieu (1986) on p83

The Role of the Ethnographer in the Social Area Under Study

It has been argued that the researcher must understand the intended consciousness of the people under study and that this can be done by changing places with, or finding common ground with those people being studied (Phillipson 1972).

W Dilthey stated:

'Only by comparing myself to others and becoming conscious of how I differ from them can I experience my own individuality... ..We are mainly aware of the inner life of others only through the impact of their gestures, sounds and acts on our senses. We have to reconstruct the inner source of the signs which strike our senses. Everything: material, structure, even the most individual features of this reconstruction, have to be supplied by transferring them from our own lives.... ..The possibility of valid interpretation can be deduced from the nature of understanding. There, the personalities of the interpreter and his author do not confront each other as two facts which cannot be compared: both have been formed by a common human nature and this makes common speech and understanding among men possible' (1900: 258).

The argument was that it is possible for one person to understand another by putting themselves in the position of the other. By experiencing the lives of other people, the researcher learns how these lives differ from his/her own life.

Dilthey argued that this identified the difference between the study of human activity and that of science. He stated that all knowledge of scientific laws:

'Depends on measurable, countable and regular aspects of experience,' and therefore, 'Every abstract proposition of the human studies can only be justified by reference to mental life which has been experienced and understood' (1900: 261)

Therefore, to understand 'meaning' an individual has to actually have experienced that meaning on a regular basis. Unlike science, the study of human activity involves the study of lived experiences. Dilthey identified the role of a researcher as to interpret the meaning of individual's actions by gaining access, to the individuals under study, which enabled him/her to compare life experiences with them.

From that comparison, Dilthey argued, common ground would be found between the researcher and subject from which they could understand each others' meanings. At the same time, Dilthey added, these meanings should be understood in terms of how a person's experiences are related to the other social parts of the society under study.

This type of interpretative approach in anthropology defined the role of the ethnographer as that of an observing participant. The positivist distinction between observer and observed phenomena is eliminated in order that the researcher can acquire an interpretative understanding of the host society's culture, its rules and logic. For validation, the ethnographer must prove to his subjects that he can , *'Talk as they talk, see as they see and do as they do.'* (Holy 1984: 30)

Dilthey's approach could be justified as being 'valid' because it involved the researcher actually experiencing and understanding the 'mental life' of those individuals he/she was studying.

However, this view caused problems for the proposed research. How could I as a researcher become a teacher, parent, or a child. The first two roles might be possible, through time, but the last role was impossible to take up.

The approach of Dilthey could be contested on two grounds. Firstly, the argument that insights could only be found through the researcher finding common ground with the individuals he/she is studying overlooked the fact that researchers can develop meaning from the differences and lack of common ground between themselves and their subjects . Secondly, it suggested that an understanding of individuals 'meanings' can only be gained by the researcher changing places with the individuals being studied. This suggestion overlooked the fact that researchers can put themselves in a position to exchange meaning without actually having been fully immersed within that individual's life experiences.

Common Ground or Not?

Richard Rorty argues that finding common ground is not crucial. In discussing hermeneutics, he states, the hope of the researcher:

'Is not a hope for discovery of antecedently existing common ground, but simply hope for agreement, or, at least, exciting and fruitful disagreement....We must be hermeneutical where we do not understand what is happening but are honest enough to admit it, rather than being blatantly "Whiggish" about it....There is no requirement that people should be more difficult to understand than things; it is merely that hermeneutics is only needed in the case of incommensurable discourse, and that people discourse whereas things do not.' (Rorty 1980: 318, 321 & 346)

In opposition to Dilthey, Rorty's argument is that we do not have to find common ground to be able to interpret each other. Interpretations can be gained by being hermeneutical where there are no fixed rules, that is, where science cannot be used to develop interpretations.

In anthropology, ethnography has come to be viewed as a process of two way exchange between the anthropologist and the subject. At present the perception is that ethnographic fieldwork can be a communication between the anthropologist's and his subjects' cultural systems and systems of meaning (Marcus and Fisher 1986).

Clifford Geertz (1973) cautioned that understanding the native did not require the anthropologist to somehow get into his/her head, rather, communication depended upon exchange. He believed that, in ordinary communication, a mutual correction of signals occurs which results in a consensus of meaning between the parties involved. Geertz's view implies that the ethnographer acts as a translator and mediator between distinct cultures and between sets of categories and cultural concepts.

Geertz (1980) paid attention to the ethnographic problem of understanding, describing and translating an alien subject for an audience. He integrated what he learnt by investigating a foreign culture with conditions and knowledge in his own culture, presenting the epistemological lessons of analysing Bali as a critique of our view of politics in the west.

This approach came to be called the, 'epistemological critique'. The challenge for this technique was to provide insights gained from the outer regions of our global system as an alternative to settled ways of thinking in the West. The exchange in the field was brought back to the home culture and re-employed as a means of cultural critique (Marcus and Fisher 1986).

This type of interpretative approach employs the contrast between the researcher's culture and that of the subject as mechanism by which to collect information which, in turn is utilised to criticise perceptions within the researcher's society. Hence, it is not necessary for the researcher to find common ground to develop an understanding of the people being investigated. The very existence of differences can be used to develop understanding.

This approach was not exclusive to anthropology. George Orwell's factual writings were concerned with how the lives of individuals were embedded in a wider structure. He investigated and wrote about cultures in our society in order to discover differences that could challenge settled ways of thinking. This technique of epistemological critique is most evident in 'Road to Wigan Pier' (1937). He used this technique to criticise the Spanish civil war from the inside in 'Homage To Catalonia' (1967) and based his criticism of imperialism in 'Burmese days' (1934) on his own experiences in Burma. Allied to his use of the epistemological technique was his representation of the lives of the homeless through the cross-cultural juxtaposition of the lives of 'down and outs' in 'Down and Out in Paris and London' (1933). Throughout all these writings, Orwell used ethnographic detail to criticise the systems in which the individuals he had investigated were embedded.

The outcome of this approach is that researchers no longer have to become fully immersed within the culture they study. By employing the difference between their culture and their subjects' cultures as a tool through which to discover the meanings, researchers can take up roles which allow for cultural exchange rather than roles which require the researcher to *'Talk as they talk, see as they see and do as they do.'* (Holy 1984 p30).

This is in keeping with concerns, raised by Wax, about the level of access an ethnographer should attempt to achieve:

'Similarly the researcher who insists on equating understanding with intense and intimate participation - who believes that he can do field research only if he lives with his hosts, shares in all their activities, and refrains absolutely from asking questions - may find himself thrown out on his ear, or a less harsh lot, simply unable to carry on his work' (1971: 7).

Wax advanced the observation, that a researcher may cause problems by expecting too much access within the field. She indicated that for political reasons, moral reasons or because the presence of the researcher upsets people, it may not be possible for the researcher to fully participate in the society under study.

We learn, then, that the researcher must not force the host people into accepting him/her, but should wait for plausible roles in the society to be offered. Access to the society under study is not always freely open to the interpretative researcher who requires a role that will allow for cultural exchange (Wax 1971).

This issue concerning finding plausible roles holds comparisons with the views of Phillipson (1972) and George Orwell (1937). Phillipson stated:

'The phenomenological perspective emphasises that if you cannot obtain data, if you cannot obtain access, if you cannot examine the constructions of meaning and therefore offer a reconstruction, then there is not much you can say. Interpretations under these conditions will remain common-sense speculations.' (1972: 163)

Orwell believed that by immersing himself in the lives of the working-class and the poor, and actually participating in the way of life of those he studied, he had the right to comment on their situations from a stance other than that of 'middle-class do-gooder'. However, he noted that different levels of involvement were possible. In the case of 'Down and Out in Paris and London' (1933), he indicated that immersion amongst the tramps was not difficult for him to achieve. He stated:

'Once you are in that world and seemingly of it, it hardly matters what you have been in the past... You can become a tramp simply by putting on the right clothes and going to the nearest casual ward, but you can't become a navvy or a coal miner. You couldn't get a job as a navvy or a coal miner even if you were equal to the work' (1933: 136).

We discover, then, that it is not necessary for the researcher to actually take the role of the people under study, rather, it is necessary to gain a form of access to the people under investigation which allows the researcher to exchange meanings with them. This may involve the researcher having to accept the role offered by the society under study because of factors that relate to the very meanings that exist within the society.

This is an important issue. It means that it is far from helpful for sociologists, or anthropologists, to demand that the researcher becomes fully immersed in the society under study. The first and most important 'meaning' to be interpreted could be that of what level of access is open to the researcher (Wax 1971).

This meant that I, as the researcher in this study, could learn the meanings of teachers, parents and pupils without having to become a teacher, a parent, or a pupil. The understanding of these actors' meanings was achieved by placing myself in positions where cultural exchange could take place. In practice, this meant approaching schools, explaining the aims of the study and asking teachers and senior staff to suggest the level of access that made most sense in their school. As a result, the role I assumed as a researcher varied from school to school.

However, this approach was not problem free. The issue existed of how researchers employing this approach ensured that their own world view did not affect the way they interpret the meaning of individual's actions in the societies they investigated. This was a question concerning reflexivity.

The Use of Reflexivity: Understanding Your Own Prejudices As A Social Investigator:

It has been argued that researchers must become aware of their own prejudices and life view if they are to become aware of the life view of individuals in an other society. (Okely 1975, Wax 1971, Phillipson 1972, Giddens 1976, Holy 1984, Rabinow 1977)

Giddens (1972) indicated that the sociologist has knowledge of and uses language, that sociology in itself is a 'meta language' and that this means the social researcher cannot approach social life as if it were a 'fossil'. The perception is that sociologists cannot encounter social life as a phenomenon for independent observation because they are already oriented to a set of meanings.

Sociologists, Giddens indicated, develop their own meta language and this is used to describe the meta language of the people being investigated. This leads to a dialectic between the sociologist's ways of thinking and the lives and meanings of those the sociologist studies (Giddens 1987). Giddens refers to this as the double hermeneutic.

The sociologist, therefore, has his/her own language and meaning, which is bound up with the meanings of the paradigm within which he/she works. Further, the people being investigated have their own language and meaning. It is argued that for the sociologist to understand the meanings of other individuals, he/she must reflect on his/her own meanings (Giddens 1987).

In social anthropology, Okely argues that just because the researcher stays with a group does not mean he/she automatically learns their culture. 'Fieldwork', according to Okely, should involve self-awareness, or, 'personal exposures'. She states, '*The specificity and individuality of the observer are ever present and must therefore be acknowledged, exposed and put to creative use*' (Okely 1975: 173).

This may involve the anthropologist as, 'narrator and actor', carrying out what Okely calls, 'true story ethnography'.

For Okely, it is not possible for the fieldworker to have a "clean slate" approach to the society under study. She puts forward the example of Colin Turnbull's study of the IK. Turnbull (1974) argued that he came to the IK with out any preconceptions about them. Okely argues that, in doing this:

'He omits to mention his preconceived notions about all human societies, which he brought in his own head and Landrover.... ..His subjective exposure lacks any self analyses and he certainly can't analyse his companions' (1975: 175).

Okely believes, that the researcher must examine his/her own past and motivations for actually doing the research if he/she is to overcome problems of subjectivity.

Phenomenologists have argued that to understand the consciousness of others we must experience or gain perceptions of this consciousness within the context of understanding it against our own preconceptions, within our own consciousness (Phillipson 1972). It has been suggested that once aware of his/her own preconceptions the researcher should somehow reduce the importance of these to allow him/her to become aware of the host culture. That is, by use of 'phenomenological reduction' the researcher becomes aware of his/her own prejudices and can therefore reflect on the consciousness of those individuals being investigated in terms of how they relate to his/her own consciousness and without bringing his/her own pre-judgements to bear on these reflections (Phillipson 1972).

Rather than actively reduce the importance of his/her own culture - though in some cases this may be an unavoidable by-product of carrying out an ethnography (Wax 1971) - it is more important for researchers to be as aware of their own culture as they can. They require this awareness in order that they can understand the differences between their culture and that of the host culture.

In short, prior to going into the field the researcher must explore his/her own prejudices. Once in the field and interacting with those individuals under investigation this process of self-awareness continues.

The interaction between researcher and host society, the interaction of two cultures, is used as a tool in itself for creating data. This exploitation of the difference between the researcher's culture and the host culture to develop information, purported by Rorty (1980), can only occur once the researcher has made him/herself aware of his/her own prejudices and his/her own life view . It is only then - by recognising the 'reflexive' nature of this relationship - that the researcher can use the interaction between him/herself and his/her subject to yield data as an actual tool of research (Rabinow 1977).

Okely states, '*Subjectivity, as influenced by individual personality, cultural history and gender should be analysed, not repressed, and exploited for finer observations and interpretations*' (1975: 182). She argues, we can make creative and theoretical use of this relationship by using 'self analyses', 'the diary', and 'autobiography'.

Self analysis, for Okely, involves the, '*discovery of unconscious links in thought and experience.*'(1975: 182) This may involve the fieldworker using his/her own disinterest to learn new information. In this case, cultural resistance becomes a tool of analysis.

The diary is a means of self exploration. It involves recording or analysing, '*Personal reactions and dilemmas as they occur,*'(1975: 183). As such, Okely argues, it should be used as more than a supplement to notes, but as a means of developing new discoveries about the fieldworker's hosts and him/herself.

In terms of field notes, Okely indicates:

'Since thoughts move faster than the pen, it would be useful to get down key words, concepts and images, as well as apparently disjunctive free associations. All these may bring insight at the time or at a later date; a structural analysis of self' (1975: 188)

The point here is, when interacting with other people the researcher may not understand an event at first. However, once this occurrence is put into the context of successive events it may be possible for the researcher to attributed meaning to it.

Autobiography, according to Okely, is an integral part of field research. It can explore personal assumptions about the researcher's society, or about interaction with other people. Okely's preference is for it to concentrate on the refinement of self-consciousness in the field situation. Hence, Okely is arguing, the researcher should use autobiographical detail to not only describe his/her interactions with people from a different culture but also use it to develop his/her understanding of the actual process of interaction. Through use of the autobiography the researcher can not only be descriptive but can also be analytical. It is this fact that sets ethnographic accounts apart from mere narrator's or traveller's tales.

Two main points have emerged here which answer the question posed at the beginning of this section: How can researchers ensure that their own world view does not affect the way they interpret the meaning of individual's actions in the society under investigation? :

- * The researcher can understand his/her own preconceptions and past experiences before entering the chosen society or culture of investigation. Once in the field, self-awareness continues and becomes a tool of data gathering, where by the researcher's own feelings are questioned in order to elucidate information about the meanings of individuals with whom the researcher interacts.

- * By researchers understanding their prejudices and preconceptions they can become aware of the differences between their culture and the culture they are studying. This difference, or 'cultural resistance' (the resistance between the cultural baggage of the researcher and that of the host) brings forth understandings of both the researcher's society's and the host society's meanings.

The researchers world view has two parts. Firstly, the part which is influenced by previous constructs within their academic paradigm (Phillipson 1972) which sociologists would express as the meta-language of sociology (Giddens 1976, 1987). Secondly the part which incorporates the non-academic based life experiences of the researcher, which anthropologists' would refer to as the researcher's cultural prejudice.

Therefore, it can be argued that there exists a double double hermeneutic; firstly between the academic language of the researcher and the language of those he is studying and secondly between the non-academic language of the researcher and the language of those he is studying. What this means is that researchers when being reflexive must be aware of both their academic preconceptions⁶ and their cultural prejudice based on their life experiences outside of academia.

In the rapidly changing environment of PE classrooms this process might have been problematic. However, due to my prolonged involvement with the PE classes of the schools I visited it was possible to carryout this reflexive approach. In its simplest form, this meant posing the question, 'why did that child's behaviour annoy, confuse, or upset me?'

⁶ Researchers have to ensure that their attempts at finding meaning are not governed by their preconceptions and prejudices which are built on their motivations for doing research and their reading of previous literature in their area of study. The problem for researchers of becoming aware of their academic prejudice whilst fulfilling the need to carryout a literature review are discussed in chapter two.

Through a comparison of my concept of 'teacher', 'pupil' and 'parent' with the patterns of behaviour of the teachers, pupils and parents I interacted with, it was possible to understand the meaning of the behaviour of these individuals. At the same time, by being aware of my adult concept of childhood and how this differed to the children's behaviour I witnessed, this awareness of difference became a tool in the process of elucidating meaning.

It was possible to reflect on how certain children's behaviour was different from my expectations and therefore, how their culture was different to my culture. Moreover, this process was extended during the research to draw out an understanding of a number of different cultures within PE classes. Over time it was feasible to examine the interaction of these cultures within the PE setting. Hence, the process of 'reflexivity' became a process of reflection on a number of cultures (both pupil and adult) including my own.

However, these cultures were not identified in a vacuum but were found to relate to structures outwith the PE classroom. The issue of the 'wider whole' was raised by Dilthey and will be discussed in the next section.

The Location of Actors' Meanings in a Wider Order:

Dilthey argued that human action should be studied by the interpreter looking at the wider whole that gives it meaning:

'The whole should be understood in terms of its individual parts, individual parts in terms of the whole... ...So understanding of the whole and of the individual parts are interdependent... ...Even particular mental states can only be understood in terms of the external stimulations which produced them' (Dilthey 1900: 262)

This view has been upheld by phenomenologists. Phillipson (1972) argues that the sociologist must understand human activities and the meanings/consciousness of an actor in relation to the life world to which they refer and in terms of how they relate to other actors or objects within this life world.

This suggests it is impossible for the researcher to get a clear understanding of what occurrences mean without relating these to the social world within which they are located.

In addition, the researcher must gain an understanding of the relationship between the structures of a society and individuals' actions within that society. This requires the researcher to understand that the structures of a society not only allow social action to occur, but actually result from social practices. That is, that the structures of a society enable individual action as well as restrict individual action: *'Structures must not be conceptualised as simply placing constraints upon human agency, but as enabling. This is what I call the duality of structures'* (Giddens 1976: 161).

It follows, therefore, that when understanding 'the whole' the researcher must understand the relationship between individual action and structure, i.e. the relationship between the micro and the macro.

In terms of the behaviour of children, the relationship between structure and agency has been addressed within James and Prout's (1990) ideas of a paradigm of childhood research.

They stated that a paradigm had developed and is still emerging:

'It has become quite clear that a new paradigm for the study of childhood is emerging, though for many it remains implicit. The task of making this emergent paradigm explicit is far from complete and remains the major priority for those involved in the study of childhood.' (James and Prout 1990: 2-3)

They outlined a new direction stating that:

'Childhood and children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right and not just in respect to their social construction by adults. This means that children must be seen as actively involved in the construction of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live. They can no longer be regarded as simply the passive subjects of structural determinations.' (James and Prout 1990: 3-6)

Their perception centred around the belief that children must be viewed as making choices within their lives which were not solely determined by external agents or influences. This perception can be observed as a development from Charlotte Hardman (1973), who stated:

That children may have an autonomous world, independent to some extent of the world of adults... ...That children's thoughts and social behaviour may not be totally incomprehensible to adults so long as we do not try to interpret them in adult terms.' (Hardman 1973: 94).

She believed that children's patterns of behaviour, which at first seemed immature and incomprehensible, in fact, could be understood to express complex values such as exist in adult behaviour. Her perception was that, rather than creating his/her own constructs, the researcher should develop a child's view from observation and discussion. Hardman argued for an ethnography of children. This argument is carried forward in the work of James and Prout

'It can be said to proclaim a new paradigm of childhood sociology is also to engage in and respond to the process of reconstructing childhood in society... ...Childhood is a phenomenon in relation to which the double hermeneutic (Giddens, 1979) of the social sciences is acutely present... ...Ethnography has been taken up as a methodology which has a particular role to play in the development of a new sociology of childhood since it allows children a more direct voice in the production of sociological data than is usually possible through experimental or survey styles of research.' (1990: 3-6)

Their argument, developed from Danziger (1970) and Mackay (1973), is that there is no such thing as a single child who is socialised into society. Children have different cultures and make choices within this context. This point is important because 'the child' has been viewed as an agent of socialisation, whose life view is determined by others - a blank shell to have norms imprinted upon it without reaction (James and Prout 1990).

Hardman argued that, only by carrying out research which is synchronic⁷ can the researcher overcome the problem of viewing children as '*passive observers*', or as, '*helpless spectators*' who exist in a pressing environment which affects and produces their behaviour. She believed children should be viewed in their own right and not seen as constantly, '*Assimilating, learning and responding to the adult, having little autonomy, contributing nothing to social values or behaviour except the latent outpourings of earlier acquired experiences.*' (1973: 86)

Hardman's perception was that whilst viewing children in their own right, concepts of childhood may vary between societies and relate differently to children of varying age, sex, class and race. Similarly, James and Prout state that children's life views affect, and are affected by, the society we live in and must be understood within that wider context and the fact that, '*Childhood, as a variable of social analyses, can never be entirely separated from other variables such as class, gender, or ethnicity.* (1990: 2-3)'.

⁷ Hardman argued that previous anthropological approaches were diachronic in their analyses of children, concentrating on such activities as initiation ceremonies and rites of passage. These studies, she argued, concentrated on studying changes in children's lives at the expense of developing an understanding of the every day processes involved in their lives.

However, James and Prout stress that their view is not a complete rejection of socialisation:

‘It should be clear from this example that representing childhood does not mean the complete rejection of socialisation and social reproduction theories. On the contrary they both remain important areas. But what is vital is to focus on children not only as proto-adults, future beings, but also on children as beings-in-the-present (1990: 232)’

It can be concluded, from this statement, that children should be viewed as both capable of agency (as ‘present beings’) and as respondents of socialisation (as ‘future beings’). Again, this issue concerns the relationship between structure and agency.

This issue has been discussed by writers from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University⁸. These theorists defined culture as meanings, values, ideas embedded in institutions, social relations and systems of belief. They believed that children have life views that are built on their own life experiences, that these life views can radically differ and, within this context, conflict may exist between different children’s life views.

They argued that culture is class based and that localised youth sub-cultures exist which relate to the youth’s parents’ values. Youth cultures are identified as being developed through the needs of children to be autonomous from their parents which paradoxically leads to the children identifying with their parent culture. As an example, they suggested that the institutions children use differ from those of their parents’ (i.e. youth clubs, cafes, discos, etc.) but that youths relate to these institutions in terms of their own class which identifies significantly with their parents’ culture.

⁸ Their approach is described in D M Smith (1981).

Youth cultures were viewed as based upon three factors: structure (which is the material and social conditions of class), culture (which is the range of social organisation and patterned responses that are available to the children) and biographies (which are defined as the careers of individuals based on daily experiences of structures and cultures).

Hall and Jefferson (1976: 10) believed that culture leads groups to develop, '*Distinct patterns of life, and give expressive form to their social and material life-experiences*'. Culture, to these authors, are the forms in which groups come to terms with the, '*raw materials of their social and material existence*.' .

The social individual, according to Hall and Jefferson, is born into a particular set of institutions, relations and configuration of meanings. These give the individual access to, and locate the individual in, a culture. Structures, social relations and meanings both shape the ongoing existence of a group and limit how groups reproduce their social life:

'Men and women are thus, formed, and form themselves through society, culture and history... Each group makes something of its starting conditions - and through this making, through this practice, culture is reproduced and transmitted. But this practise only takes place within the given field of possibilities and constraints.' (1976: 11)

This view is similar to that of Giddens (1976), who identified agency as both influencing and being influenced by structure. These authors indicate that individuals make choices on a daily basis that have a relationship to both social and underlying structures in society.

The amalgamation of these works concerning children and culture led to an awareness, on my part, that children had the right to be researched, in their own right, as possessors of agency and that it could be possible to understand children's agency in terms of how it affected and was affected by other factors ('The whole'), such as structure, culture, race, gender, age and class.

This understanding, when combined with the reflexive process discussed in the last section, allowed me to come to terms with the fact that children had different cultures and that the values within these cultures led children to make their own every day choices. It was possible to identify how children made every day choices within PE classes and locate these choices in relation to issues such as other children's cultures, teacher's cultures, parent's cultures, gender, age, race and so forth.

In this way, an understanding of the cultural factors involved in children's participation in PE and sport was developed during and after the process of fieldwork. This understanding was then related to wider literature which will be discussed below and in chapter two.

However, part of the process of understanding children's choices within the context of the wider 'whole' required a theoretical understanding of the structures within which children's behaviour in PE classes is located. This understanding was developed from previous use of ethnographic techniques in educational research.

Previous Use of Ethnographic Techniques in Educational Research:

A number of authors have adopted ethnographic techniques to carry out research in education. In the late sixties, whilst working at the department of Sociology and Anthropology at Manchester University, Colin Lacey (1970) and David Hargreaves (1967) investigated the patterns of behaviour of children in secondary schools. They came to similar conclusions: that the school structure of streaming resulted in differentiation between pupils which was interrelated with the development of two sub-cultural groupings within secondary schools. The values of the young people who were members of these sub-cultures were identified as either pro- or anti-school values.

Pro-School Sub-Culture:

Both Lacey and Hargreaves indicated that pupils in 'upper streams':

- * Exhibited a greater commitment to school values.
- * Attended school more regularly.
- * Had a deeper involvement in school activities than pupils who were in the lower stream.
- * Used academic achievement and classroom behaviour as a criteria for judging status in friendship groups.

The 'upper stream' pupil's values were identified as being similar to that of Albert Cohen's (1955)⁹ list of nine middle-class values. It was argued that teachers played an important role in the differentiation of these boys from other pupils.

'The school is founded on, fosters and perpetuates those values which sociologists associate with the middle-class and the teachers themselves are mainly successful products of such schools even though their social origins may be working-class (D H Hargreaves 1967: 166).

Hargreaves argued that the boy in the high stream had a far more rewarding experience of school because the system conferred status upon him and that this experience in turn reinforced these pupils' view that conformity to school values brought rewards.(D H Hargreaves 1967).

Anti-School Sub-Culture:

These young people (D H Hargreaves 1967):

- * Were identified as having working-class values.
- * Viewed status in terms of non-conformity to school values and prestige in terms of fighting and 'messing about'.
- * Disapproved of teachers' definition of their role, disagreed with advance planning for the future and it was stated, could not be left to work on their own in the classroom.
- * Placed a value on aggression and acts of theft and malicious damage.

⁹ Cohen's nine middle class values were ambition, individual responsibility and resourcefulness, cultivation and possession of skills, worldly aestheticism, rationality and planning, cultivation of manners, control of aggression and violence, wholesome recreation and respect for property.

The children of this sub-culture were situated in the lower stream. Hargreaves, initially, defined them as 'failures' because they failed in terms of the school's value system. He argued that this failure resulted in the teachers conferring little status upon these pupils. Hargreaves indicated that this lack of status led to these pupils believing that they were treated unequally within the school context. This perception in turn led to reduced future aspirations amongst these pupils (D H Hargreaves 1967).

However, it was argued that the irony of these pupils being viewed by teachers as failures was that these children were actually very successful at reinforcing the correct values within their own sub-cultural grouping. Hargreaves concluded that these pupils had redefined the pupil role. They now defined that role as one that required conformity to anti-academic pressures and values outwith the school. These pressures and values incorporated the premature impersonation of adult roles, such as smoking and drinking.

Paul Willis (1977) argued that it was precisely this anti-school culture involving non-conformist behaviour and a resistance to dominant class indoctrination which led to working-class children getting jobs in factories and on the shop floor. He believed that class conflict and non-conformity existed within schools which led to class consciousness amongst working-class school children. This class consciousness meant that children actively made their own choice to reject the values of the education system: *'If working-class kids on their way to work did not believe in the logic of their actions for themselves, no-one outside, nor outside events, could convince them (1977: 121).'*

White working-class children were perceived as developing a non-conformist culture which was opposed to the values of the school because they, themselves, were viewed as failures by that system's values. The non-conformist culture was identified as involving alternative ideas of success and failure.

Willis located his study amongst working-class children and the employment they gain on leaving school. He argued that it was precisely this non-conformist behaviour - the resistance to dominant class indoctrination - that adapted these 'lads' to factory life. Willis went on to illustrate that the oppositional culture created in school could be located throughout other areas such as the shop floor and the home. However, he indicated that some working-class children (identified as 'ear'oles' by the lads), who found success within the school system, did not subscribe to the anti-school culture.

Throughout his ethnography Willis attempted to investigate the experience of his subjects whilst trying to adequately represent the larger order within which they were situated. This attempt illustrated an important function of ethnography; the reconstruction of higher theory from determining events and actions of an abstract social order.

Willis viewed the idea of cultural form as being forged by resistance and accommodation to capitalist institutions and therefore, not as the result of top down deterministic forces within capitalism. In doing so he avoided the criticism directed at the work of Hargreaves, Lacey and Ball. He argued that though the failure of working-class children in the education system fulfilled the requirements of the job market and the capitalist system, the working-class children did not view themselves as failures because of their subscription to this counter-culture.

He argued that ethnography could redefine capitalist structures in human terms; that the system could be represented in terms of 'the lads' daily experiences.

Willis's important, radical approach was to view culture as being based on politics and economics and instituting class-culture and sub-culture. This view of culture differs from traditional anthropology which would view each culture as being autonomous in a world historical sense.

Willis states: '*Social reproduction and contradiction must be shown not as abstract entities but as embedded dynamically within the real lives of people*', and that cultural form should be understood without, '*Continually reducing them mechanically to basic determining structures*' (p201). His approach, therefore, linked micro social behaviour to Marxist macro theory.

Differentiation and School Structure & Teachers:

The two sub-cultural groupings were found to be immersed in the structure of the school. This structure involved 'upper' and 'lower' stream children receiving different teachers, homework and school trips and visits.

'Individuals become increasingly exposed to their own subcultures and increasingly isolated from the values of the other and by the time they reach fourth year, the barriers existing between the upper and lower halves reinforce the perceived differences and elevate them into irreconcilable and totally opposed stereotypes.' (D H Hargreaves 1967: 170)

Lacey argued that streaming reinforced the effects of differences in resources between middle-class and working-class school children and, thus, underpinned the social inequalities existing in society which were associated with children from different backgrounds (1970). Criticism of the streaming system led to the development of teaching to mixed ability classes.

However, Steven Ball (1981) argued, not only did the problems of streaming cause pupils to differentiate between themselves but it was underpinned by typecasting of pupils by teachers and the school system. Typecasting or labelling occurred when certain children were thought of as incapable of achievement in certain curricular areas. This perception meant that these children did not receive the same opportunities as band one children.

Ball indicates that, when streaming stopped and mixed ability began, this typing or labelling did not disappear, rather, it re-emerged within the teacher's role. He believed that when the teacher evaluated the individual child in the classroom, typing took place and that this occurrence meant the new mixed ability approach merely became a new form of streaming. A new form of streaming in which teachers labelled children in terms of their ability within the classroom setting and which the school structure reinforced when it was required to decide if certain children would attempt certain subjects.

The work of these researchers has been defined as Differentiation - Polarisation Theory (Hammersley 1990). The fundamental issue is that between the late 1960's and early 1980's researchers who contributed to this theory identified Differentiation - Polarisation as central to the failure of the education system in England and Wales. They argued that the failure of the education system affected a great number of children and that these children were predominantly working-class. They insisted that the education system was biased towards middle-class pupils, that it had failed to integrate working-class children within the values of individual schools and that this failure related to both the structure and teachers within schools. The overall expression of this failure was identified as the complete rejection of school values by a number of children.

These authors employed ethnographic techniques to investigate how children's behaviour was affected by the structure of the school (Lacey and Hargreaves), teachers' methods of teaching (Ball) and the structure of society (Willis). Hence, a number of structures were identified within which children's agency took place. This confronted the thesis with the question of which structures affected and were affected by children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling. This problem had been raised, with regards to the use of ethnography in educational research by Hammersley (1990) and Hargreaves (1985).

Proposals For the Use of Ethnography in Educational Research:

Lacey, Ball and Hargreaves adopted ethnographic fieldwork in terms of the varying compartments within it which could act as tools to aid qualitative approaches. They used participant observation, 'the case study', 'friendship networks', as well as interviews and questionnaires, to gather information. Ball specifically stated that his work was guided by the theories of symbolic interactionism (Hammersley 1990).

Their approach has been both criticised (Hammersley & Turner 1980)¹⁰ and commended (Hammersley 1990) for having a narrow focus. Criticism centred around the belief that these authors did not identify the role that schooling plays in capitalist societies. However, Hammersley argued that the narrowness of their approach was beneficial for the development and testing of theory.

Hammersley's aim was that educational ethnographers should adapt Differentiation - Polarisation theory as a starting point for further work in educational research. *'Suitably reconstructed, Hargreaves', Lacey's and Ball's work provides us with a paradigm for case-study research concerned with developing and testing theory.* (1990: 108).'

The role of educational research, he indicated, should be to test whether this theory is actually applicable, check whether the data upon which this theory is based has anomalies which it cannot explain and attempt to enlarge this theory to other areas.

¹⁰ These authors criticised Hargreaves, Lacey and Ball for not looking at the variability of pupil's behaviour. They identify, by way of Hargreaves and Lacey's own examples, calculated levels of conformity within 'pro' and 'anti' groups. That is, they indicate that pupils do not conform to the values of their sub cultural groupings all of the time.

His belief was that theory comes before research and that there are three stages to this process. These stages are that research designs should pinpoint a problem with theory; that research should identify a plausible explanation and develop an hypothesis of what the researcher should expect to occur if the theory was correct; following this development, the hypothesis should be tested by way of case studies.

He added that, when carrying out case studies, respondents should be part of representative samples and that indicators should be used to aid the process of analysis:

‘Here too the work of Hargreaves, Lacy and Ball stands out. While only occasionally do they employ systematic triangulation of indicators, they frequently use several different measures for the same concept: sociometric data and observation of informal interactions to document friendships; absence, lateness and detention figures as well as behaviour in lessons to measure the effects of pro- and anti-school attitudes on pupil’s behaviour; court appearances and self-reported vandalism to measure delinquency etc.’ (1990: 112)

Thus, it is stated that the use of indicators will help to ensure such concepts as delinquency are understood in a number of localities, as well as acting as a further aid to the checking of this theory in other areas. Within this process, Hammersley assumes that ethnographers are not rigorous in their elucidation of theory. Citing Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) grounded theory approach, his belief is that there should be hypothesis testing ethnography in educational research:

‘Above all else, then, in my view, differentiation-polarisation theory represents a paradigm because it shows the feasibility of the positivist model of theory, the model which, as far as I can see, gives us the best hope of producing effective explanations for social phenomena, and thereby a sound basis for policy’ (1990: 108)

Hammersley’s motivation for this kind of research is that it provides a model which best suits the research requirements of those who attempt to produce understandings upon which educational policy can be based. This motivation is linked to his perception of the role of sociologists:

‘But I do think that sociologists have a collective duty to attempt the production of well-established social theory, and so it is important that some research does develop and test theory by pressing on into the second and third stages.’ (1990: 109-10)

His assumption is that sociologists can only carry out this duty by developing a hypothesis from existing theory and testing that hypothesis. He does not identify this approach with attempts to link macro and micro levels of analysis such as that of Willis (1977). He perceives these approaches as gathering data from too wide an area than is necessary to develop a theory and test hypothesis.

Andrew Hargreaves (1985) has addressed this form of social science research. He defined the micro as small scale studies of teacher pupil interaction, pupil sub-culture and the macro as grandiose theory of the relationship between school and society. He suggested that throughout the 1970's the sociology of education was broadly separated into two camps. Those concerned with the micro, whom he called interactionists and those concerned with the macro, whom he referred to as the macro theorists. He stated that, though there were some attempts to synthesise the two approaches:

'By and large, interactionists have gone back to their classrooms and staffrooms, while macro theorists have moved into 'the state' and educational policy. When the current and intensifying educational crisis and its effects on schooling begs decent sociological explanation this unproductive division of theoretical labour is in my view, regrettable' (1985: 24)

Hargreaves believed that synthesis between the two approaches should occur, but that the Marxist approaches such as Willis' failed to achieve proper synthesis because they involved the bolting on of preconceived Marxist theory to the available ethnographic material.

This argument directly contradicts the writings of George E Marcus (1986). Marcus argued that anthropologists had neglected to look at cultures as they relate to a wider system, that is, that they had concentrated on the micro at the expense of the macro.

He suggested that the ethnographer should either represent multiple localities (each explored through ethnography and interlinked by unintended consequences of actions within them), or, strategically select a locality (specifically, because this locale was embedded in a wider system). His idea was that the ethnographer would construct his/her text around these situations through the comparison of meanings either between different localities, or, between the selected locale and the wider system.

By comparing meanings in different societies, a form of cultural criticism takes place through which accepted norms in one society can be represented to criticise accepted norms in the other society. This method of cultural criticism has been developed to involve the researcher investigating cultural differences in our own society, at the micro level, to criticise systems, structures (both social and underlying) and norms of our society, at the macro level¹¹.

Marcus argued that Willis successfully achieved this through his representation of working-class 'lads' school lives within the context of the capitalist system.

Hargreaves disagreed. He believed the approach of Willis lacked rigour and that the only way to overcome this fault was for the sociologists to learn from empiricism:

'Maintaining a dialogue between theory and evidence therefore demands both theoretical creativity and rigorous methodological checkings, in a context which credits the 'real world' with some potential to improve itself upon the way we think about it' (p28).

Hargreaves (like Hammersley) developed the ideas of Glaser and Strauss (1967). He believed that their empirical approach to qualitative research overcame the problems of synthesis by:

'Actively seeking out disconfirming cases in the data that would challenge their initial prejudices and hunches through cross referencing (triangulation) different kinds of data on the same topic, or comparing different methods (observations and interviews, for instance) in order to check the consistency of what a particular teacher or pupil says between settings, or triangulating the interpretations that different observations make of the data and so on' (p30)

¹¹ This type of work has the ability to discover diversity in a homogenised world. It is this search for diversity which delivers ethnography from the problems of cultural relativism.

Hargreaves argued that when validity is linked with the idea that knowledge claims are valid only if tested against the irrefutable data of our sense experience, the rigorous approach outlined above does not occur. This failure, in his view, results in approaches like that of the Marxists which he believes actually incorporate the worst kind of empiricism.

'In the shape of unacknowledged, unexamined and unchecked assumptions of what, as a result of the capitalist system, 'really' happens in schools and elsewhere' (p31).

He believed that because of this lack of rigor and the avoidance of the acceptance of the need to check assumptions, whole theories were erected on unsubstantiated assumptions which led to 'indefensible dogmatism' .

The work of Hargreaves and Hammersley had repercussions for the proposed ethnographic study. Both authors argued that ethnographic research should take the form of hypothesis testing because this would help to provide material upon which sound policy decisions could be made. They identified a requirement for sociologists to produce social theory that was relevant at both the micro and macro levels but which did not bolt on macro theories to micro patterns of interaction.

This posed two questions to this research project:

- * Should this research take the form of ethnographic hypothesis testing?
- * Is the ethnographic approach outlined earlier in this chapter rigorous, or, will it only bring forth hunches and assumptions?

Ethnographic Hypothesis Testing?

Hammersley has argued that the use of ethnography in educational research should be developed to take the form of hypothesis testing ethnography. He believed that the use of representative samples and indicators would benefit the ability of the researcher to test the same theory in a number of localities. This form of approach can be addressed through the writings of Judith Okely. Okely (1994) drew out a number of issues within the use of ethnography which preclude techniques of hypothesis testing.

She stated that ethnographers do not begin their research with pre-set questions because they want to gather understandings from as wide a base as possible and which allow the people being studied to put forward their concerns:

'Agar, the anthropologist, has offered an alternative descriptive term for fieldwork which is not hypothesis bound. A somewhat mechanistic metaphor, doubtless allays the worries of those wanting proof of 'tools' of research, is what he names the 'funnel approach' (1980: 13). From the outset of fieldwork the anthropologist adopts an open-ended approach to the full range of information and to all manner of people. This is the essence of the holistic approach. The material and ethnographic concerns are not cut to size at the start. The people who are the subject of study are themselves free to volunteer their concerns in their own voice and context (Okely 1994: 18).'

It is indicated that the chaotic nature of the development of patterns and ideas during ethnographic fieldwork do not lend themselves to the requirements of controlled experiment:

Both during the fieldwork and after, themes gradually emerge. Patterns and priorities impose themselves upon the ethnographer. Voices and ideas are neither muffled or dismissed. To the professional positivist this seems like chaos. The voices and material lead the researcher in unpredictable, uncontrollable directions. This is indeed not a controlled experiment. The fieldwork cannot separate the acts of gathering material from that of its continuing interpretation. Ideas and hunches emerge during the encounter and are explored or eventually discarded as fieldwork progresses. Writing up involves a similar experience. The ensuing analysis is creative, demanding and all consuming. It cannot be fully comprehended at the early writing up stage by someone other than the fieldworker (Okely 1994: 19).'

The development of understanding and meaning during the fieldwork stage and on writing up is described as an unstructured process which can not be set out in a scientific manner:

After fieldwork, the material found in notebooks, in transcripts and even in contemporary written sources is only a guide and trigger. The anthropologist-writer draws also on the totality of the experience, parts of which may not, cannot be cerebrally written down at the time. It is recorded in memory, body and all senses. Ideas and themes have worked through the whole being throughout the experiences of fieldwork. They have gestated in dreams and the subconscious in both sleep and in waking hours, away from the field, at the anthropologist's desk, in libraries and in dialogue with the people on return visits... ..The understanding and ways of making sense of the material and of writing cannot be routinised and streamlined as instructions for methodology text-books. Nor can it be fully assessed at this stage by a non-participant. Instead, to admit to the vastness, unpredictability and creative turbulence in which the ethnographic writer is immersed can be a reassurance that positivism is no guide' (Okely 1994: 18-21).

In a sense ethnography is not something you prescribe for other people. Ethnography is something you do and experience. The main point to be drawn from Okely's eloquent accounts is that no ethnographer can begin their exercise with pre-set theories in mind (or with the aim of hypothesis testing) because this can only restrict the ethnographer's ability to develop understandings and meanings which eventually have a relationship with theory.

Ethnographic fieldwork elucidates theory during and after fieldwork for a very important reason. By starting with pre-set ideas the development of meaning becomes the development of theory from previous academic theory, rather than, the development of theory from interaction with the individuals the anthropologist is studying. Hammersley's approach does not allow for the researcher to develop theories from his/her interaction with the groups and individuals who are under investigation.

Moreover, the use of representative samples and indicators presumes that concepts which have been identified in one situation already have meaning in another situation. That is, if it is discovered in one school that boys 'bunk' off school as a reinforcement of their anti-school values, it is not necessarily the case that this same occurrence (ethnographic observation/cultural representation) has the same meaning in another school.

It can not be presupposed that one child's cultural representation (bunking off school) has the same meaning for all the other children within a school. A researcher who makes this assumption restricts the opportunity for meaning to be developed from his/her experiences and interactions with the people under study.

Hammersley makes an honest attempt to further the course of research in education through the use of ethnographic fieldwork. However, his call for hypothesis testing ethnography appears in conflict with notions of ethnography held in anthropology.

Anthropologists, by using participant observation, are open to a wide range of information, precisely because they do not impose preconceived notions of relevancy on the data to which they have access (Okely 1975). There are few pre-set questions in the anthropologist's head because the anthropologist cannot assume that what he/she finds in the literature review will be what he/she finds in the field:

'The anthropologist despite months of literature reviews, possibly years of theoretical and comparative reading, will have to eject hypotheses like so much ballast. The people may not live as recorded... ..The ethnographer must, like a surrealist, be disponible (cf. Breton 1937), and open to objets trouves, after arriving in the field' (Okely 1994: 19)

The ethnographer who begins ethnographic research with the aim to test theory, makes his/her ability to deal with 'objets trouvés' problematic. However, this does not mean that ethnographic research ignores theory, rather the preferred approach is to develop theory once in the field and on writing up.

In terms of the research project, it was decided that the traditional approach to ethnography, which does not involve hypothesis testing, would be adopted with the aim of developing theory from the interactions that took place during the ethnographic fieldwork. Hargreaves has argued that this process can lack rigour within educational research.

Is Ethnography Rigorous?

Hargreave's position is that the ethnographic work of such authors as Willis lack empiricism and result in theories based on hunches and assumptions. His solution to this kind of educational research is to call for research which constantly tests theories through the triangulation processes set out by Glaser and Strauss (1967). However, this criticism can again be dealt with through the work of Okely:

'To conclude, the interpretation of anthropological material is, like fieldwork, a continuing and creative experience. The research has combined action and contemplation. Scrutiny of the notes offers both empirical certainty and intuitive reminders. Insights emerge also from the subconscious and from bodily memories never penned on paper. There are serendipitous connections to be made, if the writer is open to them. Writing and analysis comprise a movement between the tangible and intangible, between the cerebral and sensual, between the visible and invisible. Interpretation moves from evidence to ideas and theory, then back again. There can be no set formulae, only broad guidelines, sensitive to specific cases. The researcher is freed from a division of labour which splits fieldwork from analysis. The author is not alienated from the experience of participant observation, but draws upon it both precisely and amorphously for the resolution of the completed text' (Okely 1994: 32).

Ethnography involves both field work and writing up, the process of self-reflection continues throughout the writing up stage. This process is not 'sloppy' in any respect. It is both thoughtful and rigorous, indeed it could be argued that this process is more rigorous than scientific approaches because it questions the very self of the researcher.

This process is in no way 'airy fairy', it is wrought by a conscious and unconscious struggle to present what has been experienced (in a sensual way) on paper (in a written form). This, as Okely indicates, is far from easy.

Ethnographic fieldwork involves constant checking, reworking and re-understanding of observations and experiences which in themselves may often appear to have no meaning but which when related to the 'whole' have much significance.

Ethnography is a journey from field to text which is personal and different for every ethnographer. The ethnographer is not certain of what he/she is going to encounter in the field and experience throughout the course of the fieldwork. This uncertainty means the researcher cannot legislate for his/her forthcoming life experiences in a scientific fashion.

The journey from field to text is both a physical and mental process, full of thoughtfulness and rigour. The end text is validated through its honest representation of the meanings of others. This contrasts with the approach of Hargreaves and Hammersley who pre-set what is to be looked for in the field, attempt to be rigorous and scientific without being aware of the preconceptions of their method and in the end, rather than representing meaning in their eventual text, they aim to represent scientific proof.

Having rejected both the call for hypothesis testing ethnography from Hammersley and the criticism of ethnography as not rigorous by Hargreaves, it was decided that the reflexive approach identified previously in this chapter had been theoretically reinforced and should be employed in practice¹². However, the problem remained: how should the ethnographic findings be related to a wider order that incorporated an understanding of the role of structures in society?

¹² As has been described in the section on the use of reflexivity

Macro/Micro Synthesis and the Purpose of Educational Research:

Hargreaves concurred with Giddens's view that the structures of society not only restrict but enable action and they not only allow social action to occur, but result from social practices. For Hargreaves this meant that there was not a difference between interaction and structure and therefore no difference between the micro and the macro. Rather, structure not only enables interaction but interaction enables structure.

Hargreaves believed that the solution to synthesis of the micro and macro lay with the understanding that:

'Between the rules, negotiations and bargainings of the classroom interaction, and the dynamics of the capitalist economy, or the relative autonomy of the state, lie a whole range of intermediary processes and structures which have been largely neglected in sociological accounts of education; such things as school ethos, or institutional bias (Rutter et.al. 1979; Pollard 1982), teacher cultures (Hargreaves, D, 1982), teacher coping strategies, (Hargreaves, A, 1978), and so on.' (1985: 42)

By building theories within the context of intermediary structures, the idea was that, a huge leap from the micro to the macro, or attempts to bolt on observations of what goes on in schools to speculative understandings and assertions about the very nature of society, were avoided.

Hargreaves believed the best approach was to integrate the macro with the micro, by looking at interactions outside the classroom in terms of relationships between headmasters, teachers and regional education authorities, and between teachers and educational policy.

Hargreaves called these studies 'linked micro studies'. His assertion was that these studies still recognise the relevance of state, class and economy without relegating the study to purely the micro level. By understanding the schooling process in the context of policy changes and so forth and not in isolation from them. Hargreaves argued this approach could widen the base of evidence upon which educational theories could be tested. This view had relevance for the study which was carried out.

Therefore, both Hargreaves and Hammersley identified the role of ethnography in educational research as to provide information that would aid the process of policy making in education.

For the ethnography that was carried out this meant that children's behaviour in PE classes had to be understood within the context of teachers' methods of teaching, policies on PE, wider sports participation, the process of education within schools and the structure of our society. This understanding underpinned the ethnographic study which was carried out. To understand the underlying factors influencing the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* it was decided that it was necessary to gain an understanding of how children behaved in PE classes.

Once this decision was made, the aim of the project, in relation to the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*, was turned on its head. That is, the investigation became about children's behaviour in PE classes and how this might influence the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* rather than about the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* and how it would influence children's behaviour.

The aim of the project, therefore, was that children's involvement in PE and sport be understood from a cultural perspective. By adopting a reflexive ethnographic approach it was believed that, through cultural exchange, the behaviour of children in relation to PE and sport would be understood first. Once this understanding was gained, it would be related to issues concerning the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*. This allowed the theoretical perspective of this thesis to be developed from the daily patterns of behaviour of the individuals studied. Ultimately, this meant a theory of children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling was developed from my experiences as a researcher in the field. This was then related to theoretical perspectives from childhood, educational, PE and sports research.¹³

¹³ The relationship between the findings and the theoretical perspectives is identified at the conclusion of each chapter from chapters four to eight.

Giddens (1987) indicated that, as a result of the double hermeneutic sociologists' findings enter the social world where they were discovered. He suggested that societies wanting social change require to employ sociology as a medium through which to be reflexive and that this meant that the sociologist's meta language is, in fact, a language based on the common-sense notions of the social world investigated. That is, it is an interpretation of action and meaning within that world. This view is a development of his earlier contention that the position of the social researcher:

'Is no different from that of any other member of society; 'mutual knowledge' is not a series of corrigible items, but represents the interpretative schemes which both sociologists and laymen use, and must use, to 'make sense' of social activity' (Giddens 1976: 161).

His perception was that social science has a practical bearing on the social world it studies. Hargreaves and Hammersley's argument was that the educational researcher should employ this hermeneutical process to provide information on policy in education which would then influence policy in the education system from which the information had been extracted. By relating the micro to intermediate and macro structures it was believed that ethnography could have a practical bearing on the system within which it was carried out. However, for some theorists intellectual working does not have the moral imperative to guide individual's actions.

The Purpose of The Research:

Foucault stated:

'The essential political problem for the intellectual is not to criticise the ideological contents supposedly linked to science, or to ensure that his own scientific practice is accompanied by a correct ideology, but that of asserting the possibility of constituting a new politics of truth. The problem is not changing people's consciousness -or what's in their heads- but the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth.' (Rabinow 1984: 74)

His argument appeared to be that it is not the role of the researcher, or 'intellectual', to endeavour to change individuals. Foucault exhibited liberal tendencies based on the belief that individuals should be left alone to make their own choices.

This belief relieved Foucault from the burden of having any moral responsibility to others, or even, the need to urge (in a Nietzschean sense) individuals to become more autonomous (Rorty 1991).

Rorty has argued that Foucault found himself caught between his identity as a citizen and his identity as an intellectual philosopher. Though Foucault did not want to offer philosophical grounds through which every day concerns of public affairs could be criticised, this did not mean that he achieved his aim. Rorty indicated that Foucault should be understood within the context that it is possible to be humane without being 'rational' about human suffering and that:

'One can want to relieve suffering without having an interesting answer when Socrates asks you why you desire this, and also without believing that this desire is the deepest and most important thing in your life. Foucault, I think, found himself in this position - the position which I have described as that of the "night of autonomy". This meant that, whether he wanted to or not, he was, among other things, a useful citizen of a democratic country - one who did his best to make that country's institutions fairer and more decent. I wish that he had been more comfortable with that self-description than he was.' (1991: 198)

Rorty's idea was that even though Foucault claimed not to be involved in every day politics his work had relevance to this area. Rorty's approach centred around the concept that the intellectual does not have to be autonomous:

'One's sense of relation to a power beyond the community becomes less important as one becomes able to think of oneself as part of the body of public opinion, capable of making a difference to the public fate.' (1991: 171)

Rorty criticised Foucault and his French contemporaries for not looking to contribute to the development of society:

'It is this remoteness which reminds one of the conservative who pours cold water on hopes for reform, who affects to look at the problems of his fellow citizens with the eye of the future historian. Writing, "the history of the present," rather than suggestions about how our children might inhabit a better world in the future, gives up not just on the notion of common human nature, and on that of "the subject", but on our untheoretical sense of social solidarity...One could try to create a new canon - one in which the mark of a "great philosopher" was awareness of new social and religious and institutional possibilities, as opposed to developing a new dialectical twist in metaphysics or epistemology.' (1991: 174)

Hence, it should be the aim of social science to make society aware of new possibilities. Within this context, Rorty argued that the explanation of truth and power should be inseparable. When philosophers explain who presently holds and uses power they should suggest how other people might use it.

This reinforced the perception that the role of this research should not only be to discover the cultural workings of children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling, but should be to contribute to the development of PE and sports education. That is, that ethnographic evidence developed from the field should be employed to critique the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*. Moreover, this evidence should involve an understanding of how power is wielded in the PE classroom and how it might be adapted for the benefit of individual children in PE classes. The ethnographic findings developed in chapters four to eight present this understanding in order that its effect on the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* can be discussed in chapter nine.

Hargreaves put forward a powerful argument for locating educational research in between pure ethnography and pure theory. Marcus argued that the problems of cultural relativity can be overcome by comparing meanings from a number of localities, or, through cultural criticism of the sort Willis carried out, but to which Hargreaves was so opposed.

It was decided that the ethnography would be carried out in a number of localities because this would allow understandings to be developed, about children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling, which had relevance wider than a single locale. Thus, the location of the study had been chosen so as to allow the cultural comparison of children's behaviour in a number of schools both primary and secondary with contrasting catchment areas.

Though Hargreaves and Marcus had different arguments, their concern, to make relevant use of ethnographic material, was the same. Their view was that ethnographic fieldwork must form ethnographic writing that challenges perceptions held about those individuals being studied. They believed that this has value when the individuals under study are located within a wider order which both governs and is governed by their behaviour.

The contention of this study was that the relationship between the subject under study (children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling) and the wider society we live in (at the intermediate, or macro, level) could only be understood during and after the fieldwork period of the study had been carried out.

Thus, the aim of the research project was, through the use of the traditionally rigorous techniques of anthropology, to develop an understanding of children's involvement in PE in sport which not only contributed to the knowledge of academia of this subject, at the micro level, but which provided information which could further the process of PE and sports education by taking account of the relationship between children's involvement in PE (the micro level), policy initiatives (the intermediate level) and the role of sport and education in society (the macro level) .

Therefore, three main aims had been identified for the study:

- * To carry out ethnographic research which would provide information on children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling which could be related to previous literature in the area but which, specifically, as a result of the use of ethnographic techniques was not driven by the previous literature.
- * To provide information which could further the process of PE and sports education by relating findings at the micro level to issues of policy making (specifically *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*).
- * To relate the findings of the ethnography at the micro level to macro considerations in an attempt to demonstrate the relationship between agency and structure with regards to education, PE and sport

The form the research was to take, the aims of the project and where the study would be located had been decided. However, the next task was a review of the literature in sport and physical education which is outlined in chapter two.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE ON EDUCATION REFORM, PE AND SPORT:

The ethnographic method described and developed in chapter one indicated that this thesis would attempt to delineate an understanding of children's behaviour in PE and sport in the context of schooling. It was argued that this understanding should address the wider 'whole' which this behaviour both governs and is governed by. In keeping with this approach, on a theoretical level, this chapter identifies the theoretical whole within which this thesis is located. It draws from the theoretical literature in a number of fields and is discussed within three sections¹:

- * A review of issues in PE.
- * A review of literature concerning sport's participation by school aged children.
- * A review of issues concerning education reform.

The aim of this chapter therefore, is to develop the context within which the findings of the ethnography are discussed²; to identify the academic area of knowledge to which the research project is attempting to contribute and to outline the literature which, when compared with the findings of the ethnography, provides a critical perspective from which to examine the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*³.

¹ Some of the works set out in these sections were examined prior to the beginning of the ethnographic fieldwork, the remainder were considered on completion of the ethnographic fieldwork.

² This occurs in the conclusions of chapters four to eight and in the summaries of the three sections of chapter 8.

³ Which occurs in chapter nine.



Part One: Issues of Physical Education:

A Short History of Elitism in PE:

Following the Second World War, three themes of physical education were prevalent in Britain. These themes were Swedish gymnastics, German (or Olympic) gymnastics and Laban's ideas of movement and dance (Kirk 1990).

Swedish gymnastics was concerned with free-standing exercises which systematically exercised specific parts of the body through flexing or extending these areas. This form of gymnastics was extremely formal, with the flexing or extension of body parts taking place in response to military-type commands (Kirk 1990).

German, or Olympic, gymnastics were concerned with the use of apparatus (e.g. rings, box, pommel) and though suffering stigmatisation through the war years, it came to prominence following the use of similar apparatus during the 1948 Olympics.

Laban's (1948) ideas of movement and dance, developed as a reaction to modern urban society. It was argued that the rigours of modern industrial society did not provide individuals with an outlet through which to release dangerous pent up energies. Laban put forward his ideas as a method through which individuals could overcome this problem.

Prior to the Second World War, female physical educators had been devotees to the Swedish system. After the war, their allegiance moved towards Laban's ideas. Kirk (1990) notes that both modes of devotion rarely involved critical analysis of the chosen approach. The new allegiance led to the development of Educational Gymnastics which bore a strong relation to Laban's ideas.

By the mid-1940's proponents of the Swedish system were being criticised on the basis that this approach involved unnatural movements which were dull to carry out. Their response was to argue that ideas like Laban's were unstable, lacked discipline and poise, did not provide individuals with the opportunity to repeat the skills practised and failed to train individuals' physical and mental aspects (Kirk 1990).

Male physical educators were less progressive than their female counter-parts and this led to dispute over what form of physical education should gain prominence in Britain. The national conference on physical education in Edinburgh in 1954, involving the male Scottish Physical Education Association and the female Scottish League of Physical Education, led to the rejection of educational gymnastics. This was on the grounds that it would undermine the traditional high standards of gymnastic skill which were seen to be prevalent at the Scottish School of Physical Education. The Swedish system, with aspects of the Olympic approach, was preferred because it was more systematic and scientific (Kirk 1990).

Kirk (1990) states that this decision was reinforced by A D Munrow's *Pure and Applied Gymnastics* (1955) which became the cornerstone of male opposition to progressive trends in physical education. Munrow argued that, despite the fact that physical education was considered an art, its principles should be scientific and systematic. He defined gymnastic exercise as any sports activity which involved skills repetition, but criticised the female approach to physical education on the basis that it did not consolidate or extend skills. (Kirk 1990).

During the 1950's and 1960's, the debate over which course physical education should take centred around:

- * The level of specification required for skills development;
- * The application of objective standards in gymnastics performance;
- * The place of competition in the gym (Kirk 1990).

The educational gymnastics camp argued that innovative movements could be carried out to educate the child cognitively. This, they suggested, contrasted with the traditional Swedish approach which, merely, trained the body physically. The former's image of gymnastics required co-operation between children and the use of exchange rather than command-response to educate children (Kirk 1990). This approach, therefore, contradicted the male perception of physical education which, supported by information on endurance gained during the war years, argued that the best way to learn a skill was to repeat it over and over again.

Concern over the negative aspects of competitive sport lead proponents of educational gymnastics to argue that girls did not require the benefits boys gained from competitive sport (such as increased height, weight and strength). They believed, therefore, that girls should be excused from these activities to concentrate on activities which would allow them to learn how to develop their bodies. This process, it was argued, would allow girls to gain pride and independence from participating in physical education which would aid their future roles in society. This role was primarily perceived as marriage and motherhood (Kirk 1990).

The male physical educators' response was that competitive sport, though exposing children to failure, also allowed them the opportunity for success and, therefore, was a justifiable part of the curriculum.

During the 1960's the male approach to physical education was prevalent in secondary schools whilst the female approach found support in primary schools. Kirk states that educational gymnastics easily fitted into the primary school system because of the wider educational perceptions that existed there, '*Because of its continuities between its non-competitive, aesthetic and creative features and the child-centred movement which was bringing about sweeping changes in primary classrooms*' (Kirk 1990 p57).

At the same time the male approach to physical education was gaining much status within the secondary school system. This status was reinforced by the view that competitive sport aided national prestige. That is, the male method of physical education was perceived as involving knowledge of how to develop body strength, muscular advancement and sporting ability - the very requirements for success of competitive sports men. To a certain extent this status was diluted by the advent of co-educational physical education teacher training colleges in the 1960's, but the wider cultural necessities of competitive sport within society ensured that male approaches to physical education remained dominant during this period (Kirk 1990).

Despite the introduction of comprehensive schooling in the late 60's the gender differences surrounding physical education teaching were not confronted and, it is argued, these differences were enshrined in both classroom practices and the structure of the new schools (Evans 1990).

'Secondary school reorganisation did little to encourage teachers to call into question the content and organisation of physical education or make problematic either its long established gender differences and differentiation practices, or the value and status distributed and imputed to different sorts of knowledge and pupils *within* the subject. On the contrary the cultural climate inside schools, fed by the political and educational discourse described above, exacerbated rather than dissipated processes of gender differentiation within the subject, helped to announce the divide and the differences between male and female 'traditions' of physical education, privileging the male form and sustaining its position of dominance within the subject.' (Evans 1990 p146)

Thus, the perception held by purveyors of educational gymnastics, that girls' physical education should somehow be different from boys' physical education, was drawn into the physical education curriculum within comprehensive and secondary schools.

Evans states that this had much to do with the fact that the arguments between the two forms of physical education obscured the reality that both approaches were deeply conservative (Evans 1990).

Indeed, the female approach to physical education teaching was far from the radical approach that it had been acclaimed to be, rather, it perpetuated the view that physical education should prepare girls for woman's work and leisure. The perpetuation of this division between men and women reinforced 'social and cultural production in schools' (Evans 1990 p147).

Therefore, the very birth of physical education in Britain was characterised by differentiation between genders. This differentiation both reflected and reproduced cultural and social issues within society. Ultimately the outcome of this social and cultural reproduction was that male ideas of physical education dominated approaches to teaching physical education (Evans 1990). This domination was built on the fact that society at the time - and still - attributes much status to competitive sports.

The differentiation between men and women was reinforced by the structure of schools. Physical education as a subject, female teachers and female physical education teachers lacked status in the eyes of those that decided, and still decide today, which teachers are suitable for promotion to senior posts and to receive elevation on the salaries points scale (Evans 1990 p148).

Attempts were made to address the issue of co-education in physical education in 1972 with the publication of 'Curriculum Paper 12; Physical Education' (SED 1972) in Scotland and 'Movement' (Dep of Ed & Sci 1972). These documents made the first proposals for co-education in physical education at the same time as moving away from traditional gymnastic ideas of physical education towards Laban type ideas concerning the development of children's movement experiences (Beaumont 1982).

This change in emphasis incorporated the first steps towards addressing the cognitive dimension of physical education within the curriculum and away from prescribing tables of lessons (Parry 1986). However, the advances in these documents did not immediately address issues of differentiation in physical education. In Scotland, this had much to do with the fact that co-education of physical education teachers did not occur until 1986.

Kirk (1990) and Evans (1990) conclude that both the tradition of differentiation by gender in physical education and the history of conflict over what form the curriculum in physical education should take, still surface in physical education departments today. The process of differentiation is often reinforced by the structure of schools which attributes status to other subject teachers over physical education teachers, male teachers over female teachers and male physical education teachers over female physical education teachers⁴.

Both authors emphasised the fact that this occurs within the context that physical education has historically reflected and reproduced social and cultural issues at work within the society of the day. The ramifications of this historically driven process of differentiation in physical education are discussed in the next section.

Issues of Equality in Primary School Physical Education:

It is argued that primary school physical education in Britain acts to reinforce inequalities through emphasising sexual stereotypes :

'It is suggested here that present practice in many primary schools ensures that pupils transfer to secondary school with their stereotypical attitudes (fostered in many cases, from birth) towards physical education and sport not only intact but well reinforced by their primary school physical education, and that these attitudes disadvantage girls, and also set limits to the experiences of most boys' (Williams 1993)

⁴ See also Hendry (1975)

Williams argues that despite the fact that physical education in primary schools involves mixed groups, it does not involve equal opportunity. She indicates that providing children with the same access rights to physical education does not mean that children have equal opportunities within physical education.

Access to physical education may mean access to a curriculum content of male dominated sports. This male dominated curriculum may be under-written by a shortage of resources for forms of physical education which girls prefer. Schools may be without the resources to provide activities such as swimming. The primary school teachers' lack of experience in PE may lead to a shortage of confidence to teach such subjects as dance and gymnastics. These sort of shortages ultimately lead to a games-dominated curriculum (Williams 1993).

This form of curriculum denies girls access to the activities they perceive as relevant to their future sports participation. Activities such as swimming and dance are superseded by activities such as cricket, and football. This means that popular activities for women are replaced by sports which find prestige amongst boys (Williams 1993). Boys and girls arrive at primary school already socialised into gender-appropriate activities. Once there, access to the same curriculum, as boys, very often results in a reinforcement of gender differences which involve girls being socialised into less active lifestyles (Williams 1993). At the same time, the differentiation between boys and girls is further reinforced by the fact that boys have more contact with the teacher, receive more attention and are more visible/verbal in the physical education class (Scruton 1993).

Scraton states:

'The evidence suggests that mixed physical education is little different. Mixed physical education generates problems concerning levels of participation and degrees of confidence. In principle there might be equal participation and certainly equal 'opportunity' to participate. In practice, however, girls are less involved. My observation of mixed basketball, cricket and soccer showed that in most situations the girls took a peripheral role. In basketball and soccer the girls spent the majority of time running up and down the pitch whilst the boys passed to each other! In several cricket games observed, the boys started each lesson in the key central roles batting, bowling, wicket-keeping and close fielding. Although these altered throughout the session the girls always had to wait for their opportunities.... ..In relation to pupil-pupil interaction in mixed settings this remains single-sex unless there is positive intervention by the teacher. When asked to work in pairs or small groups the children organise themselves into single-sex groupings in observed situations of dance, games and gymnastics. In practice mixed-sex organisation rarely means coeducational teaching and/or learning.' (Scraton 1993 p143-144)

A situation exists therefore, where girls and boys fail to interact in the co-educational setting of physical education and this results in boys monopolising opportunity in games activities with the ultimate consequence that girls are forced to the periphery of participation.

This situation is compounded by the stereotypical views boys and girls hold about each other's participation in PE (boys and girls believe girls are less skilled and physically able than boys) (Graydon *et.al.* 1985 cited in Scraton 1993). These views are grounded by the situation that boys and girls actually come to physical education with differential levels of skill and hand eye co-ordination (Scraton 1993).

Williams (1993) notes, from her own experiences of teaching 10 and 11 year olds, that children's awareness of gender differences often leads to hostility between boys and girls which can result in a failure by children to carry out the work set by teachers. This awareness brings about problems for the teacher on how to control the class and whether to involve boys and girls in activities which are perceived as the province of the other sex.

The coping strategies employed by teachers to overcome problems of classroom disruption can lead to a reinforcement of gender differences especially when teachers choose to placate boys (Williams 1993). This takes the form of teachers adapting lesson plans to carry out activities which they know will not cause disruption to the class. However, invariably these activities are the very activities to which the boys attribute status (Pollard 1988). Thus 'equal access' to physical education in primary schools often means equal access to male-oriented activities which restrict the freedom of opportunity for girls participating in these activities (Talbot 1993).

Issues of Equality in Secondary School Physical Education:

In secondary schools in the USA, differentiation between pupils is a daily process:

'And so it goes, day after day, in typical physical education classes around the United States - children publicly choosing teams for game play, based on any of several possible factors: how proficient at the game children are, whether one is a best friend or not, if one is a girl or boy, to which race a child belongs, of which socio-economic class one is a member and many features of which we are less aware. Each feature exemplifies an 'ugly ism', the major ones being sexism, heterosexism (homophobia), racism, classism, and motor elitism, which appear in every gym once in a while, but in many gyms far too frequently' (P Dodds 1993).

Dodds' 'ugly isms' identify the divisive nature of physical education in present day United States. She identifies the every day behaviour of children during physical education classes as leading to inequalities and 'isms'. Her contention is that a '*white, male, heterosexual, middle-class, high-skilled ideology of elite performance in sport appears daily in physical education classes' in the United States'* (Dodds 1993 p30).

The outcome of this divisive ideology is the development of student hierarchies based on the various 'isms' stated above. These hierarchies are reinforced through physical educators treating students unfairly due to their particular characteristics. Differential treatment of students by physical educators in America relates to biases, prejudices, stereotyping and discrimination (see Dodds 1993 p30-31).

Dodds notes that teachers should aspire to be equitable in their classrooms. Equity in the gym not only means treating all students fairly, regardless of their characteristics, but requires teachers to possess an outlook on the world that involves equity. This outlook should evolve to the extent that every part of their teaching recognises and reinforces equal treatment of students.

In secondary schools in Britain, mixed sex groupings, especially in game-type activities, are dominated by a male-oriented idea of participation. Such ideas mean that those children who do not have an aptitude for competition, or do not possess sufficient skills, are pushed to the periphery by competitive and high-skilled children (Griffin 1989). This particularly acts against girls who find competitive activities less rewarding than boys (Murdoch 1987) and do not like to take part in competitive activities which are highly structured (Hendry and Singer 1981, Murdoch 1987). For Hendry and Singer (1981) the paradox was that teachers favoured more coaching to keep girls interested, feeling that less teacher control would lead to less emphasis on skills, learning and demonstration.

Team games were found to be more popular with younger secondary girls and individual games more popular with older girls (Hendry and Singer 1981). Hendry and Singer found that if girls were forced to participate in an activity, their enjoyment was reduced. Their preference was for positive social interaction between themselves and their teachers. That is, they enjoyed informal lessons with teacher involvement more than repetitive skills practice. Boys, on the other hand, benefited from this state of affairs because they, more than girls, believed themselves to possess an aptitude for physical education (Hendry and Marr 1985).

Despite girls apparent dislike of competitive games, their involvement in competitive team sports centred round the school setting. Sixty percent of girls' involvement in competitive team sports took place in the school setting whereas the figure for boys was 20%.

Twenty-three percent of girls' competitive team sports involvement took place in clubs, compared to 38% for boys and 11% of girls' involvement in competitive team sports took place elsewhere, as compared to 32% for boys (Hendry et al. 1993). It is indicated that this might express the fact that girls are coerced into male sports, or, that there exists a lack of organised teams sports for girls outside schools (Hendry et al. 1993).

It has been noted that inequalities based on gender and other factors are reinforced by traditional sexist ideologies emanating from the bi-partheid history of physical education (Hargreaves 1990). This sexism is often conveyed through the language of teachers and especially through the use of gender-stereotype clichés and the differential rewarding/disciplining of pupils (i.e. rewarding boys for being strong and girls for grace; not being consistent in punishing pupils for not bringing kit or misbehaving) (Thomas 1991)⁵. Individual teachers' perceptions of children's social and physical attributes influenced children's forms of involvement in PE - those children perceived as attractive and physically skilled received favoured treatment from teachers (Hendry 1978).

Elitism, based on competitive sports, described by Kirk above, still exists in secondary schools. The worth of a physical education department is often judged on its ability to produce winning sports teams. This worth is entwined with the career prospects of the department head which are increased by the development of successful school teams (Sparks 1989).

⁵ Teachers reinforced gender-stereotypes in their discussion of the reasons for girls not taking part in after school sports. Teachers thought that a variety of factors contributed to girl's non-involvement in extra-curricular sport including a dislike of the cold, not wanting to spoil their hair-style, exam pressure and laziness (Hendry and Singer 1981)

Elitism occurs because physical education teachers and policy makers emphasise the role of the individual at the expense of understanding how social class, ethnic group, or social structure, affect and are affected by physical education (Hargreaves 1986). The likelihood is that they will spend even less time on trying to understand these issues because competition between schools will require them to spend more time producing winning teams (Thomas 1993).

The difference between access and opportunity is a crucial issue in both primary and secondary physical education as Talbot states:

'For example, we may claim that we have provided equal opportunity to take part in programmes of dance and games, because the same programme is offered to all children, without regard to sex, ethnic or social background or religion. Equal access may, indeed, be the case: but the relevance of the sex of the teacher, the choice of physical activities offered, the interaction within co-educational classes and the previous experiences and level of competence of the children have not been taken into account. Consideration has not been given to the ways in which the form of the lesson or its delivery could be seen by some of the potential participants as exclusive' (Talbot 1993 p85)

Hence, where teachers pay little attention to the 'baggage' (my term) of the children they are teaching, the outcome can be that certain children fail to gain the opportunity to take part fully in the activity on offer. The issue is, that teachers and lesson plans can affect pupils in two ways: firstly in an intended way based on traditional ideologies surrounding physical education or, secondly, as an unintended consequence of certain processes of physical education. Bain (1990) refers to the latter as the 'Hidden Curriculum'.

Elitism is a major factor within the hidden curriculum of physical education. The message that pupils pick up is that those children who succeed at physical education and sport do so because they deserve to succeed, rather than because the physical education system benefits certain children more than others:

'Thus, while students may resist the meaninglessness of the physical education programme, most (but not all) appear to believe that athletes have earned their higher status based on a meritocratic system which rewards outstanding performers' (Bain 1990)

Bain notes that there is variance amongst children's participation in physical education classes which means that some children try hard in physical education classes, some try to look as if they are trying and others just muck about. She indicates that though this variance exists, most children perceive physical education as involving meritocracy. This perception exists despite the fact that the physical education system is more rewarding for certain children.

Teachers viewed children who did not conform to their expectations in physical education classes as having problems which they, as teachers, could not address. Bain notes that although coping strategies, such as restricting games and avoiding sexist language, could address problems of elitism in the classroom there is little indication that teachers' underlying conceptions of issues such as gender are changing. She believes that the hidden curriculum, through endorsing meritocratic ideology, reinforces differentiation in physical education classes. In turn, differentiation reinforces old ideas of gender biased physical education which bring forth the outcome that only highly skilled athletes receive quality learning and instructional experiences during physical education classes:

'The hidden curriculum in physical education seems to endorse a meritocratic ideology in which status is dependent on effort and ability. Consistent with this view, quality instructional and competitive experiences are provided only for the highly skilled athletes while other students are urged to try harder' (Bain 1990 p36).

Hence, not only do the forms of activities carried out in schools reinforce inequalities in physical education, ironically, meritocratic ideas surrounding physical education and sport act to reinforce the status of certain children (generally white, middle-class, highly-skilled individuals) and force the other children in the class to the periphery of participation (Bain 1990). Hendry identifies the hidden curriculum in PE with that which leads to differentiation between children in the academic subject classroom. He argues that the effects of this differentiation on children's involvement in sport last into late adolescence (Hendry 1992).

Differentiation is reinforced by differential teaching methods. The problems associated with these methods are then compounded by the fact that classes are too large and facilities not sufficient for teachers to give all children the same attention (Hargreaves 1986).

Teachers' differentiated methods within PE are biased against certain children depending on their class (Shilling 1993, Whitehead and Hendry 1976), race (Carroll and Hollinshead 1993), motor-skill level, sexuality (Dodds 1993) and gender (Talbot 1993). These biases are reinforced by traditional divisions within physical education, outlined previously, which reflect concerns, cultural factors and social issues out with physical education.

Evans concludes that equality in physical education depends on the way power, status and reward are distributed in physical education departments:

'In short, issues of power, authority, culture, patriarchy, sexuality and social class have to be placed high among our professional concerns. These are difficult contentious matters and to some they will seem threatening' (Evans 1990 p102)

This view corroborates Sue Thomas's assertions, she states:

'As such then, the origins of elitism in physical education can be located:

- (a) in history, tradition and the need to maintain the competitive achievement-oriented sporting status quo;
- (b) as a response to the nature of the work place in Physical education and to the demands of teaching and surviving both personally and professionally within its constraints;
- (c) in an ideological subscription to the concepts of competitive individualism;
- (d) in the failure of the physical education profession to adequately question and challenge the ideological basis of the Physical education curriculum - its content, organisation, pedagogy and assessment - in an attempt to understand better the relationship between teachers' actions, practices, structural and occupational constraints' (1993 p108).

The cumulative result of these facts is concluded by Hargreaves (1986 p172-3):

'Sporting activities therefore, whether they are extra-curricular or time-tabled, tend to take on a competitive, achievement-oriented, teacher-dominated character and competitive individualism and elitism enter informally as an unintended consequence. It is not simply that physical education teachers share elitist values - many, no doubt, do - it is that individualism and elitism are built into the system of constraints and thus they come to pervade the ethos of the physical education programme... ..The top levels of the profession now attach a greater importance to catering for the 'gifted child' and to the importance of 'excellence'. Beliefs in a natural hierarchy of ability, legitimised by natural science-based training remain strong, and there is an increasing commitment to the idea that an equal structure of provision is necessary to cater for the 'gifted' and that physical education in schools should be linked to the programme for building national teams and improving the countries' performance at international level.' (Hargreaves 1986 p172-3).

Thus, elitist values, both intentionally and unintentionally, work to divide and differentiate pupils in physical education classes for a number of reasons and in a number of ways. This process of differentiation follows a historical tradition of 'bi-parthied' strategies to teaching physical education and an ideology of competitive individualism, both of which are embedded in the structural constraints (resources, facilities, teacher training, promotion and reward structures) associated with PE. The outcome of this picture of the PE system is that children of certain classes, sexes, races and sexual orientations receive greater or lesser levels of opportunities within PE.

Many authors have put forward suggestions on how PE teaching and policy can be made progressive to overcome issues of gender, class, elitism, etc. (Thomas 1991, Williams 1993, Talbott 1993, Dodds 1993). Some have identified how these suggestions will be affected by the Conservative government's 5-16 National Curriculum PE initiative in England and Wales (Bain 1990, Thomas 1991, 1993, Penny and Evans 1991, Evans and Davies 1993). These author's works are located in the area between a micro- and macro-social understanding of physical education. They can be identified with the suggestion that educational research should investigate structures between the micro and the macro⁶. These works will be employed in chapter nine to aid the discussion of the role of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*.⁷

⁶ See Hargreaves' (1985) chapter one.

⁷ For an outline of the aims of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* see appendix A.

Summary of Elitism in Physical Education:

It has been stated that boys and girls arrive at primary schools with different ideas towards and experience of sport. These gender differences are reinforced by the form of the curriculum; teachers' perceptions of the children and sport; teachers' experience in, and methods of, teaching physical education; and a lack of facilities to provide a broad range of activities.

This differentiation is reinforced in secondary schools. Differentiation occurs on the grounds of race, gender, motor skills, sexuality and class and is reinforced as a result of the form of curriculum available; historical traditions in PE; the structure of the school and PE department; teachers' perceptions of the children involving biases towards competitive and highly-skilled children; and children's gender biased perceptions of sports.

The effects of this differentiation are underwritten by the hidden curriculum which involves the message that those children who succeed in PE do so on merit. The result is that differentiation is viewed as normal/natural, elitism reigns and hierarchies are prevalent which reinforce the status of some children against other children.

This literature raised certain issues concerning the proposed study. It provides the reader with the opportunity to arrive at certain preconceptions.

- * That girls in PE classrooms can be identified as one cultural grouping.
- * That this grouping's opportunities in PE classrooms are reduced due to sexual stereotypes held in society.

The problems of co-education were well documented, however, no indication was given as to whether girls themselves made everyday choices with regards to their involvement in PE classes. This meant that it was not possible to deduce whether all girls accepted the state of affairs which led to their unequal involvement in PE classrooms. This raised the issue, Do all girls react the same way in given PE situations?

The above works placed emphasis on how such factors as race, class, age and gender affected children's participation in PE. There appeared to be no doubt that these factors were important when considering children's involvement in PE. However, little time was spent describing how children made choices within the confines of the constraints that affected their participation in PE. One was left asking the question, do all children of the same class, or race, have the same experience in PE?

The suggestion is that elitist tendencies act against certain children in PE classes. Elitism is linked to class, race, gender and motor skills, whilst being perceived as leading to hierarchical structures. However, it is difficult to deduce from the literature provided whether these structures are fluid or static. Though the works discussed above describe the relationship between the various factors that underwrite elitism, they do not allow the reader to discover where and when certain factors (such as class, race, motor elitism) have more precedent.

Moreover, these works do not allow the reader to deduce if the influence of these factors in the PE setting can be challenged through children's everyday behaviour (agency/culture). As a result the reader is left posing such questions as, are the factors that lead to hierarchies in the classroom written in stone or can they be challenged by the children? Are their only one set of values and forms of behaviour by which children attribute status in the classroom? And, do all groups of children accept and reproduce these values and patterns of behaviour?

The overriding impression, given by these works, was that children's involvement in PE was governed by factors external to the classroom, such as competitive individualism and sporting elitism, which exist in society at large. The descriptions of the effects of these factors gave little insight into the bearing that children's every day behaviour in PE classes had on these outside factors.

This is an important issue. Children's every day behaviour can be associated with cultural factors (James and Prout 1990). Some of the works discussed in this section argue that the planning of policy for and teaching of PE must take account of the culture of children. However, this argument tends to centre around macro-cultural concepts, such as 'working class culture', 'Afro-Caribbean culture' and so forth. These approaches can be identified as overlooking micro-cultural issues, such as, the likelihood that there may be several types of working class culture and several types of Afro-Caribbean culture.

Hence, this study aimed to define the cultures in PE classes in terms of the every day behaviour of children rather than in terms of preconceived macro concepts such as race, gender or class. However, by concentrating on the every day behaviour of children the study was confronted with the question, what is the relationship between children's behaviour in PE classes (agency) and the wider issues outside of the PE classroom (structure⁸)? That is, what is the relationship between children's behaviour in the PE classroom and the 'whole'⁹ within which it is located?

⁸ The concept of agency and structure is described in chapter one. The relationship between these concepts and sport is discussed in the final part of this chapter.

⁹ As explained in chapter one.

It was possible on completion of the ethnographic fieldwork to address a number of the questions identified above. Specifically, chapters four to eight of the thesis develop the questions:

- * Do all girls react the same way in PE situations?
- * Do all children of the same class, have the same experience in PE?
- * Do all children of the same race, have the same experience in PE?
- * Is there only one set of values and forms of behaviour by which children are attributed status?
- * What is the relationship between children's behaviour in the PE classroom and the 'whole' within which it is located?

An understanding of the third question was developed from reading ethnographic work which investigated South Asian children's experiences of PE and sport in the context of schooling. This work had a bearing on the final question above. In order to contextualise these two questions, the next section of this chapter will discuss the experiences of South Asian children, prior to addressing the literature concerning children's participation in sport.

Part two: Agency, Culture, Structure and Children's Sports

Involvement in the Context of Schooling:

This section will discuss issues of agency, culture, structure and children's sports participation. Beginning with issues of racism in PE. It defines racism as it might be found in the PE setting (Figueroa 1993). This definition is preceded by a discussion of two case studies which investigated South Asian children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling. The section culminates in an interpretation of literature on the role of structure and agency in children's involvement in sport.

Issues of Race and Children's Participation in PE:

Figueroa (1993) identifies five levels of racism. Cultural racism involves a link between group identity, group world view and group behaviour. Social relations between groups are defined by their different cultural constructs. This can involve one group maintaining power over another group as a result of taken for granted forms of social interaction.

Individual racism is associated with individuals who hold stereotypical views at times linked with psychological needs of the individual. Interpersonal racism involves discrimination harassment and the articulation during social interaction of the 'terms of the racist frame of reference'. Institutional racism manifests itself in the institutions of a society. It occurs when institutions such as schools function to disadvantage certain groups by failing to take account of the needs of those groups.

This can occur in an unintentional sense:

'An example would be the unthinking giving of intelligence tests, or of National Curriculum standardised assessment tasks, to minority ethnic children, even if such children were not adequately represented in the population on which these tests had been standardised (Figueroa 1993 p93).'

The final of Figueroa's five levels of racism is structural racism. This refers to the differential distribution on racist grounds of 'resources, rewards, roles, status and power'.

These types of racism were related to the findings of the study in chapters four and six. In terms of racism and PE, Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) identified a number of areas where conflict arose between Asian children and the individuals they interacted with during PE. These areas were PE kit, showers, Ramadan and extra-curricular activities.

Conflict could arise if the school and teachers did not show awareness of the fact that some Asian girls, especially devout Muslims, felt acute discomfort (related to their religious codes) at exposing parts of their bodies and legs. Some Muslim boys and members of their community exerted pressure on girls to defy PE kit codes which required Muslim girls to bare their legs. Showers brought about similar problems for Muslim girls and boys. This led to cultural conflict between the teachers views of 'Hygiene' and the Muslim children's feeling of shame at having to bare their bodies.

The process of fasting during Ramadan created problems for Muslim children's participation in PE. Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) indicated that Muslim children could be antagonised by teachers who insisted they participate fully in strenuous activities during Ramadan. Moreover, swimming was identified as problematic because water must not enter the mouth during fasting. The argument promoted by Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) is that curriculum planning should ensure that alternative activities are available at the time of Ramadan.

Extra-curricular activities were illustrated as problematic for some Muslim children because their parents insisted they went to the Mosque after school. Muslim girls were described as having more restrictions placed on how they spent their time. The pressure on Muslim children not to take part in extra-curricular activities was linked to parents and other adult members of the Muslim community.

Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) noted that in the above cases some children did not conform to the pressures of their religious belief, parents, relatives or members of their community. This is in keeping with the findings of (Fleming 1992). Fleming demonstrates the advantages of ethnographic study by identifying a number of sub-cultures amongst South Asian male youth.

Fleming (1992) identifies, by way of their behaviour in PE, four groups of South Asian males. The Victims, Straights, Boffins and Street-Kids. The Victims are defined as '*persecuted migrants from Bangladesh* (Fleming 1991 p33)'. They are committed to their traditional culture, are different in appearance to other children in the school and suffer verbal and physical abuse from these children. The Victims believe that the racist violence they endure is often legitimised through their interaction with other children during sports participation:

'Low sporting ability is very visible and frequently results in rejection by peers, especially when it merely confirms some of the stereotypical assumptions that are made about Asians in sport. (Fleming 1991: 35)

Fleming indicated that children were provided with little opportunity to gain prestige during PE classes. However, he believed the Victims possessed positive attitudes to PE and Sport which contrasted with their experiences in this area. The Victims are described as experiencing problems in three areas. Showering after PE conflicts with their perception of the requirements of their religion.

The Victims stated that exposing their bodies was contrary to the teachings of their religion. Similarly, Dance was perceived by the Victims to be against their religion. Finally, Fleming stated that sport was relatively unimportant to the Victims lifestyles when compared with activities such as prayer.

When considered in conjunction with their experiences of PE, Fleming concludes '*The Victims are caught in a vicious circle where the difference in sports skill level between them and their peers from other ethno cultural groups is constantly increasing* (Fleming 1991: 37).'

Fleming contrasts the experiences of the Victims with that of the Straights. The Straights are described as being committed to their religion and traditional culture, yet striving to assimilate to western culture. Identified as 'between two cultures', they exhibited a tendency to avoid conflict by displaying careful consideration of where they participated in social interaction. The Straights exhibited positive feelings towards PE however, they rarely took part in extra-curricular sports activities. They demonstrated a tendency to avoid certain sports because they perceived them as providing opportunities for conflict. The Straights preferred to participate in activities traditional to the Indian sub-continent such as cricket or Kabbadi. Predominantly Sikhs the Straights were aware that they lacked role models in sporting areas other than cricket.

The Boffins were described as a sub-group of the Straights. The Boffins displayed stronger ties to their traditional culture and religion than Straights. However, their fathers were identified as aspiring to the financial rewards that were available to the English middle classes.

The Boffins were highly motivated towards academic achievement. Though they were identified as enjoying PE, Fleming noted that PE, '*Can prove to be something of an inconvenience, as it is seen as an unnecessary and unwelcome distraction from the important business of being prepared for academic exams* (Fleming 1991: 43).' Some Boffins perceived PE as providing an opportunity for them to be perceived as different by other children in the classroom.

Boffins viewed Sport as important because it provided the opportunity to improve 'health, body and mind'. However, this positive perception was overridden by practical experience of racism during PE which suggested to the Boffins racist attitudes in sport and society prevented South Asian children and adults from having opportunities to succeed in sport. This belief was promoted by the Boffins as an explanation for the lack of South Asian role models in certain sports.

The Boffins academic prowess contrasted markedly with the experiences of the Street Kids. The Street Kids were predominantly British born South Asian boys who were members of larger multiethnic street gangs. This group exhibited anti-school behaviour which resulted in conflict with teachers during PE and other subjects. The Street Kids were described as enjoying the experience of their non-cooperation with teachers. Moreover, their involvement in conflict included friction with other children and the defence of their culture when confronted by other children's racist attitudes. The Street Kids opted for PE as an alternative to the academic curriculum. However, they exhibited a preference for social activities (unregulated by adults or sports club organisers) rather than club sport. They were happier playing football in the street and parks rather than fullsided club games.

Fleming concluded there existed a heterogeneous population of South Asian males in the school setting broadly separated into the above groups. He identified the groups in terms of their patterns of social interaction and ideas of self identity¹⁰ This allowed Fleming to overcome the problems of such writers as Carrington et.al. (1987) who have been criticised for stereotyping the experiences and problems of South Asians' participation in sport¹¹ (Ravel 1989).

Moreover, Fleming indicated that these groups were affected by structural factors as well as cultural and religious issues. He argued Street Kids suffered from the lack of resources available to their families and the middle class nature of Straights and Boffins provided these children with resources which stimulated their sports involvement. This lead to the argument that South Asian male groups are forged not only through social interaction and self identification but within the context of the members of the groups' access to the financial rewards of society¹² (Brah and Minhas 1985).

Fleming (1991, 1992) and Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) illustrated policy developments would influence various groups of South Asian males in different ways. This finding suggests that policies which are based on a uniform approach to South Asian children's involvement in PE will not improve these children's rates of participation.

¹⁰ In keeping with Jenkins (1992).

¹¹ Carrington et.al. (1987) is criticised by Ravel 1987 for concentrating too much on Muslim culture and religion (especially religious influence on women's position in the home) as explanations fro women's problems in PE and sport.

¹² This allows Fleming's work to take account of the criticism made by Brah and Minus concerning euro-centric researchers views of South Asian children. They argued too many researchers concentrated on explanations of cultural conflict between a homogenous South Asian culture and 'British' culture at the expense of understanding structural influences such as class.

Fleming (1992) argued that an anti-racist PE would have an understanding of the effect of differential resources on South Asian children's experiences of sport, understand cultural and religious issues and acknowledge that competitive team games lead to division between children and reinforcements of stereotypes.

Fleming, therefore, develops Brandt's (1986) argument that curriculum materials should not be seen as neutral and that the hidden curriculum should be made blatant in order that racist problems could be identified and deconstructed. Brandt believed that this would allow inequality, injustice and racism to be challenged.

Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) argue that though policy changes were implemented at the school they investigated, teachers showed varying levels of understanding of the importance of religion and culture to Muslim children in their classrooms. They concluded there was a need to examine actual practices in working situations in order to understand how children and teachers work within schools' PE policies. At the same time they highlighted integratory PE policies as acting as a threat to the culture and tradition of certain South Asian groups. Citing Troyna and Carrington (1987) and Walkling and Brannigan (1987), the dilemma is how to:

'Offer Muslim children individual freedom, equality of opportunity and life chances in society against the rights of the group to maintain cultural tradition and control over its members in the political context of white domination (Carroll and Hollinshead 1993 p165)¹³.'

Policies, are often flawed because they do not take account of their potential to act as a threat to some South Asian children and adults and they presume that all South Asian children would like to participate in sport (Fleming 1992). Therefore, Muslim children are caught between school values and community values (Carroll and Hollinshead 1993).

¹³ Carroll and Hollinshead's (1993) case study allows them to argue this from the perspective of the children, because they represent the children's words in their text. This relates to Jenkins (1992) view set out on P86 that lifestyles should be identified in terms of social interaction and self identification. The problems of achieving this with regards to issues of race in this thesis are set out in chapter four.

It is argued, this situation can only be helped by confronting racism in PE through increased teacher training and by fostering closer links to the community to develop greater understanding by the Muslim community and parents of their children's situation (Fleming 1992, Carroll and Hollinshead 1993).

These suggestions go beyond issues concerning South Asian children. Teachers stereotypical expectations of children from various racial groups must be challenged, especially those preconceptions based on body image (Carrington 1983, Cashmore 1982). Teachers should be trained to avoid believing that Afro-Caribbean children will be 'good' at PE and South Asian children do not have the physical capability to succeed at specific sports (Figuroa 1993).

Bayliss (1989) argued that, all too often, teachers place the blame for Black children's failure in PE on the problems of the ethnic group rather than investigating the relationship between racism and the curriculum. Bayliss believed teachers possessed a complacent value which presumed that PE and sport involved a meritocracy where equal opportunity and racial harmony existed¹⁴. It is suggested that for real progress to occur with regards to racism in PE and sport in the context of schooling, teachers should receive in-service training which confronts racism (Carroll and Hollinshead 1993).

To conclude this section. It is argued that a number of types of racism might influence children's involvement in PE and sport. It is also argued that not all children from the South Asian community have the same experiences during PE or sports participation in the context of schools.

¹⁴ Hargreaves (1986) identified this value with the perception that sport is integrative.

These arguments fuelled my belief that one of the important roles of the Scottish based research I was about to undertake was to identify children's different patterns of behaviour with regards to PE and sport in the context of schooling and to account for the relationship between this behaviour and issue of culture and sub-culture. Some works have looked at the role of culture in sports participation. The next part of this section on agency, culture, structure and children's sports involvement in the context of schooling discusses the contrast between literature concerning the role of culture in sport and literature which concentrates on the role of socialisation in sport.

Culture and Sport:

Hendry and Simpson (1977) carried out a case study of a community centre and described two quite different groups of adolescents - those who focused on the sports area of the centre and those who focused on the community area.

The Sports Area Group:

This group consisted of 19 boys and 22 girls. One third of the group came from the immediate neighbourhood and the rest travelled from outside this area. For Hendry and Simpson, this group used the centre for specific sporting reasons, with only 13% using the coffee bar in the centre. This group were attempting to obtain Highers at school and were involved in school-based clubs and were oriented to non-manual jobs as careers. The group believed that the role of the community and sports leaders in the centre was important and sensible.

They viewed these leaders as 'trendy', helpful, sympathetic and interested in their activities. The group viewed the community area group as less well-behaved and sensible than themselves. Hendry and Simpson believed this group to be intelligent, well-mannered, articulate and from middle-class communities.

The Community Area Group:

This group consisted of 35 boys and 37 girls. Almost all of this group came from within 15 minutes of the centre and, according to Hendry and Simpson, used the centre as a meeting place. All of the group used the coffee bar. Most were attempting, or had attempted, O Grades. They were not as involved in school clubs as the sports group and were oriented towards manual occupations. This group were less sure about the community leaders' roles than the sports group and viewed the sports leaders as interfering in their activities. The girls within the group believed the sports leaders to be stricter, less trendy, less sympathetic and less interested in them than the sports girls. This group described itself as less well-behaved than the sports group, which they viewed as unfriendly, untrendy, 'snobs' and brainy.

Hendry and Simpson investigated each group's participation rates in non-school sports teams. They found that of the sports group, 42% of boys and 23% of girls belonged to youth organisations and that 52% of boys and 41% of girls played for sports teams. Of the community area group, 51% of boys and 13% of girls belonged to youth organisations and 28% of boys and 13% of girls to sports teams.

Hendry and Simpson argued that it was not a case of lack of facilities, or a lack of information that resulted in local children not using the sports facilities of the centre. Nor was it a lack of money, as sales in the coffee bar were high and community area children had enough money to buy cigarettes.

The children complained that too many rules existed in the sports area and that though they were aware that rules were necessary, the sports area was just not for them. Hendry and Simpson point out that the children start to divide into these two groups around the age of 14¹⁵.

¹⁵ Two distinct stages have been identified which relate to the children who took part in this thesis. At some point children either stop playing games altogether or switch to 'adult sports' (Cherfas 1980). Children entering their teens are often, '*overcome with amnesia for the*

They also argue that since few of the community area children were involved in school activities and these children viewed the sports area kids as being associated with the school, it could be the case that the same things that turned the community area children off school, turned them off the sports area. The suggestion was that, working-class children who rejected school values, also rejected involvement in sports or sports areas which they identified as being associated with these values.

However, it has been stated that some working-class children associate with the values of the education process because they find success in this process (Willis 1977). Moreover, it has been argued that sport and PE participation is greater amongst those working-class children who do better in school and comply with the achievement means and values of the school system (Hargreaves 1986). This suggests that not all working-class children reject the values of sport and PE.

Group membership must be understood within the context of sub-cultural values (Ball 1980 and Willis 1977). That is, membership of a group brings with it the acceptance of and, to a great extent, the acting out of daily patterns of behaviour that are defined not by individuals but by the group itself. This fact must be understood to have a major effect on the patterns of sport and leisure of the individuals within these groups.

The above works indicated that there was some relationship between children's behaviour in school PE and their forms of participation in sport and that this relationship related to the culture of individual children.

games that used to be their very life a few months before' (Cherfas 1980 p59). Moreover, some time during the early to mid teenage years some children move from participating in sports activities to participating in social leisure activities (Smith 1987, Hendry and Singer (1981). Peer groups were identified as an important influence during this later process of change (Hendry 1993, Smith 1987).

It was concluded that if this study was to understand the influences that will affect the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*, it would have to fully comprehend this relationship. However, other works have emphasised the importance of agents of socialisation in the process through which children develop their involvement in sports. That is the socialisation process has been identified as determining children's behaviour with regard to sport.

Socialisation and Sport:

It has been argued (Hendry et al. 1989) that three elements exist which make up the learning process through which children are socialised into sport:

Personal attributes:

They indicated that three personality types related to children's participation in leisure and sport. These were: non participants who felt leisure time was boring and too costly to engage in; competitive players who viewed leisure positively as a means of socialising keeping healthy and creating beneficial ties at work; and, finally, recreational types who were described as falling in between the above types (Hendry et al. 1989).

Significant Others:

Those who participated in sport regularly, and to some level of expertise, were found to have received long-term intimate informal coaching from an adult usually from outside their family group. These children were also more likely to feel that their parents were supportive of their leisure interests.

Recreational players expressed the desire to carry out activities outwith adult interference (Hendry et al. 1989). The role of parents was identified as important:

‘Two major elements appear to be directly related to attraction to and avoidance of sports participation: the availability of significant role models (i.e. parents) for the young person; and sports related reinforcement as evidenced by parental expectation, encouragement and support’ (Hendry et al. 1993 p60-61)

Thus, role models and parental expectation appear crucial to children’s sports involvement. This work indicated that more than a third of males, compared to less than a quarter of females, between the ages of 13 and 16 stated they played sport because their parents liked them to do it.

It was found that the fathers of children who played in sports teams were more likely to play sport, or organise sports teams, than fathers of children who did not play in teams (Hendry et al. 1989). Peer groups were identified as important sources of encouragement, three quarters of males, and half of females, aged 13-16 said they played sport because friends played.

Situational Factors:

These factors included the influence of social class. It was found that working-class values, and a lack of resources, contributed to the lower-levels of participation by working-class children in sport and leisure (Hendry et al. 1989)¹⁶. Hendry (1983) indicated that sports participation allowed children from the ‘pro-school’ sub culture an opportunity to identify with school values. Participants were found to perceive their experience of school as positive and to associate with the values of their parents, teachers and coaches (Hendry et al. 1989).

¹⁶ A number of studies have identified differential rates of participation between working class children and middle class children, between girls and boys and between different age children (Hendry and Simpson 1977, Hendry and Singer 1981, Murdoch 1987, Smith 1987, Hendry and Marr 1985, Hargreaves 1986, Hendry 1992, Hendry et al 1989, 1993). These studies suggest that all these factors must be taken into account when understanding children’s involvement in sport.

It has been argued that this reveals the role of teachers and schools in shaping children's sports involvement (Hendry 1993). Hendry (1992) maintained that the 'hidden curriculum'¹⁷ in schools could be identified in leisure situations. He indicated that children who rejected PE in schools, also, reject participation in leisure activities that were characterised by the use of formal rules and therefore, replicated conditions within schools (Hendry 1992)¹⁸.

The general emphasis of these works is that children are socialised into sport. However the identification of the importance of subcultures (Hendry 1983) and peer groups (Hendry et al. 1993) leads to some confusion, especially when considered in conjunction with the cultural slant of the work of Hendry and Simpson (1977) and Hendry and Marr (1985).

If we restate the ideas of James and Prout:

'Childhood and children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right and not just in respect to their social construction by adults. This means that children must be seen as actively involved in the construction of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live. They can no longer be regarded as simply the passive subjects of structural determinations.' (James and Prout 1990 p3-6)

They argue that 'the child' has been viewed as an agent of socialisation (a blank shell to have norms imprinted upon it without reaction). This perception is deterministic and does not attribute children with agency. James and Prout believe children to be more than 'passive subjects of structural determination'. Those studies which relate children's involvement in sport and PE to 'the socialisation process', though they cite the work of authors who take a more cultural perspective, do not provide the reader with sufficient explanation of the every day patterns of interaction and choices available to children within this process.

¹⁷ The implicit and often unstated ideas, values and beliefs that are communicated and transmitted through and within the school environment. (Jackson 1968)

¹⁸ This was developed from Hendry and Simpson (1977).

Studies which group children's likelihood to participate in sports activities on the basis of the children's personal attributes and ability to be socialised into sport overlook the importance of children making daily choices within their peer groups and therefore, the role of culture and every day values in the choices children make about their PE and sports pursuits.

Again, the relationship between agency and structure is central to this situation. Those works which approach children's involvement in sport from a socialisation perspective tend to look at how social structural issues such as gender and class determine children's involvement in sport.

That is, they look at children's behaviour in terms of how it is affected and determined by the structure of society. Therefore, they overlook the issues of agency and structure discussed in chapter one at the same time as ignoring the process through which children make their own choices about their sports participation.

This leads to what can be defined as a 'kitchen sink' approach. All the structural factors in society which could possibly affect children's involvement in sport and PE are investigated and set out in a methodical manner, e.g. Hendry *et.al.* 1993 elaborates in detail about the factors which influence young people's choices about PE and sport within the context of making choices about their lifestyles:

Questionnaire items drawn from the 1987 and 1989 YPLL surveys were used to provide a basis for our characterisation of adolescent lifestyles. These items include; locality; socio-economic background; family structure; living arrangements; educational qualifications and attitudes; economic activity status; disposable income and consumer spending; organised, casual and commercial leisure activities, including sports involvement and attitudes, and health behaviours of family and peers; self-concept and self-esteem; life-priorities; views on 'getting into trouble' and perceptions of authority figures; and finally relationships with family and peers (Hendry *et al.* 1993: 167).

However, this approach tends to concentrate on identifying and describing the influences within which children make lifestyle choices at the expense of illustrating how these influences are expressed and manifest themselves during the every day moments of young people's lives.

That is, no attempt is made to explain by example the relationship between these factors and young peoples processes of social interaction.¹⁹ On the other hand, those works which take a cultural perspective, though they describe the outcome of children's demonstration of agency in a sporting context, do not attempt to discuss why, or if, children's culture has a relationship with the structure of society.

As has been discussed above, children's cultures tend to be viewed as working-class or middle-class without adequate explanation of why, or if, society requires working/middle-class culture to take certain forms and if all working/middle-class cultures take these forms.

The problems associated with both these perspectives must be accounted for if the factors which influence children's behaviour in PE and therefore, the milieu that will influence the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* are to be understood.

Specifically, in chapter seven this thesis identifies the relationship between children's behaviour in PE and their behaviour in non school sports activities. This chapter discusses how children develop their forms of PE and sports participation over time, placing emphasis on links between children's involvement in PE and sport in primary school and their forms of PE and sports participation in secondary schools. In chapter eight the importance of agents of socialisation are discussed in reference to the process through which children develop the ability to make choices about their PE and sports participation. This chapter illustrates the role of both socialisation and the cultural capacity to make choices in children's involvement in PE and sport within the context of ideas about agency, structure, PE and sport.

Some works have discussed the relationship between agency, structure and sports participation. The remainder of this chapter will identify the themes of these works.

¹⁹ See reference to Jenkins (1992) five pages forward.

Agency, Structure and Sport:

Hargreaves (1986) argued that the relationship between sport and power should not be explained, in a deterministic manner, as the result of the effects of dominant culture on working-class culture. His belief was that sport reproduced the division of labour as a direct result of group relations but that this meant sport could accommodate or alienate working-class people in the social order.

By example, he suggested that the fact that black people call for more sports facilities to be provided for black children and adults demonstrates their position in society. That is, he understands the relationship between these people's behaviour (agency) and the structure of society which provides black people with more opportunities in the sporting sphere as opposed to other areas of society.

Hargreave's position can be related to that of Bourdieu (1986) who, like Giddens (1976), identified a dialectic between agency and structure, within which neither agency or structure wholly determines the other (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu was concerned with 'Habitus':

'It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and words, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate those practices and products (taste), that the represented social world i.e., the space of life styles, is constituted' (1986: 17).

The disposition of individuals towards certain patterns of behaviour was understood by Bourdieu to generate differentiation between groups of people. Bourdieu argued that it was possible to identify groups on the basis of the actor's, within these groups, subscription to certain behaviour and the relationship between this behaviour and the structure within which it was embedded.

His contention was that social structure and social relations could be understood by identifying how people related to certain areas (i.e. education) through becoming aware of how their behaviour in these areas was different.

Bourdieu stated that different conditions of existence produce different habitus which, in turn resulted in different areas of practice. Each class was perceived to be defined by its intrinsic properties and by its relational properties which were derived from the class's position in society. Hence, Bourdieu believed that social identity was defined and asserted through difference and that individuals and groups recognised how they were different from other individuals and groups. He indicated that the perception of difference involved a dialectic between conditions of existence (based on the distribution of capital) and habitus (the capacity to produce and appreciate practices).

Education was perceived to reproduce the social world through providing the individual with capital (Bourdieu 1986). That is, he viewed the possession of educational capital as enabling individuals to join certain groups and therefore, differentiate between themselves and other individuals.

Bourdieu argued that the differences between groups could be represented in terms of the dialectic between agency and structure in the area of sport. This point has been developed by Jarvie and Maguire:

'The learning of a sport is the embodied process. The process of becoming a player of a specific sport involves a subtle blending of the conscious and unconscious. As the 'novice' becomes more expert, the repertoire of skills becomes deeply embedded in a personal habitus. But this process is not culturally neutral. The learning of an appropriate habitus relays the occupancy of a specific position within the field. In turn, this is embedded in wider political and cultural struggles that structure the learning experience (Jarvie and Maguire 1994).'

It is suggested that an individual learns values and patterns of behaviour (cultural meaning) through sports involvement. This learning experience has two sections. Firstly the process of learning during sports participation results in individuals learning different things, secondly it results in different outcomes for distinct individuals. Both sections of the learning process are dependent on the culture of the individual and the position of that culture with respect to the structure of society.

Thus, individuals from different cultures have different experiences in the same sports. This differential experience relates both to their 'personal habitus' and their structural location. Put in Bourdieu's terms, the consequences of the dialectic between agency and structure is different in terms of their experience of the sport.

However, Bourdieu mainly employed the dialectic between habitus and structure to discuss how different classes participate in different sports' (1978, 1986). In this way, his work is in keeping with Weberian ideas that individual participation in certain group activities acts as a means of social closure.²⁰

Bourdieu argued that the field of sport involved a struggle where, '*What is at stake, inter alia, is the monopolistic capacity to improve the legitimate definition of sporting practice and the legitimate function of sporting activity*' (1978: 826). This has two possible explanations. Firstly, that when individuals belonging to different groups interact in the same sports they attempt to monopolise the rules or ways of behaving in the sport in terms of their own habitus. Secondly, that groups monopolise specific sporting activities which expresses the social distance between them. The former explanation involves the potential for cultural conflict, though Bourdieu (1978) does not develop this point. The latter explanation tends to characterise Bourdieu's (1978, 1986) works.

²⁰ Weberians identify leisure in modern society in terms of status. They argue that status comes from being associated with clubs, house parties, societies and associations. In this form it is used to exert closure and exclusion in order to distance one group from another (Coalter and Parry 1982, C Rojet 1985). Individuals are viewed as calculating the differences between each other. This calculation is perceived as having integrative and alienating consequences (Jarvie and Maguire 1994). Weberian views on leisure fall within an interpretative tradition which attempts to identify the role of agency within the structure of society. However, Weberian theories on sport and leisure have been criticised for placing status on high culture at the expense of working-class culture (Jarvie and Maguire 1994).

With regards to groups with different lifestyles, Hendry *et.al.* (1993)²¹ notes that Jenkins (1992) argued that lifestyle identities should be allocated on the basis of social interaction or self-identification. A reading of Jenkins tells us that individuals of specific class membership exhibit a number of lifestyles which might not immediately define them as members of the same class. It is argued that, by defining lifestyles in terms of social interaction or self-identification 'hidden unity' can be discovered between these individuals (Jenkins 1992: 148)²².

It is interesting and pertinent in the light of this thesis, that Hendry *et.al.* should indicate the importance of Jenkin's work. While they applauded his view that lifestyles can be defined by social interaction, they themselves did not address the type of examples of social interactions which Jenkins believed to be so important to a definition of lifestyles. Their failure is characterised by the quotation (Hendry *et.al.* 1993: 167), depicted a few pages previously (see p81), which lists every factor, they investigated, that could influence children's lifestyles. This type of approach produces static cause and effect descriptions of young people's lifestyles.

Jenkin's approach requires descriptions of social interaction, more akin to that found in ethnographic writing, which actually discuss the meaning of the behaviour of the participants within an interaction. As stated in the previous chapter a researcher cannot understand meaning without reflexively experiencing the phenomena which he/she is attempting to interpret.

²¹ The problem with works like this is that they indicate that different lifestyles exist and different groupings/ class fractions exist but make no attempt to describe what happens when these groups interact.

²² Jenkin's view is entirely in keeping with the ethnographic approach, identified in chapter 1, which argued that an individual's culture can be understood by a researcher exchanging, with that individual, information on how each other's ways of behaving are different. Above, 'hidden unity' can be discovered through social actors communicating and understanding how their cultures are the same.

Further, it is argued in chapter one that it is desirable to illustrate meaning through representations of the words and actions of the actors from which the meaning has come. Hendry *et.al*'s (1993) work fails to achieve this²³.

However, despite the above criticism, all the works which discuss structure and agency made an attempt to link the macro with the micro. This attempt provided an indication of how the ethnographic fieldwork of this study might be employed to have meaning beyond merely filling the knowledge gaps in literature on children's involvement in sport and PE. That is, it provided an approach compatible with the aim of the study (outlined in chapter one) to relate information on children's involvement in PE to the considerations wider than the PE classroom.

Moreover, an aim of this study - to provide information relevant to policy making in PE and sport (re Hargreaves (1985) 'linked micro-studies') - was compatible with the above works. By understanding the effects of structure and agency on PE and sport some explanation could be afforded of the overall situation within which the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* will be located.

A number of works have made suggestions concerning policy making in PE and sport. However, the approach of these works was to suggest, in some way, that if the right situational and personal factors are in place, which are aided by adult intervention, children will automatically take up sporting activities.

²³ This returns us to the methodological issue of how a social scientist knows the meaning of what other people say or do. Alan Campbell (1995) explains this problem of non-experienced based cultural assumptions by way of the example that Pero Alvares Cabal, the first colonial to reach Brazil, learnt the word toucan because the first person he met pointed to a bird that flew past and said 'tukan'. Campbell states:

'So the first entry in your notebook is their word for that bird. *Tukan* will hence forth mean 'toucan'. Look at the enormous assumptions you've made. Suppose you were forced, later, by example after example, to face the fact that what your friend had said wans't short for a statement like 'That is a toucan' but, short for something like 'Oh look its toucaning again'... ..how are you going to deal with that? Its not a problem about belief. It's not a disagreement about what's there. It's a radical difference in the way another language negotiates with the world (p190).'

Hendry (1992) stated, with regards to policies concerning young peoples' sports participation:

'It is here that the function of leisure in its widest sense, may be significant in creating opportunities for self agency and identity development, social meaning, levels of competence, and intrinsic satisfaction. This is possible because alternative forms of self-presentation and style can be tried out without too many dire consequences should they fail to impress. At the same time these individualistic aspects of behaviour are carried out with in institutionally defined roles, with relatively expected and predictable behaviours and rules. Adolescents need to learn skills in thinking, planning, self-orientation, and organisation in the social and sporting and leisure domains as well as in cognitive and work-related spheres in order to develop a clear cut personal and social identity' (Hendry 1992 p 77)

Hendry identified a worthwhile requirement of policy-making with regards to young people. However, he presumed that non-participants have, in some way, been mal-socialised and that they now 'need' re-socialised into a more positive way of thinking about sports and leisure. The assumption is that, by offering leisure activities through which children can develop agency and identity, children can be re-socialised.

This view is problematic. Firstly, it fails to state that children react badly to being coerced into forms of leisure and sports participation (Hendry and Simpson 1977) and secondly it presupposes leisure gives children an opportunity to develop agency which does not exist else where.

In the case of the first criticism, Comoe-Krou argued that all that appeared to be child's play was not play:

'When I was young we were sent out on forced labour and frequently beaten. I still bear the scars on my body. But sometimes it was our masters' wish to ask us to play; anyone who refused was beaten. To avoid the lash we played - and went on playing till our masters ordered us to stop. Was it really a game? No. It was the same sector of activity' (Comoe-Krou 1986 p498)

It would appear that, just because a child is involved in an activity that resembles play to an adult, it does not mean necessarily that it is play. His argument was that play should act to integrate individuals, by allowing them to learn the rules which provided them with the opportunity to interact in society²⁴.

²⁴ His contention was that play could be integrative because it was a social activity. He stated the borderline between play and non-play was similar to that which was fitting, or not fitting, in a social context. Hence, he argued, play was socially defined. This view was

He argued that in Africa play was the process through which a child was integrated into society. Society and the individual, was perceived as deriving a great benefit from the fact that involvement in play and games resulted in an individual fitting into society. Hence, any attempt to force children into sports participation would be counter productive to this integrative process.

Hendry and Simpson (1977) concluded that not all children enjoy sport. They suggested that this lack of enjoyment was not, purely, related to lack of provision, or opportunity, and, therefore, that not all children could be encouraged to play sport. Indeed, provision of sports facilities has been seen to not be enough on its own to stimulate sports participation. Hendry and Marr (1985) looked at the relationship between schools' leisure aims and pupils' own perceptions of leisure. They found that there were few differences between the way schools of different size and location organised their leisure education. Despite the fact that there had been a widening of the school curriculum and greater investment in recreational facilities, this study found that schools-sponsored leisure had very little effect on how adolescents spent their extra-curricular time.

Hendry and Marr (1985) concluded that despite the extra provision for leisure, from the 1960's onwards, the aim of schools to create lasting interests for pupils in sport, for personal and social development, was basically a failure. They indicated that schools' approaches to PE spread across a spectrum of views. One head teacher stated that every pupil had, with regard to PE, '*A democratic right, which ought to be respected, to not be involved*' (Hendry and Marr 1985 p123). Whereas another head teacher believed that PE should be compulsory.

underwritten by Comoe-Krou's belief that games were not written into human chromosomes anymore than languages were. He defined a game - like play - as an acquired behaviour pattern, or a set of rules, that was learned. This process of learning meant that the more aware an individual was of the border between play and non-play, the greater was their involvement in games and therefore, the better was their relationship with others and their ability to be members of a community.

Hendry and Marr (1985) stated that schools provide short term recreation rather than:

‘Equipping pupils with such attitudes and social skills which may enable them to organise, select and participate in chosen leisure pursuits in post school years’ (p124)

It is, in their view, a fact that schools provide, rather than enable, sport.

Moreover, Hendry (1992) indicated that a network of sports provision, involving a number of bodies and institutions, exists which would suggest;

‘That various sports policies in relation to youth have created a system whereby young people are well catered for. There is an extensive network of sports provision from the primary stage of formal schooling through community provision, voluntary organisations, sports clubs, private clubs, and youth services’ (p67).

This statement further emphasises the point that it is not a lack of resources and policies that lead to children’s non-participation in sport.

The problem was identified that policies on sport can often alienate some youths whilst stimulating others (Hendry 1992). That is, that no one policy can cater for the different approaches to sport of all children. This raised an important issue, was it possible to discover the terms upon which children who did not participate in sport would change their minds? This question was unavoidably linked with understanding children’s daily patterns of behaviour. It suggests that only by understanding how children make daily choices will it be possible to understand how they can be encouraged to make the choice to take part in sport.

Therefore, in terms of the second criticism of Hendry’s (1992: 77) statement, leisure activities which offer children the opportunity to develop agency and identity would appear to be important, but this type of approach does not account for the fact that these children may already have developed their skills of ‘thinking, planning, self orientation’ and so forth. This criticisms raises several questions:

- * If children have already developed ‘a clear cut personal and social identity’, what course of action is left open to policy makers?

- * Should the attempt be made to re-socialise children or should policy makers look to create leisure opportunities for children which are legitimate in terms of their 'cultural baggage'?
- * Can children's attitudes towards certain sports and leisure interests be altered by having their way of thinking legitimised, their culture understood and policies take account of that culture?

This last question turns Hendry's (1992) perception on its head. The problem for policy makers may not be to find ways of socialising children through providing them with the opportunity to 'learn skills in thinking, planning, self orientation' and so forth. The problem may be to find ways of legitimising children's culture through providing activities which allow children's culture to be expressed.

This led to two fundamental questions being raised about the proposed research;

- * By identifying the cultural needs of children (both on an individual and group level), would it be possible to develop policies about sport and leisure which both address the aspirations of policy makers and the cultural necessities of different children?
- * Could this process be applied to the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* ?

Part Three: Issues in Education Reform:

Having located the study within a paradigm of PE and sports literature, the next task was to define the education context within which the findings of the ethnography could be discussed. This section will discuss the consequence of the Conservative Government's education policies for curriculum change in Britain (The Politics of Education Reform in the 1980's and 1990's) and the process of curriculum innovation as characterised by the aims and evaluation processes of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*.

The Politics of Education Reform in the 1980's and 1990's:

The failure of the education system (outlined in chapter one) identified within the paradigm of differentiation-polarisation theory led to calls on the left for changes in the education system of England and Wales. It was argued that one way to overcome the bias of the education system was through a redefinition of cultural capital (Hargreaves 1989). Radical change was prescribed in the form of a redefinition of knowledge. This would reduce the status of academic subjects while minimising academic/vocational divisions.

This redefinition was advocated on the basis that it was the only way to prevent the continuation of the present system which, '*Thwarted children's development*' (Arnott 1991). At the same time it was suggested that teacher quality could be improved by moving away from dictation-like methods of teaching and increasing time spent on enquiry and explanation. Traditional methods of teaching were said to prevent the development of independence and confidence in pupils (HMI 1979).

Criticism of the education system did not solely come from the Left. The 'New Right' 'tagged on to' and fuelled dissatisfaction with the education system (Bondi 1991). Calls came from the right for consumerism in education and for the department of education and science to reassert control of schools, teachers and the curriculum in order to safeguard standards and quality (Dale 1989). The 'New Right' criticised comprehensive schooling for lowering standards and '*promoting mediocrity in the name of social justice* (Brown 1990a p72).' That is, liberal ideas associated with comprehensive education were identified by the new right as leading to low quality schooling²⁵.

Several authors have attempted to separate distinct ideologies within the 'New Right' and the Conservative party. These ideological types have been defined as; traditional authoritarian and liberal freemarketeers (Brown 1990a); Old Tories, paternalists, industrial trainers, moral entrepreneurs and populists (Dale 1989); neo-conservativists and neo-liberalists (Bondi 1991), minimalists, privatizers and pluralists (Lawton 1989).²⁶

²⁵ Brown (1990) States that the 'new right' criticised comprehensive schooling and left wing education authorities for being too concerned with the liberal ideas of social justice and equality. The criticism centred around the argument that comprehensive schooling levelled children down. that is, that competition and excellence were sacrificed for mediocrity.

²⁶ Traditional authoritarian, neo-conservativists, pluralists, old Tories, minimalists, paternalists, industrial trainers and populists view social reform as a threat to authority and order, they emphasise the authority of traditional institutions such as the family, school and state. Within this context minimalists specifically believe that state education is OK as long as it provides value for money and a well trained work force, pluralists believe that a good state system is necessary as a 'ladder of opportunity' where freedom of choice is more important than freedom of opportunity and populists view the welfare state as 'nannying' people and thus being contrary to the natural order of society. They believe in meritocracy, that those who achieve will do so because they are the best.

Liberal freemarketeers, neo-liberalists and privatizers view social reform as a threat to freedom. They emphasise freedom of the individual and freedom of the market and that society has a natural order within which individuals should operate in their won interests. They believe that state intervention should only occur in the areas of defence and the law. They advocate economic growth as a means of overcoming poverty and put quality before equality in terms of education.

Moral entrepreneurs fall between authoritarian ideology and liberal ideology. They argue that areas like sex education should be kept within the realm of the family and that state intervention should force schools to give a moral lead to children by stressing issues of self

Irrespective of the specific separate ideological factors at work within the 'New Right', the education system in England and Wales was criticised in two ways. Firstly, that it failed to provide choice and quality (neo-liberal view) and secondly that it not only failed to provide children with the correct moral standards but through comprehensive schooling, it acted as an obstacle to the natural meritocratic order of society (neo-conservativist view) (Dale 1989).

This criticism was intertwined with 'statecraft', '*The art of winning elections and above all, achieving a necessary degree of governing competence in office* (Bulpitt 1989 p19).' The Thatcher government attempted to engineer an electorate which would permanently elect them. Part of this process involved apportioning blame for the failures of education on anyone but themselves (Bulpitt 1989). The Thatcher government manipulated the problems of equal opportunity in education into a scapegoat for the ever present economic and social problems in Britain (Dale 1989). The government were to blame the problems of the 1980's on liberal educational and social reforms (Brown 1990a).

Therefore, there existed two poles of argument about education in England and Wales. Both poles believed the system of comprehensive schooling to be flawed. The left believed the education system to be flawed because it failed to provide equality within the education system. The right believed the education system to be flawed because it failed to provide quality in the classroom (Bondi 1991). The equality/quality debate was to create a great deal of antagonism during the 1980's.

discipline and traditional Victorian values of the family, social harmony and health. They argue that parents are ultimately responsible for their children not the state.

The 1988 Education Reform Act (see Lawton 1989, Hargreaves 1989, Arnott 1991) formed the basis upon which the government could control the education system (Hargreaves 1989, Brown 1990a). This control favoured an academic subject based approach to education which was in contrast to the recommendations of HMI's²⁷ in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Brown expressed the motivation of the act as being 'social selection by stealth' (Brown 1990a p74). He argued that ideas of parental choice, academic excellence and individual freedom were but a cover for taking the education system back to selection which favoured certain socio-economic groups:

'Beneath the rhetoric of 'parental choice', 'academic excellence' and 'individual freedom' is the belief that opening up the education system to the discipline of the freemarket will solve the problem of social authority and hierarchy; that different types of schools would emerge for different types of mind/people' (Brown 1990a: 75).

She argued that there had developed an idea of 'Parentocracy'; a belief amongst parents that state control could not guarantee equal opportunity for their children within the education system (Brown 1990a). Comprehensive schooling was perceived as infringing on individual pupil's freedom and parental choice.

Brown (1990b) believed these ideas would lead to comprehensive schools being replaced by a system where entry to a school would be dependant on the attributes of individual children. She voiced concern that this would lead to a selection system which was influenced, to a great extent, by the socio-economic status of the child.²⁸

²⁷ Her Majesty's Inspectorate.

²⁸ This argument can be developed to state that the outcome of the change of the comprehensive system would mean that there would be a number of different types of schools and entry to the best of these schools would, where there were a limited number of places, require selection of some sort.

The Conservative Government fuelled this impression and through a series of measures developed the idea of the parent as a consumer. These measures were:

- * Allowing schools to opt out of local authority control.
- * The encouragement of private sector involvement in city technical colleges.
- * Increased access to private schools through the assisted places scheme.
- * Allowing parents to choose which school to send their children to.

These measures moved responsibility for failure in education away from government and on to individual pupils, parents, teachers and schools. It was now the parents' responsibility to place their child in the correct school to advance his/her educational achievement (Bondi 1991).

The government linked academic excellence to the quality of education provided by schools and teachers. This put pressure on the government to provide information on individual schools. The 1988 Act allowed for publication of exam results. These publications provided parents with information upon which to base their choice of schools for their children. This to a great extent relinquished the government from having to shoulder blame for individual children's failure in education. The requirement was now placed on the parent to find the correct school for his/her son's/daughter's educational needs, rather than on the government to provide suitable education for all children .

The overall effect of the 1988 Act is best summed up by Caroline Gipps:

'There is little evidence that the introduction of mandated testing by itself raises 'standards' short of teaching to the test (Gipps 1988). However, what we have here is the introduction of mandated testing linked to specific curriculum objectives (the attainment targets and statements of attainment) and a high significance placed on the results.... ..There is little doubt about the significance of national curriculum assessment results in England. Students are to be graded and classified; schools, and indeed some teachers, are to be evaluated on the basis of the results: If they are found wanting, schools are expected to close and teachers may face redundancy, or lack of promotion.' (Gipps 1989 p101)

The Conservative government had implemented change in the education system in England and Wales for political reasons (Gipps 1989). These changes took the form of a return to an academic subjects based curriculum, the introduction of National Testing and the publication of examination/test results and league tables.

The need for the Conservative government to appease its right wing led to a requirement that efficiency be easily judged in the public sector. To demonstrate value for money and efficiency within the education system, statistics were required. The chosen form of statistics were league tables and test results which could be used to allow bureaucrats to judge efficiency and teacher quality and provide information for parents to make choices about individual schools. At the same time, an academic subject based curriculum was required because it was best suited to providing statistics (Brown 1990a, Hargreaves 1989)²⁹.

What this meant was that the opposite changes to those which had been called for in the late 1970's had actually occurred. The form of curriculum which was accused of working in favour of the middle-classes and against working-class school children in the 1970's had been reinforced in the 1980's and 1990's. The left wing in England and Wales had had their ideas about the role of education overcome by Conservatism. The very opposite of what they had hoped for in education had transpired and a return to a selective system appeared and still appears imminent.

The division in England and Wales contrasted with the situation in Scotland during this time. In Scotland, comprehensive schooling had developed along different lines to the system in England and Wales; by the mid-seventies comprehensive schooling was fully in place (Macpherson and Raab 1988). Attempts were made to improve comprehensive schooling (Macpherson 1983).

²⁹ That is, assessment of academic subjects tends to be marked on a normative graph. Therefore, differentiation is built into the system of assessment. This contrasts with vocational subjects which involve summative testing and are characterised by levels of competence which the majority of children can achieve.

The problems of the comprehensive system were confronted by the Munn and Dunning Report (Munn and Brown 1985) which, to some extent, addressed the issues of the redefinition of knowledge raised by Hargreaves (1989)³⁰.

However, the differences in the system in Scotland did not prevent the implementation of policies promoting choice in education. Government control of schooling in Scotland was increased under the same rhetoric as existed in England - that greater accountability to consumers and market forces lead to greater quality in education (Munn 1992). The introduction of the parent's right to choose a school in 1981 had been the first step taken to encourage schools to compete for pupils and parents on a producers/consumers basis. This 'right to choose' was enshrined in the Education (Scotland) Act 1981 which stressed the beneficial effect of consumerism on a national industry. It also gave parents the opportunity to educate their children outwith deprived areas (Munn 1992).

The introduction of school boards (Munn 1992); a national curriculum for the years 5-14 (Brown 1990a); National Testing; the publication of school exam results (Gipps 1989); performance indicators (Macpherson 1989, Spencer and McGregor 1992) and school development plans (Munn 1992), under the guise of greater choice for parents (Macpherson 1989), were designed to increase government control of the education system at the expense of regional education authorities.

However, the choice enshrined in these changes has so far resulted in parents siding with schools and headmasters against the government (especially on National Testing³¹). As such, the consensus over the benefits of the Scottish education system is yet to be broken (Munn 1992).

³⁰ Historically, the people of Scotland had a positive view of the education system (Patterson 1983, Macpherson and Raab 1988) and this view was to create obstacles for Conservative attempts to reform education in Scotland.

³¹ Staff and parent opposition to National Testing led to the emphasis of testing being changed in 1992 (SOED 1992b).

The consensus over the system in Scotland and the development of comprehensive schooling could account for the fact that ethnographic studies like those carried out by Ball (1981), Hargreaves (1967), Lacy (1970), and Willis (1977) have not taken place in Scotland. The majority of research has been concerned with curriculum development such as the O Grade, Munn and Dunning and the Standard Grade (McIntyre 1985) and the improvements they have brought.

However, what characterises both forms of research is their attempts to identify problems in the education system and propose ways to address these problems. It was this aim which characterised the ethnography of this thesis. Moreover, it placed the study within the paradigm of educational research in Scotland. By providing information on the underlying factors influencing the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*, this study contributed to the process of curriculum development in Scotland.

The Aims of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*:

The *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* were developed through HMI's working with the SEB and SCCC³². As had been the case with Standard Grade, it has been argued that these institutions are not as rigid as those in England which carry out a similar function (NCC and SEAC) and that this has led to the curriculum development in Scotland taking the form of National Guidelines rather than a National Curriculum (S Brown 1990).

The *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* in primary schools were built on the working party report known as the Primary Memorandum (SED 1965). This report had initiated a change in primary schools from a subject based curriculum to an integrated curriculum and from a teacher centred approach to a more child-centred approach to teaching.

³² SEB: Scottish Examination Board, SCCC: Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum.

In secondary schools the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* were established to link between curricular areas in the primary schools and curricular activities in the secondary schools. It was to deal with S1 and S2 schooling within the context of the standard grade which had been implemented to address S3 and S4 schooling. This was a new move for primary education:

'In such a far reaching programme - Michael Forsyth once boasted 5-14 was his proudest achievement as education minister - there are bound to be pluses and minuses. One of the pluses for Fife's Bill MacPherson, who heads the 5-14 development in the region is that "for the first time, from a primary perspective there has been a significant focus on the primary sector: 5-14 takes on board the issues and concerns of the now dead document on 10-14"' (TESS 2nd of October 1992).

The *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* attempted to define good practice within 6 areas: Language; Maths; Environmental Studies; Expressive Arts; Moral and Religious Education; and Assessment and Recording. Within each curriculum area attainment targets were set between levels A and E (E being the more progressive):

'Attention is also given, however, to more strategic concerns such as a sense of language, purpose and audience and the understanding of the profound influence of context on communications and comprehension. In mathematics the attainment concepts, facts and techniques are set within a frame work of both problem solving strategies and the role of pupils attitudes and mathematical awareness in their development of understanding and willingness to become involved' (Brown 1990b p70).

The rhetoric of the documents concerning the 6 areas was for more understanding, evaluation and communication between the players in the education process. However, the documents had two limitations (Brown 1990b). Firstly, they involved excessively detailed objectives and secondly, the uniform nature of the curriculum proposals left teachers with little scope to use their own initiatives.

It was intended that consultation would be carried out with teachers and other parties over the curriculum innovation (Semple 1991). Each document concerning the 6 areas was first published as a consultative document and then revised to take account of interested parties' views. However, the consultation process was short and it was argued that teachers, who were already under pressure in the classroom had little time to digest and respond to the documents (Brown 1990b).

It was argued at the time that if the new curriculum was to be successful it would have to:

- * Involve teachers more in the process of development.
- * Ensure the curriculum did not become academic subject based.
- * Limit national testing and postpone comparison of school tests results
(Brown 1990b).

As stated, national testing has been limited and comparison of school tests was postponed in 1992. Recently published research gives some indications towards the involvement of teachers in the new curriculum and whether the new curriculum is biased towards academic subjects and this will be discussed in the following section on present day 5-14 innovation.

At the outset of the 5-14 innovation LEAs and head teachers were to collaborate to establish the most effective way to implement the new Guidelines. Steering groups were to be established in schools to adapt and modify 'subject' Guidelines in relation to the needs of the school and its pupils.

Gatherer states:

"Thus the school must, inescapably, determine its own curricular policies and practices based of course on externally imposed injunctions but essentially a very localised response to the staffs' "reading" of the demands of it, its pupils, their parents, LEAs and society at large (Gatherer 1989 p76).

The SOED have attempted to engage teachers in the development of the 5-14 Guidelines but this does not distract from the fact that the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* is the government's programme not the teachers' programme. As we have discussed, the Guidelines were preceded by working papers on the 6 areas of curriculum innovation.

These documents attempted to carry out consultation with teachers and interested parties over the form of the new Guidelines, however this process was criticised on the basis that teachers were given very little time in which to respond to the Working Papers.

Despite the fact that the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* are government developed, teachers are to adapt them to their own school's and pupil's needs. This allows for teachers to use the new curriculum to develop courses for each subject which reflect the local and school circumstances and to relate to the staff and resources available within individual schools. However, the fact that the Guidelines can be adapted locally does not mean that the curriculum is controlled locally. In the end, overall control and power lies in the hands of HMI which will monitor school's implementation of the curriculum.

The Evaluation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*:

A final important consideration with the 5-14 innovation is that the SOED have gone to great lengths to monitor the implementation of the new curriculum. An evaluation project has been running since 1991 which has monitored the introduction of the new curriculum.

The aims of this evaluation programme are³³:

‘First the evaluation of the implementation process will provide some early feedback which may enable later phases to be improved by identifying gaps or weaknesses in organisation, content or approach. Second, the evaluation of the operationalising of the guidelines will provide valuable information on the time and resource implications, the relative success of different approaches to dealing with the new requirements and their impact on teachers, pupils, and parents. This information will be useful in identifying strengths to be built upon and weaknesses which will have to be overcome. Third, in looking at pupils attainment, the evaluation will provide a basis of accountability for the programme and may help to show how the new curriculum, assessment and reporting arrangements have contributed to pupils attainments. Finally the evaluation is intended to inform policy and contribute to improving the process of policy development and implementation’ (B Semple 1991).

It would appear that the SOED have twigged to the necessities of curriculum innovation and are carrying out in depth evaluation of the curriculum implementation which will both act to smooth the implementation process and provide information upon which policy can further be developed. Some outcomes of this process of evaluation have been used in this chapter and below. As an aid to academics this information has been valuable. Whether this information can be put in forms valuable to teachers at the local level remains to be seen. However, the attempt in itself is a worthy one.

So far, the implementation process has been ‘kept at a steady pace’. By the end of session 1993-4 all schools should have laid down a strategy for implementing the Guidelines and these strategies were to have been discussed between HMIs and head teachers during inspections of individual schools.

³³ This study has contributed to this programme of evaluation with the presentation of two reports to the SOED and Lothian Region Advisory service for PE: ‘Sport For All?’ An Inquiry into Physical Education and Sports Participation in Primary and Secondary Schools. By John M Davis, Department of Education, University of Edinburgh. March 1995 and ‘Sport For All?’: An Ethnographers Interpretation of the 5-14 Expressive Arts Guidelines for Physical Education: By John M Davis, Department of Education, University of Edinburgh. February 1996. Both reports are available through Edinburgh University Library.

By the end of session 1994-95:

- * The Guidelines for English language and mathematics should have been implemented in all schools.
- * Assessment procedures should have been applied to English language and mathematics.
- * Teachers should have been using the concepts and terminology of 5-14 in their planning and assessment of pupils' work and reporting by way of these concepts to parents.

It is not conceived that all areas of *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* should be in place until the end of session 1998-99 (SOED 1994 a).

The changes resulting from the Guidelines have mainly been concerned with English language and mathematics.

Evaluation of the implementation of the Guidelines by SCRE has indicated that:

'In primary schools the changes already brought about (In 1994) or planned to take place in the near future, as a result of 5-14, in at least half of the schools were, in order of frequency:

- * changed emphasis on existing content
- * introduction of additional content
- * replacement of previous content
- * more resources in the classroom
- * more subject based teaching
- * more collaborative lesson planning
- * more collaborative teaching

A majority of primary school staff did not consider that change was needed in the amount of group work, differentiation or the structure of lesson plans as current practice in these respects was considered to meet the 5-14 requirements.

In secondary schools the majority of mathematics and English teachers thought that any changes brought about by 5-14 were minor, comprising some filling of gaps and change of emphasis.'(SCRE May 1995p21)

The report does not state what 'content' of the curriculum in English language and mathematics had been changed or emphasised as a result of the 5-14 development. However, it does indicate that in primary schools there had been, to some extent, an increase in subject-based teaching. By 1994 half of the teachers interviewed in the SCRE project had still not read the assessment Guidelines. Those teachers that had read the Guidelines, and had made changes as a result of the Guidelines, indicated that they now:

- * Paid greater attention to record keeping.
- * Built assessment into their lesson plan.
- * Assessed more often areas previously viewed as difficult to assess, such as; creativity, listening and talking.
- * Gave more written work for the purpose of assessment and used a more formal recording procedure.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions from the information provided in the SCRE report, however, two issues are clear. Firstly, teachers are setting more written work for tests. Secondly, head teachers indicate that new forms of assessment should involve a more child-centred approach.

Surprisingly, teachers did not indicate this as having occurred in their outline of the changes they had made. These two points, when considered in the context of Caroline Gipps' concerns about National Testing leading to 'teachers teaching to the tests', raises two questions. Firstly, are teachers beginning to adapt their teaching methods to the tests? Secondly, has the aim to make assessment procedures more child-centred been overlooked?

It is clear that research by individuals and institutions on these and other questions concerning *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* are required if a clearer picture of the changes involved in the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* are to be gained.

In terms of Sally Brown's (1990) concerns that the innovation process should involve more participation of teachers, the information was sketchy. The innovation process appeared to be senior staff biased. That is, the requirements of the SOED concerning the implementation of the Guidelines in schools have resulted in senior staff being well versed on the requirements for change. This fact is borne out in the SCRE report (pages 18-21). The process of implementation has been for whole school strategies to be developed through senior staff and a single member of staff has been selected to act as 5-14 co-ordinator. On first sight it appeared that the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* had become a top down policy within schools.

However, the SCRE report states of the process of innovation that :

‘At the individual level the process was less formal:

- (i) dipping in to the documents
- (ii) reflecting on current work with colleagues
- (iii) participating in school or regional in service
- (iv) identifying new elements to be included in class work
- (v) adjusting forward planning to match 5-14
- (vi) introducing changes in classroom activities
- (vii) making changes in assessment and recording’ (SCRE May 1995p19).

It is again unclear whether these changes actually mean that teachers are a sufficient part of the innovation process to overcome Brown's fears. However, the report does indicate that by 1994, 875 of the total number of teachers interviewed believed that the implementation process was easier than the previous academic year. It must be pointed out that this statement did not indicate if this perception meant that progress had been made with regard to the implementation of the curriculum innovation.

The question remains after reading the SCRE document: has the innovation process at present merely moved from being an excruciatingly painful process to just a slightly less painful process? Whether the 875 teachers' view is a true indication that the implementation process has become more acceptable to teachers is not certain.

The greatest obstacles to innovations were viewed by primary school teachers as a need for more resources (human and financial), a lack of print based materials, and a need for more in-service courses (SCRE May 1995). It would appear that despite the fact that these teachers may have moved on to a more positive footing in terms of their feelings towards the curriculum change, they now perceive a lack of support to aid them to implement change.

Summary Of Issues in Education Reform:

This section has identified the context within which the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* will be implemented. It is apparent that any form of curriculum innovation in PE will occur within the influence of Conservative government policy on education. Their reforms have been identified as aiming to create divisions in the way children are educated on the basis of their socio-economic status (Bullpit 1989). Further, they are underwritten by the belief that comprehensive schooling and education policies which are concerned with social justice lead to mediocrity and fail to encourage competition and excellence. ³⁴

It has been argued that if the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* are to be successful they should involve teachers in the process of development, become more pupil-centred and be supported by adequate resources. The implementation of the Guidelines have been identified as already resulting in more teacher co-operation and collaboration, more attention being paid to record keeping and to assessment.

³⁴ The importance of this ideology in relation to the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* will be identified in chapter nine.

However, it is unclear whether teachers are making their teaching methods and forms of assessment more child-centred or whether adequate resources are supporting the curriculum innovation.

Overall, 'the jury is still out' on whether the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines* will overcome the problems of the Scottish education system in both primary and secondary schools. This thesis identifies the underlying factors which will influence the implementation of these policies in chapters 4 to 9. The context within which curriculum development takes place in PE is discussed in the next section.

Conclusion:

This chapter has discussed literature on PE and sport. An attempt has been made to identify areas where this literature omits to adequately increase our understanding of children's participation in PE and sport. It is hoped that an ethnographic approach will be able to address these omissions. At the same time it has illustrated how this literature takes account of the relationship between agency and structure. This illustration has been followed by a discussion of the current climate of curriculum innovation in the British education system.

However, as a result of defining this context, a dichotomy has become apparent. Although it has been necessary to understand this literature in order to locate the study and to make a worthwhile contribution to understandings about children's involvement in education, PE and sport, the researcher has been provided with the opportunity to gather together a body of prejudices and questions which could cloud the elucidation of understandings and meanings during fieldwork. This appeared problematic to the aim of the research to develop constructs from the words and behaviour of the people with whom the researcher interacted.

On initiation of the fieldwork stage of the ethnography it became apparent that this was a minor problem. During moments of interaction the researcher was reminded of views expressed in the academic literature. These views were prevented from biasing the ethnographic process because the researcher employed a reflexive approach (described in chapter one) which enabled a clearer comprehension of the meaning of people's behaviour to be achieved. That is, the difference between the concepts of academic literature and the patterns of behaviour the researcher observed and experienced during the ethnographic process were utilised as a means of gathering understandings/data³⁵.

Over the course of the research the difference between the researcher's academic and cultural preconceptions became blurred. The reflexive process encouraged this situation because it allowed the researcher to develop understandings of what the behaviour he experienced meant. It allowed the researcher to replace his preconceptions with ethnographically elucidated understandings. By using this approach, the relationship between previous literature on PE and sport and the ethnography only became fully evident after the fieldwork and towards the end of the writing-up stage.

This situation supported Okely's contention (in chapter one) that ideas and themes which the anthropologist presents in his/her text develop throughout the fieldwork experience and '*in dreams and the subconscious in both sleep and in waking hours, away from the field, at the anthropologist's desk, in libraries and in dialogue with the people on return visits* (Okely 1994 p21).' Moreover, it resulted in the research process and the textual representation of the research being experience, rather than literature, led. The actual technicalities of the research process and the findings of the ethnographic fieldwork are discussed in the following chapters.

³⁵ At the same time the researcher reflected on the difference between his own concepts and prejudices and those of the people he interacted with.

CHAPTER THREE: HOW THE ETHNOGRAPHY WAS CARRIED OUT:

Chapter one identified the form of ethnographic research adopted by this thesis; chapter two explored the substantive literature in the field of sport and PE. It is now important to outline the procedural issues as to how the research was actually carried out. This chapter discusses issues of access, participant observation and the interview process, culminating in an explanation of how the themes from the fieldwork were written up.

Issues of Access:

In theoretical terms, the study was located in schools because this is where children and their cultural patterns are confronted by other cultures. It is where rules, negotiations and bargaining occur not only between pupil cultures and teacher cultures but between these cultures and such structures or institutions as school ethos, regional educational policy and governmental educational policy (Hargreaves 1985: 43). It is here that the relationship between children's cultures and the wider society within which these cultures are embedded can be investigated.

In less theoretical terms, it appeared easiest to gain access to children through schools. Having contacted the Headmaster at, 'Riverview' he suggested that a proposal on how the research would be carried out should be put to the head of the PE department there. The head teacher in the PE department was quite happy for the research to be carried out, as long as it did not create any more work for his 'already over-worked' staff. He believed that the easiest classes to follow would be those in the first and second years.

It had been identified that the time around which children began to play 'adult-type' sports was the age of 10 and that involvement in these activities dropped off around the age of 13/14 (Cherfas 1980). The research aimed to discover how children's daily choices related to their participation in sport and PE and how these choices changed to result in children choosing not to take part in sport as they got older. This interest led to the decision that the study should be concerned with a range of age groups of children from age P6-S3. The S2 children would move to S3 during the course of study: the study began by looking at the four school years of P6-S2.

Letters were sent to the head teachers of the five feeder primaries for 'Riverview'. Two of the schools agreed to take part in the study, 'Craigs' and 'Calton'. The other three schools declined on the basis that their teachers were already under too much strain, due to increased work-loads from curriculum reforms.

In the interest of reducing the level of cultural relativity of the project the decision was made to compare 'Riverview' and its primaries with another secondary school and its feeder primaries in the Lothian region. Initial attempts to find a school were met with rejections. The ethnography began at 'Riverview' before another secondary school came on board the project.

However, during the first week at 'Riverview' a science teacher suggested his former school, 'Hillside', would be a good contrast to 'Riverview'. He offered to phone the head teacher at 'Hillside'. The following day, in the staffroom at 'lunchtime' he advised me to send a proposal to the head teacher at 'Hillside' which he would pass on to the head of the PE department there.

Following this piece of good fortune a meeting was carried out with the head PE teacher at 'Hillside'. She said that she would be happy for the research to go ahead in her department. Again, contact was made with the feeder primaries to the secondary school (four schools in this case).

On this occasion only one primary school, 'Castle' agreed to take part. Two of the other primaries declined on the basis of 'work load', however, one of the primaries declined because most of the children at their school would not go to 'Hillside' because they would apply for transfers to other secondary schools.

The Schools:

Secondary: Riverview:

Riverview has eight first year and eight second year PE classes. It has four members of staff in their PE dept, two men and two women. It has two on-site gyms and the children travel to the school's playing fields by bus. In addition to this, the school uses badminton and swimming facilities in a number of different locations which are 20-30 minutes away by bus. The school has a cross-section of pupils from a wide area in the city. This results in the children having quite a number of varying sports and 'free time' facilities available to them in their own areas.

Primary: Craigs:

Craigs school has one P6 class, one P6/7 class and one P7 class. It was decided, through discussion with the headmaster, that I should observe the P6/7 class and the P7 class. The facilities at this school are limited - the gym hall is extremely small, and the lack of space is accentuated by the fact it doubles as a 'dinner' hall.

Primary: Calton:

This school has two P6 classes and two P7 classes. The assistant head teacher choose the two classes I visited - one P6 and one P7. This school has quite a large gym hall which is not used for 'dinner'. It has a swimming pool in its basement, access to which was shared amongst classes and year groups.

Secondary: Hillside:

This secondary school is situated in a council estate on the outskirts of the city. The school draws its intake from the surrounding neighbourhoods. It has 4 first year classes and four second year classes. It has two on-sight gyms and on-sight playing fields. The pupils travel to the swimming pool twenty minutes to half an hour away. They do this by way of public transport.

Primary: Castle:

This primary school has one P6 class and one P7 class. The gym is not used as a dinner hall, it is small, about the same size as that of Craigs primary school. However, it does not have dinner tables round the walls to further limit the space available.

Access:

Having been accepted by the five schools in my study the process of ethnography was developed to acknowledge the study was focusing on three distinct, yet interrelated, social worlds - that of parents, pupils and teachers. The ethnographic approach allowed for me to gain access to pupils and teachers through participant observation and informal semi-structured interviews and to parents through informal interviews.

In the case of the pupils, it was evident that I could not become a pupil. However, in keeping with the ideas developed in chapter one, the decision was made to adopt a role near to the pupils enabling interaction and participant observation to take place. The role was that of 'student'.

The children were used to having student teachers every year in PE and the role I took up was one similar to this. It allowed for 'meaningful' interaction to occur with the children in the school situation.

Though the level of interaction varied from school to school, it was in fact the case that I was able to talk to the children informally in the gym, on buses to playing fields and whilst observing and taking part in extra-curricular activities. In this manner a good understanding was developed of the children's involvement in school controlled PE and sport.

Informal interviews were employed to gain an understanding of what the children did outside of school time. These interviews were carried out in school and the information they provided was supplemented by follow up interviews with a number of parents in the home situation. These home interviews also allowed for understandings to be developed about the parents' roles in their children's sports activities.

Contact with teachers was developed through watching their classes, travelling on buses to and from sports facilities, informal discussions in their resource areas between classes, during extra-curricular activities and through discussions in the staff room.

The aim of the study, at all times, was to arrive at the cultural meanings of the people with whom I interacted. I wanted to understand what PE and sport meant to them and to see whether these meanings were shared by others.

The Process of Participant Observation:

Participant observation was carried out in all five schools. The level of participation varied from school to school. The first school visited was Riverside. Three months were, initially, spent there. During this time four S1 classes and four S2 classes were observed. After the first few weeks, I concentrated on two S1 classes and two S2 classes. Each of these classes had a different teacher.

I was introduced to the children by their teacher as a student interested in PE. I would travel with the class if they were going to the playing fields or to a sports centre and, during this time, chat to the children. At first they asked me questions like 'Are you going to be a teacher?' or, 'Are you here to see who the best is?' I tried to answer their questions honestly and get across to them that I was somebody interested in what they had to say about PE or sport and that it wasn't 'the good people' I was interested in but all the children. It was as important for me to find out why people did not like sport as why they liked sport.

Whilst travelling about, chatting to the kids or the teachers and watching classes I noted things of interest in my note book. The children and teachers came to know me as always writing things in my note book. Both children and teachers found this quite humorous at times.

I kept a diary to maintain the chronological order of things, but my note book was where my interactions and observations were registered. At first I just wrote down anything that looked interesting. However, I soon started to imagine that I saw patterns emerging in the behaviour of individual children, groups of children, individual teachers and teachers in general.

At this point I started to concern myself with those occurrences which were exceptional, repetitive, or which contradicted my way of looking at an issue. These notes I typed onto an 'apple mac', usually at the end of the week but occasionally daily. I stored the notes on disc for future reference. During this process of typing up my notes I attempted to be 'reflexive' asking questions of my interpretations and interactions and, in this way, I began to raise issues which I should investigate or discuss with teachers or pupils the next week. As well as participating in PE classes I went along to the few clubs that were running during the winter and participated in these. Again, I took notes and attempted to contrast these clubs with the PE classes.

In terms of Riverview's feeder primaries, the access made available to me was that I would visit these schools for two to three weeks each to observe the class teachers taking PE and the specialist teacher taking PE. I would return to these schools in the following term for two to three weeks to carry out interviews of both teachers and pupils.

At Craigs Primary School, during my three weeks there, I observed a P6/7 class and a P7 class being taken by their own teacher and being taken by the specialist PE teacher. I observed the two after-school clubs which were run at the school, the basketball club and the short tennis club. Whilst in the school and not 'watching' classes, I spent time in the staff room. Though informal contact with the specialist teacher was quite productive here, contact of this sort with the class teachers was not as informative.

The access gained at this primary school differed greatly from the access obtained at Calton Primary School. At Calton I was invited to spend all day with the two classes which were to be observed. The classes were observed during their everyday processes inside and out of the gym. This meant that I had more informal contact with the children and that they were more relaxed having me present when it came to the PE classes.

Again, the children were observed in PE classes taught by the specialist and their own teacher. Spending so much time at the school meant that I could carry out half of the interviews I wanted to carry out during the first three weeks at this school. The after-school basketball club and the girls' football team were observed. At this school, the PE specialist arranged for me to watch the learning support teacher take a class of younger children with learning and co-ordination problems.

At these two primaries my notebook was employed in the same manner as at Riverview. However, an unavoidable consequence of having visited Riverview first was that the fieldwork process now involved the comparison of the children and teachers in primary schools with my preconceptions of how PE was organised at the secondary school.

After visiting these primary schools I attended Hillside Secondary School. The sole condition of my access to Hillside was that I come with an open mind and actually take part in the classes. The teachers felt that it would be too much of a disturbance for the children if I came with my note book straight away without first getting to know them. This gave me a terrific opportunity to interact with both the teachers and pupils and participate in the daily process of PE.

During this time an understanding quickly developed of what teachers and pupils expected of each other, from actually being a member of the class process. On occasion I would take the role of student teacher and help them with some coaching points and on other occasions I would take part in the activity being taught merely as a participant rather like one of the children. This meant I had to write up my notes after the classes though I felt these notes were as good as those from Riverview.

This was because I remembered a lot of what it felt like to be taking part, as well as how my team mates and opponents had reacted. However, I broke my toe shortly before the Easter break and this gave me a opportunity to bring out my note book and sit in the class taking notes for the last month I was there, before starting interviewing teachers and pupils.

Most of the extra-curricular activities at this school took place at lunch time and I attended and took part in basketball, volleyball and rugby. These clubs were for mixed sexes. Rugby was also held after school as were football and dance - I attended both.

I visited Castle Primary school after I had been at Hillside for one month. Access to this school was gained through a meeting with the head teacher. She was very concerned that I had been approved both by the region and the advisory service.

The terms of the access were more akin to Craigs primary. Interaction with the teachers was limited to short bouts of conversation in the staff room. I observed the class teachers of the P6 class and the P7 class in the school taking their classes for PE and the specialist teacher taking both these classes. There were no clubs being run by this school when I attended it.

In both the case of Hillside and Castle I used my notebook to take notes and when typing them up I attempted to be 'reflexive' and to look for patterns to be compared with the patterns of involvement amongst children and staff in the other schools I visited. Though the levels of access varied from school to school and my level of participation in the daily process of PE varied from school to school I believe that I maintained a certain level of consistency in my attempts to extract meanings from the daily lives of the individuals I interacted with. And it is this consistency that made it possible for me to compare my findings in one school with that of another.

The Interview Approach:

My motivation for carrying out informal interviews with a semi-structured schedule relates to teachers, parents and pupils in different ways. With the pupils, I attempted to find out whether what they did at school in terms of PE and sport could be connected with what they did in their own free time. I had become interested in whether children's involvement in sport changed over time and if parental involvement was a factor in children's involvement in sport. A schedule of questions was constructed¹. The questions were based on areas that interested me such as, where the children lived, what they thought of PE, what extra curricula activities they were involved in after school, what they did at home, and what facilities they used or had used previously for sport and 'free time'.

The questions were completely governed by my preconceptions generated by the previous literature and my own early preconceptions whilst in the field. I piloted the schedule after I had been at Riverview a month. Three pupils were interviewed there. I went to Craigs primary where I interviewed two children and to Calton primary where I again interviewed two children.

As a result of the responses to this schedule I realised that children did not approach their 'free time' pursuits as I had originally thought. A new schedule was developed which elaborated on the areas the children had talked about. I had kept the interviews open and only used the questions as a starting point. By allowing the children to speak freely I realised that their involvement in non-school activities involved such categories as 'immediately after school activities', 'weekend activities', 'evening activities', 'with or without parents activities' and so forth. I developed a new schedule around these categories.

¹ See appendix B onwards for pupil interview schedules

At this time I was happy with what I was finding out about school-sponsored activities from my participation in and observations of them. Within this context I concentrated on developing a new schedule that asked questions about the categories that had emerged from my first set of interviews (see appendix c, d).

I carried out a second round of interviews with this schedule. By developing the questions from what the children in the first round of interviews had said, I was able, with the new schedule, to start differentiating between the children's responses and to realise that some children did not hold the same categories of involvement in sport.

Through comparing the responses from the individual children in the five schools, I was able to develop underlying patterns of involvement transcending particular schools and also patterns of behaviour that were culturally specific to children in certain schools or areas.

At the same time I began to understand how children's involvement in certain activities was developed as they got older and the factors involved when they began or ended their involvement in an activity. At this stage I had carried out an analysis of my notes from participant observation at Riverside and had developed an understanding of certain forms of interaction within the process of PE. When these facts were related to my daily experiences and weekly reviews I realised that certain types of interaction within physical education classes had different meanings for different children. I was beginning to build up some categories of participation based on what the children and teachers said and did.

This led to the development of a third schedule (see appendix e, f) which maintained the questions on children's after school activities from the second schedule and developed new questions about pupil - pupil interactions and teacher - pupil interactions during the course of PE lessons.

In this way I could review my understanding of children's involvement in PE by actually asking them questions specifically about forms of interaction I had witnessed within PE lessons. Through asking them what they felt was meant by a situation I had observed (i.e. a child not getting passes or kicking another child's ball away), I discovered what my observations actually meant to the children themselves. More importantly I could compare their understanding of an occurrence with my understanding of an occurrence and in this way compared their meanings with my meanings.

I was doing this on a daily basis, through my interaction with individuals in the school. However, this slightly more formal setting allowed me to concentrate on specific issues I had picked up through my daily interactions.

How I chose which pupils to interview:

I had no interest in scientific validation of my interview approach. Within this context I did not 'randomly sample' the children I interviewed. Rather, I chose the children specifically because they were 'interesting' to me or their teacher. By being 'interesting', they could be exceptionally good at PE, good at PE, exceptionally uninterested in PE, seem to just get by, or be interesting because I never seemed to notice them at PE.

I would discuss the children with their teacher from the point of view of finding children with a mix of interests. From the resultant conversation we would choose the children to be interviewed. When I carried out the first round of interviews I had no idea how many children I would interview. In the end, I stopped interviewing when I was no longer getting a reasonable variety of responses

The exact numbers are outlined bellow.

Interview Round:	Riverside	Craigs	Calton	Hillside	Castle	Total
One	3	2	2	-	-	7
Two	9	4	6	8	8	35
Three	12	6	4	8	8	38
Total	24	12	12	16	16	90

All the schools sent a letter to parents informing them that I would be in their children's class. However, the head teachers of the schools had different view as to whether I would need parental approval to carry out interviews. Riverside sent a letter to each parent asking them to contact the school if they did not want their children to be interviewed. No parents withdrew their children.

The three primary schools and Hillside Secondary, took the view that it was of educational value to have the children discuss what they thought of PE and how they used their free time and, therefore, a specific letter to parents was not necessary. At all times the children were given the opportunity to opt out of having an interview, even at the last minute.

In the interviews I began by stating that I was interested in their views, that there were no right or wrong answers and whatever they told me would not be relayed to other children or to their teacher. I tape recorded each interview and transcribed the tapes during the week they were carried out, although due to the enormous pressure of carrying out 90 interviews, some were left for some time before being transcribed.

The interviews took from 20 - 40 minutes depending on the individual child. Though it must be said that quantity did not relate to quality. At Riverview the interviews took place outside of PE times and were carried out in the PE resource area.

At the primary schools I interviewed pupils in normal lesson times. The interviews at Craigs and Castle were held in the staff room and at Calton on the landing outside the classroom.

The locations for the interviews were chosen by the classroom teachers, though I always requested somewhere quiet where the interview was unlikely to be interrupted. At Calton, this was not always avoided, especially if the bell sounded towards the end of an interview. At Hillside, the interviews were carried out in the PE base during the children's PE times. On these occasions it was a matter of asking the children to take time out of the class.

Teachers Interviews:

The amount of contact I had with teachers was enormous and took place during and after lessons, in the staff room and during free periods in resource areas. As such I decided I would carry out only one interview of each teacher involved in the PE classes I observed. I was able to do this in the knowledge that I could elaborate on the points gathered during interviews with the teachers and the meanings involved in these points during informal interaction in the staff room or base areas. I did carry out one pilot interview with a friend of mine who is a PE teacher.

In interviewing the teachers, I was trying to get at their views on;

- * The curriculum they teach;
- * How the curriculum relates to the children;
- * Factors that they think affect children's involvement in PE and sport;
- * Their perceived role of PE for the children and within the school in general;
- * Their relationship with the regional advisors;
- * Their view on the Scottish office sponsored changes in the curriculum that are occurring at present.

These areas had been developed as a response to the issues they had discussed with me in the staff room. These were issues that had developed as a consequence of the first three months of interacting with teachers at Riverview and related in some part to my previous readings on PE and sport.

My interaction with teachers was very rewarding as outlined in my field notes:

'This process has been extremely successful. It appears that the teachers treat me as a normal PE student and socialise me according to their normal procedures. In addressing how my preconceptions affect this interaction, I would say that the teachers are aware non-teachers and student teachers have preconceptions and they almost see it as their role to educate you out of these preconceptions and into the culture of the normal teacher. '

I carried out interviews with the four PE teachers at Riverview, three PE teachers at Hillside, the three specialist PE teachers and six class teachers in the three primary school. This totalled 16 teachers.

Parent's schedules:

Interviews of parents were conducted as a way of entering the non-school world of the children. I based my interview schedule on the results of my three rounds of interviews with the pupils and my experiences in PE lessons. I chose the parents according to what the children had said about their parent's involvement in their out of school activities.

I developed a mix of parents to interview in this manner, from a variety of areas and occupations. Some were unemployed, some single parents, some very involved in and some totally uninvolved in their children's activities.

At this stage of the research I had been 'in the field' for 16 months and felt I only had a month left to carry out interviews with parents, before leaving myself 7 months to finish the remaining analysis and write up my findings. As a result of this fact I decided to limit the interviews to the parents of the children I had observed in S1 and S2 at Riverview and Hillside. These children were now in S2 and S3. A benefit of this approach was that I could have a look at how these children's interests had changed especially in the case of S3 who it transpired were at an age where their interest in sport was reducing.

I contacted 16 parents from Riverview with a letter asking them to return the 'tear off slip' with their name and address if they wished to take part in an interview. I received 8 responses. At Hillside I contacted parents with a letter stating that if they did not want the school to release their address to me, which would enable me to contact them, they were to return the tear off slip. This approach had much the same response rate as the Riverview letter. Of the 12 parents contacted 6 were willing to take part in an interview.

I carried out the interviews over the next month and they varied in length from 30 minutes to over an hour. On all occasions I visited the parents' home and tape recorded the interview there.

Of the Riverside parents : in three cases I interviewed both husband and wife at the same time; two interviews were with mothers of two parent families ; two interviews were with single mothers; and one interview was with a father in a two parent family. At Hillside all the interviews were carried out with mothers, two of which were single mothers.

Writing Up The ethnography: Themes From Field Work:

The writing process began in the field, daily experiences and weekly typing up of field notes brought together numerous ideas and perceptions which were re-evaluated through subsequent interviews, or, interactions with pupils and teachers. Papers were written before each round of interviews which brought together my experiences and understandings. In this way, I was constantly assessing my findings and weeding out perceptions in the effort to gain more precise insights into the lives of the people interacted with. This process did not ever stop, even when I was in the pub, people - friends and strangers - would find out what I was studying and during conversations, offer up their own experiences of PE and sport. This was extremely common and I was made aware of how adults rarely forget their experiences of sport and physical education from childhood.

At first the field notes described as much as was observed in a day as could be written down. There were very few clear perceptions to be had. However, over time my observations became more focused and my notes took the form of a dialogue between what I was seeing, my preconceptions and the meanings of pupils' and teachers' behaviour.

Themes began to emerge which never remained static. My ideas were always confronted by new behaviour which at first I would find confusing. Through personal reflection and constant communication with those I was interacting with these ideas took on new forms and became clearer.

From my field notes, headings and categories developed which, on completion of my fieldwork, formed the chapters below. These categories were developed directly from what children and adults said to me and from how I perceived their behaviour through participant observation.

All the categories overlapped. This caused me great problems when trying to write up definite sections to be understood by the reader.

During this process, I realised that this was what ethnography was about. Ethnography is about writing your experiences so that your meanings can be understood and recognised by both your readers and the people you studied. Because of this I believe that how you write up your experience is as important, or more important, than the 'nuts and bolts' of how you do your fieldwork.

My attempt was to maintain the authority of the text, through explanation of how my experiences and perceptions were reformed and reinforced by interaction with other individuals. In this way, my conclusions in the text hold up, not only because I believe them to have truth in my world view, but because they have been communicated to and substantiated by other people's comments and behaviour. However, I do accept that I have exercised choice as to which experiences are outlined in the text. Therefore, in the end, it is my decision which individuals words and experiences have authority in my text.

My worry was always that my experiences which had fluidity, would become static when represented in writing. The only way to avoid this for me, was to constantly ask, 'How do I know this?', 'Will the reader follow the complexity of these concepts?' and 'Will those I have interacted with recognise the meanings held within this text?'.

The specific categories that were developed from my experiences are set out in the following chapters which have been separated into three sections concerned with the findings and PE, sport and the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*.

During this process I became more and more concerned with how children's ideas of themselves and of other children affected their involvement in physical education and sport. This concern was driven not by any sociological theory, but purely by what I witnessed and experienced in schools. I realised that a child's idea of 'self' was crucial to how he/she made choices about sport and physical education. I discovered that these choices were confronted and reassessed through daily interactions and therefore, were in no way static.

The fluidity of these interactions led not to representation of typical cases of children's behaviour within the text, but to the description of how I had gained meaning from observing specific individual children's experiences. Moreover, these experiences were found to have a group context. This relationship between individual action and group membership is inherently the subject matter of ethnography. A subject matter which the following text represents.

CHAPTER FOUR: INVOLVEMENT IN PE - WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

Introduction:

This chapter will describe my experience of investigating children's involvement in PE. An autobiographical process will outline the stages of realisation I came through, which allowed me to describe what it meant for various children to take part, or not take part, in a number of activities relating to PE. It will illustrate how my understandings were reinforced, contradicted, challenged and nullified by encounters during the ethnography.

Specifically, this chapter will discuss how, during PE classes, children in primary and secondary schools differentiate between each other on the basis of their gender, skill levels, co-ordination levels and ability to understand the concepts of PE. This discussion will culminate in the conclusion that differentiation during PE classes leads to elitism.

Pupil Involvement in PE: Ideas of Gender:

In the early classes I attended at Riverview, I concentrated on the structure of the lesson, taking notes on how a lesson developed and how the children reacted to this. The basic lesson plan of a teacher was to begin with 'a warm-up'. This prepared the children physically for what was to come and also raised their level of concentration. Prior to the teacher coming into the room, there tended to be a lot of noise and excitement amongst the children. The teacher would enter the gym, tell the children to calm down and proceed with the warm-up. After the warm up the teacher would split the children into groups and begin demonstrating the teaching points he/she had planned for the day's lesson.

My first impression of PE classes at Riverview was that there existed a physical gap between boys and girls within the area of the gym hall. The boys and girls tended to separate to the two ends of the gym hall before the teacher arrived. When asked to choose a partner the boys would choose boys and the girls would choose girls.

This perception was reinforced during a basketball class at Hillside:

The children had come out of the changing rooms. The boys were sitting to the left of me and the girls to the right. The first boy out, Davy, had sat on my right to talk to me. Another boy Cheesy shouted to him, 'Dinnae sit wi' th' lassies.' Davy immediately moved next to the boys. There appeared to be a lot of stigma attached to sitting 'wi th' lassies' at Hillside.¹

¹ Extracts from fieldnotes are indented, single spaced and in *courier* type set. This contrasts with interview extracts which though indented and single spaced are in *times* type set.

Exactly the same kind of differentiation by space occurred in the primary school setting. The first class I went to at Craggs resembled the classes at Riverview:

The teacher tells them off (boys) for sitting on the benches when they come in and tells everyone to come and sit in the white square (one side of a badminton court). 'Can I remind you that when we come into the gym hall we don't, and have never gone to sit on the benches, and we are not going to start now.' When they came in the boys went to one end and the girls the other end of the gym. The boys started mucking about on the benches; this is much the same as in the high school.

This was the usual start to a PE class, the boys almost always came in making a lot of noise whilst the girls left them to it and went to another area of the gym. Normally, the teachers told the boys off and proceeded to start their lesson. I realised that the teachers used this situation as a way to enforce their authority on the class. I had identified the spatial differentiation between boys and girls in both primary and secondary schools.

During their interviews, I asked the children how they went about choosing partners. Most responded that they chose their friends, who were of the same sex:

David P7 Craggs: 'Well ma best friend in P1 was Jonathan and he still is ma best friend, so I'd either choose Jonathan, James, Peter or John T. '(Would you ever choose a girl as a partner?) Nut if you were put wi a girl, 'cause we don't really associate wi the girls that much, the boys really keep themselves to themselves and the boys play in that playground and the girls in this playground (Pointing out of the window)'.

David was aware of the fact that girls and boys kept themselves separate and that this also happened in the playground. Michael, in Nick's class at Riverview, suggested more definite reasons for why he would not choose a girl as a partner:

'(Who do you choose for a partner?) Ross, 'cause a sit beside him in the class an aw that, 'cause none o the boys are as fit as him, except for Mark, except he goes wi Gorey (Andrew) aw the time. (What about choosing a girl?) Na, they're not as good at sport, like if a wis playing rugby a'd never go as a girl'.

Michael's reason of choice, was based on his partner's fitness and ability at sports. I was amused by his grammar, 'a'd never go as a girl'. It insinuated that to go with a girl partner by choice would be like becoming a girl. What was definitely true was that Michael believed girls to be inferior than boys at sport.

The girls did not hold such a conservative view as these boys:

Nataly (Jim's class): '(Who do you choose for a partner?) Ashva or Karen, 'cause they're ma pals. (Would you ever choose a girl/boy as a partner?) If a had to, a wouldn'y bother, sometimes we have ti go wi boys'.

After carrying out a number of interviews, I realised that the girls usually chose a partner because they were a 'friend', rather than because they were 'good'. But this as it stands is a generalisation. For some children, the above questions had deep significance and for others, their attitude was more akin to Nataly's 'C'est ne fait rien' approach.

Teachers' Role in Gender Segregation:

At first I was not sure of the teachers' role in this segregation. In early November I was in a gymnastics class being taught by Jim. Jim split the class into boys and girls before asking them to get the apparatus out of the cupboard. Here Jim had instigated the division between boys and girls. However none of the children seemed worried about Jim's approach. This suggested that Jim's approach fitted into their way of thinking.

The following week I was in one of Liz's gymnastics classes. Here the girls chose girl partners and the boys chose boy partners. However, the boys and girls did not go to separate ends of the gym, boy groups went next to girl groups and vice versa.

For the next few weeks I watched for instances of separation and I realised that, though the children themselves wanted to choose own-sex partners, it was more likely that a separation between boys and girls in the gym occurred when the teacher was male (either Jim or Nick).

This separation between boys and girls occurred in gymnastics classes and at the beginning of classes involving basketball and volleyball. During competitive games classes the children were separated into groups of three or four to carry out repetitive skills practice, here the teacher usually, though not always, mixed boys with girls.

The teacher, usually, developed the skills practices into full game situations. The teacher's motivation tended to be to get groups of children with the same ability together. Following repetitive skills practice the teacher made up teams for a 'game'. These teams were usually made up of mixed sexes and mixed ability children. In these circumstances boy - girl interaction was unavoidable.

In all the time I was there, the specialist teacher at Calton never allowed the children to separate into non-mixed sex groups. However, it was obvious to me that putting boys and girls in the same grouping contravened their ideas about each other:

Jason was left on his own in a group with two girls. The teacher was about to split the children into other groups of threes which meant there would always be one boy with two girls or two boys with one girl. However, Michael did not realise this and thought that Jason had been put with the girls. He said, 'Jason are you a girl then?' and laughed. Jason was not very good at sport, and I realised that Michael thought Jason was put with the girls because both Jason and the girls were not any good at sport. He must have thought he was about to be put with a group with two other boys. The shock on his face when he was put with two girls was amusing to me.

I talked to his teacher, Mr G, about this occurrence and he said:

`Michael is the least tolerant of the girls. He's not too considerate of other peoples' problems. He's had trouble with Alistair and a few other people and it's mostly of his own making.'

Mr G went on to tell me that the girls used to play football with the boys at lunch times. However, when the boys were challenged to a game by another class they decided the girls could not play any more. He said that Michael was one of the main instigators of this division.

Mr G stated:

`I went down to see what had happened as the girls had come and complained to me; the boys said that they didn't want the girls to play because they would lose them the game.'

The boys' belief was that the girls would lose them the game so they took the decision to exclude the girls from the game.

The teachers were fully aware that the children did not want to be mixed in groups during PE. At Castle, the classroom teachers rarely mixed the boys and the girls. Indeed, on one occasion Mrs A apologised for having to mix up boys and girls. She said, 'Now I am sorry but you girls are going to have to work with boys today.' This kind of statement reinforced the fact that girls were different to boys.

Mrs A inferred that it was unfortunate that the girls had to take part with the boys.

She reaffirmed this view when I interviewed her:

'(Do you see there as being any controversial issues in PE?) Not really, a think the issue, that is with the class a teach just now, is a gender issue. The class a have now has 17 boys and 7 girls so by sheer numbers the boys are the dominant feature. The boys try to take over in the gym, as they do in everything, by sheer numbers and there is, in the class, just a general acceptance that the gym is a place where the boys perform better than the girls. There is a difficulty with the girls wanting to opt out of the gym, like bringing in lots of sick notes and stomping off and saying they're not playing because they're not getting chances with the ball and things, which was perfectly true 'cause they weren't getting a chance. They weren't able to assert themselves and it's been quite difficult to come to terms with, especially in team games. There's a dilemma whether to keep the girls together or split them up. Especially when they're quite thin on the ground and you have one girl, or maybe two, with four boys. That's quite difficult and am aware of that in the gym and in other areas of classroom provision. At the moment we're doing quite a lot of technology and we're doing a project on electricity with circuits and things. The boys get prime equipment and best working areas and the boys say to the girls, 'go and get the selotape you' 'cause in their household that's the way things are done.'

Mrs A believed that she had to protect the girls from the boy's approach to PE and girl/boy interaction in general. This requirement, to protect the girls, led to her questioning the acceptability of putting boys with girls in the PE class.

I believed that Jim at Riverview held this sort of perception. I had my view confirmed some months later when I was carrying out an interview with one of the girls in his class:

Nicki: 'Eh yeh, well sometimes like the other day we were playing, like a, with a cricket bat an a ball, an he split up the girls from the boys just to have, like, we were just playing separate games, we were just practising like we were hitting the ball an if you caught it you got certain points but he had the boys and the girls separate, well it should have been mixed up.'

I realised that though Jim's actions appeared sexist to myself and Nicki, Jim believed he was doing the girls a favour. Jim did not have a high opinion of the boys in the class. It appeared to me that he thought it was fairer on the girls if they did not have to mix with the boys.

This was confirmed by my notes:

Jim said, 'Girls, particularly, reach an age where they don't want to spoil their make up, they don't want to get their hair messed up and they also tend to go off sports like swimming and that's understandable. They tend to feel that they should have a choice, around 3rd/4th year and shouldn't be forced to do something they don't want to, they should be free to make their own decisions.' Jim reinforces the stereotype, however, he does it on the basis that he, as a teacher, has to be sensitive to the fact that girls may not want to take part in an activity and that this is their right. However, to me this means that Jim does not expect things from the girls. Jim's view that co-education means that girls have the right not to take part, really means that girls shouldn't be pushed and it is this philosophy which underpins Jim's teaching methods and their effect on girls in his class.

Jim's approach to co-education reinforced, rather than confronted, gender differences. His approach was in conflict with Nicki's perception that co-education should involve the integration of girls and boys. I realised that this presented a problem. That problem was should girls and boys be mixed in co-educational classes? For the moment I did not have enough experience to answer that question. Moreover, the teachers were not in agreement about this question.

Not All Girls Were Viewed the Same:

The boy's perception that all girls were bad at ball sports, and therefore, they were not worth a pass, was not borne out by my experiences:

'Nick says, 'Hands up those who play a little bit of basketball'. He puts them into four teams, he tells them, 'no contact, no travelling, no double dribble and fouls will be taken as side balls'. One girl, Susan, is extremely good, as is Hazel. Better kids tend to dominate but are forced into mistakes by pack pressure. Most kids on the sidelines sit quietly except Hazel who shouts on Susan as she scores four extremely good baskets.

I realised during this class that not all girls were bad at competitive activities. However, the importance of previous involvement in sport was obvious in this case. Nick had asked them whether they had played basketball before. He did this so that he could choose fair teams on the basis of the children's previous experience of the sport. In this class, Susan was undoubtedly the best player of basketball and this was accepted by the children and teacher.

These incidents left me with the impression that there existed a gap between the boy's perceptions that girls were not 'good' at PE activities and the reality that not all girls were bad at PE activities.

I had become aware that, during competitive ball sports activities, boys tried to exclude girls by not passing the ball to them:

Julie: (Do some children get more passes ?) Yeh probably, eh well, if there was a ball game, Kevin B and Kevin C they'd probably pass to each other more, where as, if there was two boys in a team they'd try and keep it to the boys in the team rather than the girls.'

However, something more complex occurred.

Michael: (When you are playing games at PE how do you decide who to pass to?) The ones that are good. (Any one you wouldn't pass to?) Yeh quite a lot eh, being a bit sexist but if a wis playing basketball, a wouldnae pass to the girls, they just lose it. (What about Susan?) No, she's OK so's Hazel a'd pass to them if they were on ma team. (What about the boys, are there any boys you wouldn't pass to?) Ewan, (he laughs) he can't play basket ball, he's too fat.

Michael's instinct was not to pass to girls, this meant that my perception that boys don't pass to girls had some truth, however, what was really occurring was that people like Michael would not pass to those children they didn't think were good at an activity. He would pass to Susan, even though she was a girl because she was good.

This perception was confirmed by David B and Mark:

David B: (How do you decide who to pass to in a game?) Which ever one's free (said like a pat answer to a teacher), eh, A like to pass to the best player more often, (Why's that?) 'Cause they've got more chance of scoring .

Mark: (How do you decide who to pass to?) The person in the best position or something, (So is there anybody you wouldn't pass to?) Well if there's some'dy that's good and makes a difference to it, then I might try and pass to them more often, but I try and give people a go.

I realised that Mark and David B didn't differentiate who they would pass to on the basis of gender. This was an important finding: it meant that I was beginning to see how different children had different perceptions of the same thing. Some boys tried only to pass to boys (Kevin C and Kevin B), some boys would only pass to girls if they thought they were good (Michael), some boys liked to pass to those people who were good (David B) and some boys preferred to pass to people who were good but realised that it was better to give all people a go (Mark). The common theme amongst these boys was that they employed their awareness of other children's abilities to make the decision whether to involve, or exclude, these children from the activities taking place.

I was aware that Richard didn't get too many passes in his class. I was interested to see if he held the same view as these boys:

(When you are playing games at PE how do you decide who to pass to?) I usually try and pass to the person who is in the best position rather than try and pass to the person. But, if I feel that some one else is really not being part of the game, which isn't their fault I'd pass to them and involve them in the game (Do some children get more passes or more of the ball than other children?). Yes, it's the aggressive people and the tall people who get the passes usually. (How would you estimate your ability at PE compared to the other children in the class?) I'm probably not quite as good as the best people, but I was maybe slightly better than average. (How would you compare the boys and the girls in the class?) Well, usually if it's not in a game of basketball where it's slightly unfair, but if you have like relay races mixed teams then usually the girls are just as good as the boys.'

This was fascinating, Richard did not concur with the views of the boys above.

He differentiated himself from the good, aggressive and tall people in the class and went against their approach. He rejected their values. I could only think that this happened because he had suffered from not getting passes.

I realised that though the obvious conclusion from my early observations had been that boys tried to exclude girls during PE activities, the situation was more complex. The children differentiated themselves on the basis of their perceptions of each other's abilities at PE. Although acting against girls because of the stereotypes held by boys about girls' PE abilities, this differentiation was primarily based on an idea of status. Those children perceived as possessing high skill levels during PE classes were attributed more status, than other children in the class. Those children who were attributed high status received more passes during competitive ball sport activities. This meant that girls like Susan received more passes during basketball than other girls and boys like Michael received more passes than boys like Ewan. I realised that the problem of co-education was a smoke screen for the reality that the children's pattern of behaviour (to pass to children perceived as 'good' at PE activities) led to both boys and girls being excluded during PE activities. Girls who possessed high skills in an activity were not excluded from that activity.

The main thrust of this pattern was that those children who perceived themselves, or were viewed by other children, as being good at PE activities had a greater chance of being involved in the PE class. This pattern of behaviour allowed me to differentiate the children on the basis of their worthiness of receiving passes during PE classes.

I concluded that the problem whereby boys did not pass to girls during PE was not strictly a problem of co-education. The fact that boys were also disenfranchised during this process meant that even if one separated boys and girls, the good boys would still try to exclude the poor boys². What this meant was that though the behaviour of the boys appeared to be sexist, it was in fact elitist.

would still try to exclude the poor boys². What this meant was that though the behaviour of the boys appeared to be sexist, it was in fact elitist.

This had a bearing on race issues. During the course of the study I observed that most of the Asian girls I encountered (roughly 12 during 14 classes) had low levels of involvement in PE classes (often they did not receive passes during competitive ball sports). Initially, I was concerned that this was simply racism. However, as my research developed I identified some black and Asian children who had a high level of involvement in the PE classes. At no time during my interviews did children indicate they did not pass to another child because of their race. This did not mean a child's race did not have a bearing on their involvement in PE, however, it suggested that if racism occurred in the PE classrooms I participated in, it did not occur in an articulated manner.

Put in terms of Figueroa's (1993) typology during the time I spent in schools I witnessed no definite cases of cultural³, individual, interpersonal, institutional or structural racism. Latterly, I realised that the classes I observed did not have a sufficient number of children from ethnic minority backgrounds to allow me to develop any specific understanding of the role of racism in PE (e.g. none of the classes at Hillside had any children of ethnic minority background). For example, it was not possible to identify the groups of children (victims, straights etc.) which are vividly represented in the work of Fleming (1992). Most of the South Asian children I interacted with in the study were members of multiracial sub-cultural groupings which are defined in the following chapters.

² Girls would also develop elites amongst themselves

³ This may have been because the numbers of children from non-white families in the classrooms I visited did not constitute a sufficient number for children to form groups whereby social relations could be understood to possess a race context.

In terms of institutional racism teachers exhibited a definite understanding of how such issues as showers⁴, PE kit⁵, swimming, Ramadan⁶ might bring about problems for certain children's participation. The teachers endeavoured to provide alternative options to encourage these children to participate in PE in school. These endeavours were supported by policies promoting multicultural teaching.

However, in the primary school setting I felt that on a few occasions some teachers, in their effort to show an understanding of cultural issues, did not push girls from South Asian backgrounds into trying skills which were perceived as difficult. Moreover, if a South Asian girl did not participate to the same level as other children during an activity some teachers did not make an effort to pressure them into participating at a more intense level.

A possible explanation for this behaviour was that these teachers were involved in an extremely mild form of racism. It would be possible to identify this racism in two ways. It could be described as personal racism (based on the teacher's lack of expectation with regard to South Asian children's involvement in PE) or institutional racism (based on the teachers over consideration of the culture of the children which related to policies promoting multi-cultural teaching).

I concluded that an ethnographic study which concentrated on understanding the experiences of specific groups of South Asian children in Scotland is required in order that we might investigate the relationship between these children's experiences and the experiences of the children in England illustrated in the works discussed in chapter two.

⁴ None of the children of any race were forced to take showers in any of the schools I visited. However, it should be remembered that this could have been an issue for children older than those I interacted with i.e. aged 14+.

⁵ Children were allowed to wear kit which covered all of their body

⁶ The primary schools visited had incorporated Ramadan into their religious education curriculum.

Having identified the fact that children made decisions on who to include, or exclude during PE classes on the basis of their perception of these children's ability, my next approach was to try to understand how children developed the idea that a child was good at an activity. I was interested to understand what criteria were used to create the elite group of people who received preferential treatment during such activities as basketball class.

Involvement in PE: Elitist Criteria:

I had been noting down the different involvement levels of the children for some time. Early on in my observations I began to wonder if there was, in fact, just a great deal of difference between the skill levels of girls and boys. My first impression of the different skill levels of boys and girls, was quite stereotyped. I came to believe that the boys possessed greater skills than the girls. It soon became apparent that this was a gross over-simplification.

Initially, I believed, the boys were better at ball games and that girls shone when it came to gymnastics. I thought this differentiation might be due to the children's previous involvement of sport within primary schools, previous experience of sports clubs, or simply, previous play patterns:

`The girls are very good at handstands and cartwheels, the boys tend not to fully extend their legs and so on. Jim goes to give Nataly a hand and the boys at the bottom start mucking about again. Jim stops them and says, 'Most people are working quite well, what we have to work on is timing'. The boys are more likely to be doing forward rolls, backward rolls and so on. (Makes me wonder if what primary school or past experience you have had makes a difference to what sports you are good at)'.`

Again, this perception had been dispelled by Susan in Nick's class. Some children were better than other children, (e.g. during basketball classes these children could dribble, shoot and pass better than other children). This appeared to be an unavoidable fact. Susan hardly ever missed a shot at basketball, Michael would try anything difficult like 'lay ups' and dribbling the ball through his legs.

When these apparently 'high skill' children were separated by the teacher, into groups for skills practice, the level of movement and physical involvement of the children was far greater than was the case in David G and Ewan's group. In this group the children were still trying to deal with the basic skill requirements of basketball.

I was interested to know what this skill differentiation was based on. At first it appeared to relate to the personal attributes of a child. My perception was that a child's level of involvement in a PE class depended on his/her own skill level and level of interest in PE. This meant that I thought that it was these children's own fault if they did not have a high level of interaction in a PE class. I identified the personal attributes that affect a child's involvement in PE and led to differentiation between children, as:

- * Basic Skill level;
- * Co-ordination level;
- * Ability to understand the concepts of PE.

Elitist Criteria: Basic Skill level:

Whilst attending Nick's class, he had the children divide into four teams which competed against each other in a relay race. The race consisted of each team member having to run to a basket, score a basket and return to his/her team before passing the ball on. For some children (Hazel, Mark, Michael and Susan) this was simple and their competitiveness was based on how quickly they could go between the basket and back to their group. For other children, (David G, John, Ewan and Criss) there existed extreme pressure for them to actually score a basket.

When these children missed scoring a basket after the third and fourth attempt it became obvious to the other children in the class, and me, which children could and could not complete the task set by the teacher - it became obvious who was 'good' and who was 'bad' at shooting baskets.

In the basketball game situation, the children who found basketball easy moved about the court a lot more freely, finding spaces and looking for and giving passes. Those children, who did not at my first impression appear to be as 'good', swarmed after the ball and succumbed to the pressures of the pack when they actually gained possession. This differentiation between the levels of involvement of the children was emphasised by John. I watched John take part in a basketball game where Susan scored four baskets and Michael scored a lay up.

I asked John had he enjoyed the game, he said, 'a got a touch of the ball once, but it got knocked out of ma hand'. Success for Susan was four baskets, success for Michael was scoring from a 'lay up', success for John was getting a touch of the ball; increased success for John would have been hanging on to the ball when every one rushed at him. I was beginning to understand that the children in a class had different aptitudes for PE which could be identified through the tasks that the teacher set the children.

During basketball shooting practice the teacher would often ask the children to count how many baskets they scored. This allowed the children to differentiate between themselves in terms of their ability to shoot baskets. When the teachers used the ladder system at badminton the children had to decided where they were on the ladder (how good they were at badminton compared to the other children) and after each game the children had to reposition themselves on the ladder depending on whether they won, or lost, the badminton game.

This process meant that the children had to compare each other's ability at badminton. Often the teacher forced the children to determine their ability compared to the other children in the class:

Nick - 'Were going to do a bit of self-assessment, can you split yourselves into 6 groups, two to a court. The top two groups of people who play a lot of badminton, the middle two of those who play quite a lot, and the two on court three who don't play much badminton.'

Gail - 'You should have a good idea of who is similar to you, choose a partner and go to a court and begin a game'

Andy - 'OK, now we're going to do the most difficult part, let's volley the volley ball back and forth, count how many you can do.'

The children were constantly being asked to assess their own ability and the ability of the children around them. I became aware that the teacher's methods were subtly indoctrinating me. I was building up a view of individual children's abilities because I was constantly given the opportunity to count how many shots a child could score or watch which partners they chose. The teacher's requests, were getting me to think, look that girl can do 10 baskets in a row, that girl can't do a somersault and so forth. These requests reinforced the process of differentiation the children were already involved in.

Elitist Criteria: Co-ordination:

In other situations, children's lack of co-ordination prevented them from carrying out a skills practice assigned by the teacher. For example, John was involved in a basketball practice set by Nick. In this practice the children were in groups of six, three children on the left opposite three children on the right.

The children were to pass the ball to the child at the front of the opposite group and run round behind the opposite group joining on at the end of this group. The children receiving the pass were to catch the ball and pass it back to the group it came from and run to the end of that group. When John's turn came he started to run before he caught the ball. The ball went between his hands hitting him on the head. Nick told John's group to 'watch who you are passing to'. This seemed to be code for 'make allowances for John'.

It was extremely obvious to myself and the children which children were less co-ordinated. Our observations were employed to differentiate between the children. I developed the impression that lack of co-ordination was something that couldn't be catered for in the classroom situation.

The teacher could attempt to aid the progress of the 'badly co-ordinated' children in the skills practice situation by teaching the children preparatory skills that would overcome the child's problems. Unfortunately, in some classes there were children who had severe co-ordination problems. The only option for a PE teacher who had to teach children with severe co-ordination problems was for the teacher to start the children off with extremely simple preparation exercises:

Jim had two girls in his badminton class who could not hit the shuttle cock when they first started the badminton block. I observed the fifth and sixth weeks of the block. By this time Jim had taught the girls to hit the shuttle cock. Due to the lack of space, 25 children were sharing four courts, he did not let these girls practise their skills on the court. Rather, he had them carry out the practices at the side of the gym. During week five he had them practising aiming a serve into an up turned bin lid.

By week six he had these girls playing a game against each other, though they could not use all the skills of badminton. At this stage (week six) the rest of the class were playing doubles games against each other. These games involved a high level of excitement and involvement amongst the children and the use of a wide range of badminton skills. This level of involvement contrasted with the girls who had poor co-ordination. Jim had to plan his lessons to help develop the skills of the children in his class, he could not spend the whole time with the two girls who needed the most help. He stated, 'They've worked well over the six weeks, I'm not sure I've always managed to keep them interested, though they seem to be enjoying themselves now.'

Jim had managed to increase the involvement of the two girls, however, had he had more time to spend with these girls he could have increased their involvement in badminton to an even greater extent. At this time they would not have been able to have a meaningful game with any other children in the class. Their badminton skills had not evolved sufficiently for them to be a part of the class.

I realised that these children were suffering from not having developed co-ordination skills during primary school. I was also aware that had these children had difficulties in an 'academic' subject, such as Maths or English, the school would have been required to provide them with learning support to help them overcome their difficulties.

The teachers noted that children with physical and learning difficulties could present them with problems in the PE classroom:

Jim - 'A don't think that's dealt with particularly well in this school, there are one or two with behavioural problems in my classes, but generally if they can be isolated from the characters the problem starts with, it can be resolved. There are one or two that can disrupt your lesson if they are on a bad day, but they are few and far between in this school.'

Liz - 'We have kids with SEN⁷ and then quite often we don't know about it 'till exams where they get more help. (What about children in the 1st and 2nd year?) That can take up too much of the teacher's time. I think we are expected to do too much. If it was another subject they would get more help. There is so much differentiation in a class, that having someone with real problems is time consuming and makes life difficult for the teachers and other children.'

Gail: 'SEN is a controversial issue at the moment. They are keen to integrate these kids and a don't think it works. (Are there any in your classes?) There was one last year in fact I haven't seen him this year. He was very well built and totally uncoordinated and, a was going to say thick a don't mean that, but a do. Not so bright. He had severe difficulties and if it was an academic subject he would be seen on a one to one with Learning Support. If it comes to PE they are just dumped in with the rest of them and they do need one to one or specialist help. That has never been considered in PE. There is a need for that. If there were no money problems and more teachers there is a lot you could do in PE with the children. Which you can't do in the class situation as you haven't got the time.'

The teachers did not find it a problem to deal with children with special education needs, in 1st and 2nd year, if those needs referred to writing skills. What they did find problematic was the time consuming nature of the needs of children with behavioural or co-ordination difficulties. The teachers believed that their subject and these pupils were discriminated against because provision was made for children who had difficulties in other subjects. In most cases the teachers were left to teach these children within the class context, where they could not give these children the help they required. I realised that this issue should be addressed if these children are to be given a fair chance in PE.

In group situations (especially competitive ball sports) 'uncoordinated' children's opportunities to take part in the class were limited. It was undeniably true that this limitation related to their physical capabilities. The impression I developed was that their physical inabilities legitimised their differential treatment by teachers and pupils. However, the teachers had few other viable alternatives.

⁷ Special Educational Needs.

Understanding the concepts:

Certain children were able to grasp the concept of a practice, set by the teacher, quicker than other children. For example in one of Nick's basketball classes he showed the children how to do the 'three man weave'. This involved three children, one on one side of the gym two on the other side of the gym. Child 1 passed the ball to Child 2 and ran diagonally to the opposite side of the gym. Child 2 passed the ball to Child 3 who passed the ball to Child 1 who was now diagonally four yards further up the gym. Through this process of each child passing the ball and moving to receive the ball diagonally further up the gym the ball was transported up the gym.

In this case, Andrew and Mark grasped the concept of the exercise fairly quickly, however David G still had not grasped what to do when the children repeated the practice for a third time.

Lack of understanding of the concepts involved in PE appeared to affect children even more in the game situation. I observed Ewan, Criss, John and David G chasing after the basketball during games, swarming round other children who were in possession of the ball. During the same game I witnessed them walking about at one end of the gym whilst the game went on at the other end of the gym. Sometimes they chatted to the children sitting at the side of the gym who were not taking part in the game, sometimes these four boys chatted to each other. The ball occasionally came their way and sparked their interest in the activity once again, but this interest only lasted until the ball was outside their 'area' again. Once the ball was outside the immediate area these boys were standing in, the boys went back to wandering about ignoring the game.

I could not fathom why these boys would be active on some occasions and ignore the game on other occasions. It was easy to follow and enjoy the skills of Michael and Susan. I could see what they were attempting to do. To enjoy their enthusiasm, and sympathise with their failures. These children (Michael and Susan) were competing. I could understand them: I knew what it was like to enjoy the skills of a game, to enjoy attempting the impossible, to impress others through my efforts and skills.

Perhaps, those children who had the habit of dropping their involvement level did not understand the concept of competitive games and that their idea of space affected their involvement? That is, their low level of involvement could be based on the fact that they were unable mentally to see what to do in terms of the techniques of the game.

I believed that when the ball went out of their immediate area these children did not follow it or take any other action that was tactically correct for the game because they did not understand the tactics of the game, they lacked knowledge about PE.

This perception was reinforced at the primary schools I went to. At Craggs:

T-J was chosen to be the referee. He looked quite good at basket ball in the practice part of the lesson, I thought he would know the rules quite well. He confirmed this view by enforcing the rules extremely strictly. He did not let any close calls go. Some players were confused by his decisions because they did not have the same awareness of the rules of basketball as T-J. At one point he called, 'Travelling', the teacher asked him, 'How was that travelling.' He answered, 'Cause sh' was walking like this with th' ball (without bouncing it)' Another girl confirmed T-J's view by stating, 'Yeh she was'.

A value was placed on rule knowledge in these primary classes which I had not come across at Riverview. This related to the fact that the classroom teachers were not experts in PE. This lack of expertise meant that the children could know more than them about the rules of an activity.

During the P7 class at Craggs the teacher had said, 'I will choose someone to referee but you must bear with me because I am not happy that I know all the rules of basketball.' At that moment, I realised the children were aware that the teacher was not an expert at PE. During the game which followed, some of the children (mostly boys) argued with the teacher over fouls and line calls. A secondary PE teacher would have sent these children out of the class. This teacher did not appear to view the children's behaviour as anything other than normal.

At this time I saw children's lack of knowledge as their 'fault'. It appeared that some children were better at sport than other children and that this ability was not only based on their technical and physical skill level but on their mental skill level as well. Again I was aware that the children understood that individual children in the class had a variety of mental aptitudes. They used this kind of information to differentiate between themselves.

The teachers did not have a consistent position on the importance of knowledge in PE classes:

Nick: 'Academic ability tends to be a plus for us. Usually the children who you sense as being fairly intelligent, fairly aware and fairly articulate, enjoy and work hard at PE regardless of their ability. They tend to look at PE and do their best, they don't seem to get as frustrated as easily, perhaps, and a lot of the time they see, am only talking about ones who are not particularly good, they tend to see that it is fairly worthwhile though it may not be their thing, they tend to put in the effort because they see it as worthwhile.'

Nick's view was that intelligent children could understand that if they put in effort they would get something out of PE. His perception was that if children held certain characteristics they were more likely to put effort into their participation in PE.

However, not all the teachers agreed with Nick's view:

Jim: '(What about a child's academic ability?) Occasionally some of the girls and boys feel that they are above doing this and shouldn't have to get sweaty and run around all over the place. We are very often dictated by what the kids can do, if you have four boys in a group doing new image rugby, who are good at rugby, they won't like it as much as the girls and boys who aren't good at rugby, or have never played it.'

Liz: 'There's a sort of cliché about that, that some children who are not academic can shine in PE, although in this school there are a lot of people who are very academically bright and also very good at PE.'

Jill - 'There's a lot of kids that I would say were particularly bright and they don't do well in English and Maths 'cause of, I would say cultural background, and things that have happened to them in their lives, and they have been branded as, perhaps, way down in the ability scale even though they have got the potential. (And do you feel that PE gives them... interrupts?) Allows them to develop and shine in areas, but a feel that when you see this happening you should be contacting people in other areas of the school. You know I see this chappie's in the poorest class, yet, a know from what he's telling me that he's got the knowledge and ability to get him out. It's how to get it out of him in a way to be assessed, unfortunately everything's assessed.'

There was very little agreement here between teachers. However, they all looked to the personal characteristics of children to identify why they might, or might not, succeed in PE classes.

The idea of knowledge in PE was interrelated with understanding the terminology used by teachers in PE classes. Throughout the PE lessons the teachers educated or initiated the children into the terminology of the various activities. In gymnastics classes, the teachers tended to demonstrate what a term meant, i.e. 'forward roll', 'stag roll', 'backward roll', 'hand stand', 'head stand', 'vault', 'squat on' and so forth. The children built up an understanding of what each term meant and what each term required of them in a given situation.

In doing so the children built up a relationship with gymnastics through its terms. For some children the above terms would result in a child thinking, 'Great, I can do that!', or, 'Oh no! Not the 'hand stand' again!'. Not only does the term bring forth the thought of how it is technically carried out, each term means something different in relation to the previous experiences of the individual children in a class.

Liz spent time teaching the children the language required to understand her gymnastic lesson. Whilst she described the words she was using in the lesson she demonstrated them with her hands and body.

Liz: 'Stretchability means flexibility... .. Balance means not moving here... ..Balance does not mean wobbly here although in other lessons it might... ..This stretch looks nice, it's aesthetically pleasing... ..Any one know what a point is? (A child showed her, by pointing her toes).'

Liz told the children what the terms she was using meant, she also used a question - answer - demonstration technique to check that the children were following her. In this way, I realised that PE leads to an overall education of the children. They learn new terms that can be used outside of the gym and they learn that terms do not always mean the same thing in different situations.

In fitness classes the teacher related the terminology to the children's bodies. They would ask the children to take their pulse before exercising and then after exercising and explain that the level of an individual's pulse increased with exercise.

Jim: 'Your pulse takes a certain amount of time to go back to its resting rate. Depending on how fit you are this will happen quicker or slower.... ..what else happens to your body when you exercise... ..that's right it heats up, you start sweating, touch your forehead, what does that tell you... ..yes, your body temperature has increased. Also, what happens... ..yes, you get out of breath, that's because your body is using up its oxygen and you have to replace it.'

Liz explained to her fitness class that pulse rate and breathing rate depended on how fit an individual was.

Liz - `You can't be fit if you're struggling to do this, we've only been going for five minutes of aerobic work. To get fit you must exercise for at least twenty minutes three times a week. You need to do this if your body is going to get the full benefit of it. `

The teachers related certain exercises to certain parts of the body and taught the children what was the correct way to do an exercise.

Liz - `Always do sit-ups with bent knees, hands resting behind your head, elbows in. Don't use your arms, put your elbows up to your knees whilst your partner counts. When you do a press what part of the body are you working on?... ..yes, arms and chest. I don't want you doing full body press ups today, I want you doing half press ups today, these are on your knees. Do them with your arms shoulder width apart and hands pointing forward. `

In learning these new terms the children have to ask themselves questions like, `am I fit?', `Am I struggling to do this exercise, does that make me unfit?', `Are my arms strong enough to do this exercise?' The children learned the terminology for each activity that the teacher taught to them.

The result of this process was that the children could relate the terminology to themselves and the other children in their class. For example, at basketball the children are taught many things, chest pass - bounce pass - lay up - fake - and so forth. The children know which children can carry out these actions at basketball and as a result of this fact they can use the terminology and actions of basketball to differentiate between themselves. The children can state, "I can do a lay up, but he/she can't do a lay up'.

Outwith the specific technical terms above, the teachers were educating the children into general terms that referred to; movement, space, their own bodies and interaction with others themselves. These terms transcended PE activities and meant different things in different situations.

I realised that the overall effect of this process of teaching was that teachers made the children aware of what was required and expected of them during specific PE lessons. The values of certain activities, i.e. fair play/etiquette were defined by the teacher and the children were expected to behave accordingly.

Conclusion of the Meaning of Children's Involvement in PE:

It was possible, in general, to confirm Scraton's (1993) view that girls were forced to the periphery of involvement in PE in primary school because boys had more contact with teachers, manipulated activities to their benefit, came to the PE class with greater skill and hand eye co-ordination and held stereotypical views of girl's abilities in PE which were based on the perception that girls were not good at sports . The study gave some credence to Williams's (1993) argument, that pupils transferred to secondary school with their stereotypical attitudes intact.

The general perception held by boys in both primary and secondary schools, that girls were not good at sport, was found to co-exist with the belief that they possessed greater skills than girls. Some boys employed this belief as an excuse to reduce girl's involvement in certain PE lessons. In its most basic form, during ball sports, these boys would not pass the ball to girls. This situation might explain why girls were found to dislike highly structured (Hendry and Singer 1981) and competitive (Murdoch 1987) activities.

However, not all boys and girls were viewed the same. Those girls who were perceived as having high-skills or knowledge, in an activity had their level of involvement increased (received more passes) and those boys who were perceived as less able, or knowledgeable, at the activity taking place had their level of involvement reduced. Williams' and Scraton's perceptions, therefore, were identified as generalisations. Not all girls were forced to the periphery of involvement in PE classes and not all boys monopolised PE activities.

This meant that though boys were identified as behaving in a sexist manner towards girls during primary PE classes, they did not behave in this way to all girls. At the same time it was discovered that though issues of race had been identified in the primary school setting these issues again did not lead to all children of the same race having the same experiences within PE classes⁸. The fundamental issue was of how children perceived themselves and were perceived by other children in the PE setting.

It was concluded, therefore, that though stereotypical views were held by boys about girl's involvement in PE (in some cases these views were reinforced by teacher's behaviour), this factor was not the most important factor that led to children's disenfranchisement during PE classes. The most important factor was found to be the existence of hierarchical structures based, primarily, on perceptions of children's skill levels at PE. The criteria which led to the development of an elite in PE classrooms were identified as basic skill levels, co-ordination level and ability to understand the concepts of PE. Children could differentiate between each other by way of these criteria. Through this process of differentiation children were attributed status. That status governed how children interacted in PE classes.

Hence, though gender stereotypes were held by both children and teachers, the exclusion of girls during PE classes related to more than simple sexism. That is, the problems girls experienced in PE classes were more associated with ideas of elitism held by their classmates than to ideas of sexism.

⁸ This supported the argument identified in chapter two that children did not have uniform experiences of PE based on their race.

An interpretation of these findings brings forth two suggestions. Firstly, it may be possible to increase children's involvement in PE classrooms if remedial teaching is made available to those children who lack basic skills, co-ordination and knowledge in PE. This could take the form of learning support for those children with most problems during PE.

Central to the development of this remedial approach could be an understanding of how children learn, both inside and out of school, the skills which act as criteria for differentiation and elitism in the classroom. Where children lacked the skills by which status is derived during PE teachers could be encouraged to develop these skills.

Secondly, the finding that equality of opportunity and experience in PE classrooms concerns boy-girl interaction suggests physical educators should not treat all boys and girls the same. The assumption that girls' experiences of PE would be improved by teaching boys and girls in separate PE classes is not substantiated by this study.

The children's experiences identified in this chapter suggest non-co-educational teaching in PE could lead to elitism in a single sex setting. 'Good' boys could exclude 'bad' boys and the same could occur in the girls' classes. Hence, it is possible to conclude that both pupil-pupil (irrespective of sex) and boy-girl interaction could be improved by developing policies which overcome elitism in PE classes.

This aim requires a broader understanding of the sources and consequences of the process of differentiation in PE classrooms. The next chapter develops this understanding by comparing children's behaviour during competitive and non-competitive activities.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CONSEQUENCES OF DIFFERENTIATION

DURING PE:

Having identified a process of differentiation in PE classes, I was interested to gain an understanding of the form this process took in different situations and whether the consequences of differentiation were the same in all settings. It was found that the consequences of the process of differentiation in PE varied depending on whether the activity taking place was competitive or non-competitive.

This chapter is separated into two distinct yet interrelated sections: differentiation during competitive activities and differentiation during non - competitive activities. These sections identify the relationship between children's ideas of self, processes of differentiation in PE classrooms and expected forms of behaviour amongst children. This relationship is identified as of crucial importance to the confidence of children to attempt exercises in both competitive and non- competitive activities. Finally, this chapter discusses the role of teachers in the process of differentiation.

Differentiation During Competitive Activities:

I was aware that certain children received more possession during competitive ball games. My interest was to discover why these children were so determined to exclude other children during competitive activities.

I had noticed in the early classes I observed that certain children became very disappointed when they lost a game. This occurred whether it was basketball, badminton or volleyball. At the same time, I had noticed that in volley ball rather than use the skills of the game the children would just hit the ball back over the net first time.

During a class, Nick asked the children to carry out a volleyball practice in groups of four. Two children were on each side of the net, each pair had a ball. Of the pairs, one child was to pass the ball to their partner and their partner was to 'set' the ball for them to 'smash'. Rather than carrying out the practice, some groups just started hitting the ball back and forth over the net playing for points. Nick said to me:

'This is very difficult, I am trying to get the idea of co-operation over to them by this exercise so that when you come to a game, the better ones don't just hit it over the net because they can, but as a team they try to employ the techniques of volleyball.'

It became evident to me that there existed an underlying rule, for some of the children, that they adopted the shortest route possible to win a game. These children avoided using complicated skills because this risked losing a point and ultimately, the game.

I realised that this was why some children received more possession during a game. The object of competitive games was to win, the quickest way to win was to give the best people the ball. This realisation gave meaning to many things I had experienced:

The children are separated into groups of six which play three against three. They are supposed to use the techniques of the 'dig', 'set' and the 'spike' during the game. Immediately, in one group a boy wearing a Hibs football strip physically pushes one of his girl partners to cover an area of the court. Following this, he proceeds to hit the ball back on the first hit. He attempts to get the ball back on the first hit every time and though previously I saw that he was a good 'setter', he never attempts to set for the girls in his team. In other groups, the girls are the same as the boys, only intent on getting the ball over first time. It is quite amazing to watch this deliberate decision, made by the children, to not do what the teacher has asked them. This decision is in direct contradiction to the aims of the teacher. As the game carries on, on several occasions the boy in the Hibs strip shoves the two girls out of the way to get to the volleyball. On getting to the ball he, again, hits it straight back over the net. This is extremely sexist, because the girls are perfectly capable of hitting the ball themselves. However, the girls do not protest about this boy's behaviour.

Now, I knew that the reason why the girls didn't complain was that the boy was winning the game for their team. The lust to win as a team overrode the children's need to be equally involved in the game. These children found it was logical to differentiate between the individual children in the class to increase their chances of winning. They carried around, in their heads, information on each other's personal attributes for sport. What this information amounted to was an unwritten status hierarchy which governed their behaviour during winning situations.

I was already aware that the children attributed status on the basis of each other's ability (physical and mental) at sport. This status was employed to decide if a child was worthy of a pass or worth being a team member of their team/group.

In the context of competitive situations this information was used to calculate how to play a game:

In Andy's class (at Hillside) a boy called Mark was playing rounders. Mark constantly weighed up the ability of the other children. At one point, he stopped running at a base when Quinster had the ball. Then, he realised that he could make it to the next base before Quinster could move to the base. Mark was aware that Quinster would probably forget to throw so he took a risk. Quinster forgot to throw and Mark made it to the next base. I realised that sport ensures they evaluate each other's skill and decide how they will react accordingly. The children formed a mental picture of the skill level of each participant and this governed their second by second decisions during a game. In contrast to Mark, a girl called Diane took no risks at the same point when Quinster had the ball again. She did not believe she could beat Quinster to the base.

The crucial point was that children who had the confidence to attempt something gained more status and had their self view reinforced when their attempt was successful.

I noted many incidences of children expressing the idea of status, linked with winning, through their actions and words:

Jim told me that Richard did not get on with the other boys. When the children were changed they came into the badminton hall and chose partners to warm up with. Richard was one of the first children out of the changing rooms, however, no one chose him as a partner. Because there was an odd number of children in the class and no child chose Richard as a partner, he could not take part in the class until Jim was free to play with him. Jim had previously told me that Richard was 'no great shakes at badminton'. When I watched Richard play, in my opinion he was not that bad. He could perform the basic skills of badminton; the serve, the clear, and so forth. Later during the class Jim told the children they were to play mixed doubles. He asked the girls if they wanted to choose partners or wanted him to choose boys for them. Only Shirley wanted to choose her partner.

Jim allocated partners. Shirley (who was perceived as the best girl because she played football for a woman's football team) was paired off with Richard. Shirley said, 'That 'ill be us bottom of the ladder then'. Jim ran a ladder system in the class. This meant that each pair put their names on a chart that had rungs like a ladder. The best team was at the top of the ladder, the worst at the bottom. This meant that the children had to judge for themselves how good their pairing was at badminton. At the beginning of the class the children wrote down their names on a card which they placed on the ladder to get their starting point. Each pair could challenge another couple, two places above themselves, to a game. The pair that won moved up, or, maintained their place on the ladder. In this way, at the end of the class there existed a hierarchy of pairs on the ladder. Thus, when Shirley said, 'That 'ill be us bottom of the ladder then,' she was drawing attention to the fact that she thought Richard was not any good at badminton. Following Shirley's comment Jim said to me, 'Shirley wanted to choose her partner because she knew that she would get Richard, if I paired them up.'

The status attributed to Richard, by the class and the teacher, affected his level of involvement in PE. If Shirley had had her way Richard would not have got to play with her. I was now fully aware that children could be excluded from taking part in an activity because of the way other children viewed their ability at PE and that this perception related to the idea that a person's worth came from their likelihood to provide winning opportunities.

Interestingly, during competitive ball sports, low status children appeared to take an active part in excluding themselves from full participation in the game:

During the basketball class Sarah was near the basket and had a chance to shoot. However, rather than shoot she saw Michael behind her. She actually passed the ball to Michael even though he was further away from the basket. Michael went on to score and the team cheered heartily. Sarah's self sacrifice appeared logical to the children in her team. I was confused. To me it was curious, why had Sarah decided not to shoot? This situation appeared to be related to confidence. I had observed her scoring baskets in practice, if she had shot here,

I believed she would have had a good chance of scoring. Sarah decided not to shoot because she did not think she would be able to score. That is, she decided, after considering her own ability, that she was not capable of an act that not ten minutes before I had observed her achieve in practice. I concluded, that in passing to Michael, Sarah actively disenfranchised herself, whilst reinforcing his status.

To the children in Sarah's team her self sacrifice was extremely logical. However, if she had shot and scored here, this would have resulted in her gaining status. Initially I believed Sarah's decision was based solely on her lack of confidence (she did not think she would be able to score).

However, I realised that Sarah felt social pressure. If she had shot and missed, her team mates might have ridiculed her. This ridicule could well have resulted in a loss of status for Sarah due to the fact that the will to win of the team would not have been satisfied. Sarah would have committed a double crime, not only would she have failed by not scoring, she would have failed the team because she had not passed to the better player, Michael.

I believed that the risk to Sarah of lower status was high, whereas, the child of higher status, Michael, had more confidence to shoot and if he missed the other children in the class might have thought, 'Well nobody's perfect all of the time'. This meant the elitist differentiation in competitive PE classes which led to a status hierarchy was self perpetuating.

If a child did not get passed to, or passed to higher status children rather than attempt a skill, he/she did not have the chance to fully participate during the activity. As a consequence his/her opportunities to have successful moments (and therefore, chances to gain status) were reduced. Also, his/her chance to improve and practice the skills of the activity taking place were reduced.

This situation contrasted with that of the higher status child. This child received many passes, was provided with more opportunities to practise his/her skills and therefore, enjoyed greater chances to reinforce the fact that he/she was good at the activity taking place.

I concluded that the competitive rule which insisted that a child passes to the 'best' players perpetuated the status of the 'best' players at the expense of the children of poor status. I identified this approach to competitive ball sports in primary schools:

There were a number of children (At Castle) whom the other children supported by shouting their names and cheering when they did well in a competitive situation. In Mrs W class, one of those children was Trisha. During a basketball game some boys were shouting, 'Go on Trisha go on Trisha!' Eventually Trisha scored to loud cheers from these boys. I thought these boys must have been friends of Trisha. However, I, realised soon after, that the reason for the loudness of the cheer was that the boys knew that if Trisha scored they would be on the court playing next. That is, the teacher (the specialist in this case) had made the length of the game to be 5 minutes, or, the first team to score a basket wins. After one team won or five minutes the children sitting out got a chance to win. Trisha's success meant the boys could get on the court again. The boys were relying on Trisha to get them on the court quickly so they could compete again. The next time Trisha was on court Steven, as soon as the game started, shouted, 'Give it ti Trisha.'. Steven was encouraging Trisha's team mates to give her the ball at the expense of their own involvement. The team mates of Trisha, who were all girls, did exactly what Steven wanted. In this way, they disenfranchised themselves.

I realised that the process of self-perpetuation and disenfranchisement I had identified in the secondary school had been learned in the primary school. This process had many manifestations, as observed at Castle primary:

The children in Mrs W's P6 class are going to play rounders. The teacher splits them into teams at which point the class erupts into argument. The children in each team are arguing over which order they are going to go into bat.

The fielding team are arguing over who is going to bowl and who is going to field at each base. Certain positions are sought after because the children believe they are more important. The key positions, in the children's view are, fielding at first base, the bowler and the first bats person. There is complete mayhem during this process of arguing. The eventual result appeared to relate to each individual child's ability to promote themselves to the other children. The boys are shouting out the rules to the teacher, the girls don't really get a voice as to what the rules should be. All the children completely ignore what the teacher is saying. This situation, in essence, reminds me of Craggs, the children's belief is that they know as much, or more, about the rules of the game than the teacher. When the game starts a boy called Steven is first to bat. He won this position because of the physical threat he possesses. The only child that opposed him was a big boy called James. Eventually Steven wrenched the bat from his hands. James let him go first. Steven does not hit the ball very well and should be run out, however, the girl at the base he is running to, Tracy, drops the ball. Immediately Trisha runs over and says to Tracy, 'Tracy swap wi me, you canny catch it!' I realise that the key positions are sought after by the children but they bring with them risks of embarrassment. This process, of moving the lesser people to places where they would not get the ball, carries on throughout the game despite the fact that the teacher is trying to put a stop to it and give every one a fair chance in each position. The children are merciless in trying to move children they perceive as being not good in a position. One child appeared to be worried about the pressure of the position and actually said to the team mate that replaced him, 'A dinnae want ti be there'. The teacher tried several times to tell the children that fielders were as important as the people on the bases, however, the children were not convinced by the teacher and chose to ignore her.

There was constant interplay between the children based on their perceptions of each other's abilities. This interplay conflicted with the teacher's idea of what the game of rounders should involve. The children believed their values had precedence over the teacher's ideas. The outcome of this situation was that certain children were publicly stigmatised on the basis of their actions during the game of rounders.

I now understood that in primary schools the children learned ways to increase and decrease the chances of their team being successful. These methods of winning related to their own individual participation in a game situation:

Today (At Craggs) during the games of basketball, it was evident that the children's level of involvement varied from child to child. The boys received more passes than the girls, indeed one Asian girl did not get a pass during a whole game. Some of the children hardly got involved, if the ball was not in their immediate area they wouldn't run for it. Other children ran around a lot. Some children could dribble and shoot well, some forgot to dribble the ball and broke the rules by running with it in their hands. One girl stood beneath the basket her team were playing towards for the whole game, waiting for passes to put in the basket. It was as if she was saying, 'Well am not so good at this running about and trying to win the ball but I can just stand here and score the odd basket.' The only time she strayed from beneath the basket she forgot to bounce the ball, much to the hilarity of the class. This error appeared to confirm her self view that she was better off waiting under the basket for a pass because she spent the rest of the game waiting there.

This girl had adapted the rule of winning by the quickest route to decide her best course of action was to wait at the basket for an opportunity to score. When I first witnessed this girl's behaviour I thought it rather foolish. Surely she would have got more enjoyment from running around and taking a fuller part in the proceedings.

When I played football at school, this sort of behaviour was called 'poaching'. The people I played with (and my self) viewed it as not being the correct way to play the game. However, I now comprehended that this behaviour was this child's response to the competitive nature of basketball in her class. However, what it meant was that she did not get the opportunity to develop her other skills (passing and dribbling) during the game. The will to win (succeed) of the child resulted in that child only using the simplest skills of the game.

The above occurrences revealed that patterns of interaction both in primary and secondary schools were dependent on children's understanding of their own and other children's status. This understanding was developed during PE in primary school and carried on at secondary schools.

Teachers and Differentiation:

Elitist differentiation caused problems for the PE teacher in competitive activities:

Nick - 'The difficulty is deciding whether to put them in mixed ability teams, if you put them in poor teams, will you get a poor game? I shouldn't really say poor or good, but any way, if you mix the badly co-ordinated with the well co-ordinated will this frustrate the well co-ordinated?'

Usually what happened was that the teachers divided the children into same ability groups. This meant that the 'badly co-ordinated' children did not have to suffer heavy losses, rather they practised and played against each other in the small scale situation.

The problem for the teacher was whether to separate the child by ability so that the 'badly co-ordinated' children got a chance of receiving possession in the game situation, or to mix the children so that the badly co-ordinated children could pick up good habits from the well co-ordinated children.

The general technique was for the teachers to carry out a full game with mixed ability teams following same ability group practices. In these situations, certain teachers were aware that the children's patterns of behaviour that related to winning could be employed to try to get the children to change their patterns of behaviour during game situations:

The children were taught by Liz the dig, set and spike at volleyball. However, when it came to a small scale game, rather than use these techniques, the children just hit the ball back over the net any way they could without using the three shots they had been taught. Liz, by only allowing the children to score a point when they used three hits to get the ball over the net, forced the children to use more complex methods to score, and win, in the game situation.

Andy: I don't want to see Davy pass to cheesy, then Davy gets it back. I want to see every one getting the ball when they're in good positions.'

Nick, `Susan, just three baskets this game OK. Just for this game, to give the others a chance.'

Liz adapted the rules of the game to suit her requirements as a teacher. She did this by realising that the children wanted to win. By changing how they could score a point (how they could win) she forced the children to use the techniques she had taught them. Andy addressed the issue that children do not want to pass to certain children. By making it a foul when children did not pass to other children who were in a good position, he was basically saying, `if you do not involve every one in the team you will not win'.

Nick asked Susan to limit herself to three baskets in the basketball game because he did not want the other children to get discouraged, on another occasion he had Susan play with her left hand only for a game. In this way Nick was trying to keep the game fair. However, in this last case, though this course of action had the effect of giving more children a chance in the game situation, it reinforced Susan's high status.

Teachers identified the children's competitive behaviour patterns with influences outside of the PE setting:

Jill - 'In terms of marketing strategies associated with sports, well, the kids have all got the latest gear, as in, they know what's the 'in' gear. It's marketed very well to hit kids and all the kids magazines, em, on the television, all the gear that the kids should be wearing and our kids like, any other kids want to be part of the feeling of youth, so they want the stuff the same as everyone else.'

Nick - 'There is obviously a hard sell for sports goods for children that can create an elitism in terms of the sports goods you wear, how much money is available to you or whatever. It puts the pressure on people, parents, to buy certain kinds of equipment which are good, but more than adequate for their needs. It's more a fashion accessory than a sports accessory and that puts pressure on people and anything that puts financial pressure on people can't be good. It does create an elite, if you're not wearing a certain piece of clothing, or football boot, then you're not cool and that's not what we're about.'

Liz - 'I think marketing doesn't do us any favours because when they come to PE as a class they are not with children who have expertise and if they're in a club that frustrates them. It's good to see the sport done properly on TV and these people play in the club. But they see negative things on TV, copy them and bring them into the gym. They say things and you know that they don't mean it, they have just heard it and they do wee tricks that they have learned and it annoys you. But it also puts pressure on you to make the right call and so forth 'cause they know the rules.'

As a result of these conversations I became aware that the teachers related elitist issues to marketing strategies and media representations of sport. They felt that these values about sport, which children picked up outside of PE, worked against their idea of PE because they lead the children to believe that:

- * There was no point in them taking part in a sports activity unless they were very good at that sport;
- * There was no point wearing sports clothes unless they were the best;
- * There was no point in playing a sport unless it was the way it was on TV;

- * The actions of sportsmen and women on TV could be transferred to the PE class;
- * The reason for playing sport was to win and that this should be achieved at all cost.

The teachers indicated that their long term teaching strategies did not fit in with media representation of sport. Some children wanted to play sport, 'as seen on TV' rather than involve themselves in less complicated, yet, educationally important practices.

I concluded that children's involvement in competitive activities during PE was governed by concepts of competition which legitimised differentiation between children. This differentiation led to a status hierarchy which was based on children's physical and mental abilities. A child's place on this hierarchy defined the form their involvement took in competitive activities. Moreover, the status of individual children was self perpetuated by the fact that they received more, or less, opportunities to develop their skills and gain status (through success or failure to carry out a skill) during these activities.

This perpetuation of the status hierarchy was exaggerated and reinforced by the pattern of behaviour which led to low status children actively disenfranchising (giving the high status children opportunities to take part) themselves during competitive activities. It was found that a child's behaviour during a competitive activity was linked with his/her confidence. Certain children did not have the confidence to take the risk of going against expected forms of behaviour during these types of PE classes. The question of confidence arose with respect to non-competitive activities.

Differentiation During Non - Competitive Activities:

My preconception was that non -competitive activities would not be characterised by differentiation between children that related to hierarchy and elitism. However, I came to understand that this was not the case.

At Calton the fitness classes were extremely competitive:

During the P7 class the children were moving round a number of 'stations'. At each station the children would carry out an exercise for one minute. The children counted how many times they did the exercise and noted the number on a piece of paper. At each station there were two boys and two girls. A boy and a girl would work for a minute whilst their same sex partner counted how many of the exercises they achieved. I noticed several boys and girls trying very hard to beat each other and in these situations the girls had every chance of beating the boys. At the end of the class Aaron said to Lee, 'di yi think yi got mare than me?' Lee said 'A dunno.' Aaron was concerned that Lee might have done better than him.

I had presumed that fitness activities would be non-competitive, however this class had been extremely competitive. It involved criteria by which children could differentiate between each other. Hence, children could easily be differentiated during non-competitive activities, whether the criteria for differentiation was 'sit-ups' during fitness classes, or how high a child could vault during gymnastics classes.

This differentiation involved status attributed by the children:

Nataly, in Jim's class, was very heavy compared to the girls in the class. Gymnastics seemed to be living torture for her. During the class, Shirley was trying to encourage Nataly to try a vault, she shouted, 'Try it, just try it.' Nataly responded, 'Nut'. The other girls in her group tried to encourage Nataly but she still would not try the vault. Eventually Shirley, in frustration shouted, 'Well your name 'ill be sap then!'

At this point Nataly was in tears and sitting out. Jim went up to her to ask what was wrong, (he had missed what happened). She wouldn't tell him. Previously, he had said to me that he felt Nataly shouldn't have to do gymnastics, he made no attempt to force Nataly to do the vault, or to develop her involvement.

Nataly lacked the confidence to attempt the vault. This situation frustrated Shirley.

It was quite clear that Nataly was upset at losing face in front of the other children.

Nataly's lack of confidence meant that when she stood at the start of a mat or vaulting area, about to attempt an exercise, she posed herself the question 'can I do this?' and came up with the answer 'no'. When I interviewed her she explained how she felt about PE.

Nataly: 'Well a hated gymnastics and swimming. A joined in the summer athletics, but a liked hockey, an, football, an, when we dun badminton. A like basketball an volley ball. (What was the difference between the activities you liked and didn't like?) A wis better at the basket ball and hockey, a just hated gymnastics 'cause a couldn't do it. A did swimming in first year then a did try gymnastics over a while in first year. (What didn't you like about swimming?) A dunno a just didn't like it. (Is that because you're not a strong swimmer?) Well am quite good at swimming, it's just a didn't like doin' it in the class and everything. (Do you ever not take part in an activity?) What like sit out? (Whatever) Only if a can't be bothered, and that's like gymnastics and swimming.

Nataly was conscious of the other children in her class. This resulted in her choosing not to take part in swimming. In Nataly's case, not being good at an activity (gymnastics) and having reservations about doing an activity in front of the rest of the class (swimming) lead to her non-involvement in these activities. The two activities she disliked may have also related to the fact that she has weight problems and these two sports made this problem obvious to the class. Thus, her self perception and lack of confidence was a substantial barrier to her fruitful participation in certain PE lessons.

This latter issue was discussed by Gavin at Hillside, he stated:

'A gee it (PE) a go. Like in rounders a try hard, but in gymnastics a think a canny get on the benches, so a dinnay do it. Like fitbaw a dinnae try that much unless am in goals, 'cause that's the only thing that a can dae.'

Gavin was aware that he could not do certain activities; this was part of his idea of himself. This 'idea of self' prevented him from taking part in certain activities. It was quite clear that a child's idea of their own ability governed his/her behaviour during gymnastics classes. Moreover, children's perceptions of their ability had as much bearing on their behaviour in non - competitive situations as during competitive activities.

This impression was reinforced by Sarah:

Sarah had done a tremendous vault, it was so good that I found myself applauding. Mo asked her to show the class the 'through vault' she had done. Sarah would not show the rest of the class the vault when Mo asked her to demonstrate it. She was completely shocked that she had been singled out for praise and had to be egged on by the other people in her group, and Mo, to do the vault again.

In the end she did the vault just as well the second time. Here, Sarah's increase in confidence, which enabled her to demonstrate the 'through vault', came from the teacher and her group.

I realised that if children did not have the confidence to show off their skills then they would not be able to try new things, or to increase their status in the eyes of other children. This made sense of some of my other experiences. After I had been carrying out observations for six or seven weeks, I had got to know the teachers and children quite well at Riverview. Some kids would come and chat to me and have jokes. These children tended to be the children with higher status.

I talked to the other children who were not so forward. These children were less confident about talking to me at first, though, in the end, most chatted away freely once they realised I was willing to listen to them. I began to wonder if the high status children were perhaps better at making people aware of them than the other children.

I became sure of this one day when Michael in Nick's basketball class dribbled the ball past where I was sitting, put it through his legs, and carried on dribbling. He knew I was watching him. He turned and laughed, as did I. We laughed because we both knew he was showing off. Following Michael's exhibition, Susan came to a basket near me and practised lay ups, she did ten in a row without fault and smiled at me as she scored each basket, laughing as it got monotonous.

I realised that these children were extremely sophisticated when it came to giving a good impression of their sporting ability to me and therefore, that the children perceived as having high ability were better than other children at impressing people. That is, they were aware of/more likely to exploit opportunities to gain status and impress people.

However, some children's efforts to impress did not always succeed. On one occasion, Criss in Nick's class shouted at me, 'look! look!', as he scored a basket. Just at that point Nick was beginning to start describing a new practice to the class. Criss was supposed to be sitting down to listen. Nick told him off for not listening and not doing what he was told. The rest of the class found this quite funny, it was as if they knew he had been hoisted by his own petard. In this case Criss failed to gain status, in fact he made himself look silly in front of the class. I became aware that certain children were, or were not, expected to show off and therefore, that there were different kinds of expected behaviour.

Expected Forms of behaviour:

A situation where one of the children objected to a child showing off occurred in one of Liz's gymnastics classes:

Liz asks them to run round the class and as they run round the class Liz says, 'jump' and 'head the ball,' 'skip', 'change direction' and so forth. One boy has difficulty running but is enjoying himself and jumping when he is supposed to do other things. A girl, who I have noticed is prone to verbal outbursts, shouts at him, 'Stop it you canny do it, stop showing off.'

The girl felt the boy needed reprimanding. This boy had difficulties in PE because of his problems with running. He had low status. It was risky for him to deviate from the line. That is, there seemed to be a rule that if a child is of low status he/she keeps his/her head down, or someone of higher status will sort him/her out. It was as if the girl was saying 'this is what you do, not that'.

I was reminded of the things I had experienced in primary schools. That a child's knowledge of the rules could gain that child status. Knowledge of 'what to do' gained people status. When I related these observations to my understandings of status and hierarchy I realised that this was a powerful tool to keep children in their place. What the girl was really saying was, 'Keep in your place everyone knows you can't do PE.'

The sad thing for me was that this boy did stop what he was doing. His low status was reinforced. This did not have to be the case. If he had gone over, punched her in the face and told her to shut up and mind her own business he would have confronted the girl's view of him. This behaviour might well have changed the girl's (and perhaps the class's) view of him. However, this reaction would just as likely have got him into trouble with the teacher.

During this situation I could not help thinking that if the boy had been of high status the girl would probably have enjoyed his fooling around. She might well have laughed with him, as I had been doing, rather than taking the course of action which she did.

Similar situations where children took it upon themselves to reprimand other children, arose at Hillside in competitive situations:

A girl was doing press-ups during the warm up for basketball and another girl said, 'yi dinnae do em like that Helen'. She stigmatised the other girl. Later, Emma's team lost a game of basketball, Paula said to me, 'we never got near scoring'. Emma said, 'cause yir nae tryin, yir shite.' Paula just ignored Emma but it was a big effort on Emma's part to stigmatise Paula as someone who couldn't do the right thing. My impression was that Paula was all right at PE. But Emma did not want me to get that impression she was making sure that I knew Paula was 'shite'.

At Hillside the children are very critical of each other's behaviour if a child made a mistake the other children 'slagged' him /her off. I experienced a slagging in my first day at Hillside:

I was taking part in the volley ball club and the first three times the ball came to me I hit it out and lost our team a point each time. A girl in my team said, 'Yi just hit it over first time, dinnae try any o your fancy stuff that's just crap.' I reacted by winning my team some points. I had not wanted to dominate the game, but to win my team mates respect I had to make up for my mistakes. I came to realise the mental process that took place during a slagging off, it results in injured pride and an individual can either sit there and take it, or, do something about it.

I witnessed other forms of expected behaviour: during competitive activities in primary schools:

The children at this school (Castle) made a lot more noise than at Calton. There was a constant flow of questions between the children and the teacher. These questions appeared to be based on a 'This is what you do' rule. I noticed several children (in Ms A's P7 class) pointing out to the teacher that other children weren't doing something 'properly'. Mrs A asked the children to make up games in their groups. The games were not to be like any other games they knew. One boy, David complained to the teacher that a game devised by a group of girls was not a new game, he said, 'Miss! Miss! That's a copy of another game'. David was putting down the girl's invention - as if to say 'they're girls they don't know about games.' By making his statement to the teacher he was making her, and the other children in the class, aware of the fact that he knew about games.

Sarah (at Crags), who the teacher had said was 'good' ran without bouncing the basketball in a game. The class erupted in laughter. She looked shame-faced.

Again here, I was reminded of the importance that primary school children placed on knowing what to do. Knowledge carried with it status and a lack of knowledge led to stigmatisation.

It was obvious to me that children were worried about losing face in front of the class. Half the battle for the children in the PE class was to have the confidence to try something new. The above form of stigmatisation was self-perpetuating. That is, the more a child believed they could not try new things, or did not know what to do in a given situation, the less likely the child was to try new things. This meant that the child's chances of attempting complex skills which might gain him/her status was reduced.

The converse applied to high status children, they had more confidence to try new and difficult exercises during classes like gymnastics, therefore, they had more chances to maintain and increase their status. What differentiated the children was their confidence that they could achieve an action that would gain status. This type of behaviour was also identified in primary schools.¹

Lack of confidence:

It was not just the fear of losing face that restricted some children's involvement in activities like gymnastics. I discovered that lack of confidence at gymnastics was interlinked with a fear of getting hurt:

Liz was teaching the children how to do a head spring from the box and asked for volunteers, no one volunteered so Liz picked a girl who tried to back away. Liz said, 'cumon what's wrong' the girl asked, 'Is it dangerous?'. After being convinced by Liz that it was not dangerous, the girl did the head spring. After this girl did the head spring, there were more volunteers. It was as if most of the children thought, 'Well, if she can do it I can do it'. One girl didn't want to do the head spring and tried to hide at the end of the queue of children waiting for their turn. However, the other children spotted her and encouraged her to have a go saying things like, 'there's nothing to it... ..its easy... ..it's fun.'. This girl attempted the head spring and was successful. Her peers had been correct.

¹ In the interest of avoiding repetition I have not included examples of this behaviour in primary schools.

The girl had hesitated because she feared the skill might be dangerous. She wanted confirmation that if she attempted the head spring she would not get hurt. Richard described this feeling during his interview:

'If something's difficult I might get a bit worried about it. And, to start off with, and when av tried it and I know I won't get hurt, or anything, then I try harder.'

I concluded that the children looked ahead and attempted to predict the outcome if they attempted an exercise. What occurs is that the child compares his/her perception of his/her ability against the requirements of the exercise. If the child does not feel that this comparison is positive he/she is less likely to attempt the new exercise. However, this feeling could be overcome with the help of other individuals.

Teachers, confidence and differentiation:

Teachers employed methods to try and overcome children's lack of confidence in non-competitive PE classes. They planned their lessons to involve a number of simple exercises that led up to a more complex exercise.

Mo used the fact that the springboards were out to get the children to do a springboard practice. The children had to run onto the mats, jump off one foot and land on two feet on the board, spring and land on two feet on the mats at the end. Nick stated, 'This is a good practice because if they don't use the springboard properly it can be dangerous. They don't get so much out of the apparatus if they don't use the springboard properly. Also, it covers you if something happens, you can say well he did practise how to use the springboard before... (at this point he saw a boy climbing on the horse when the children were supposed to be on the mats)... If I saw that boy there I'd shout so loud that he'd get scared, something like, Is that what I asked you to do! Then he'd think twice about mucking around in the gym again.' At the end of the lesson Nick said, of Mo's teaching method, 'She has a good knowledge of gymnastics and good preparation exercises.' At this moment Mo was getting the children to do bunny hops with their hands out so when the children hopped they stretched for an imaginary apparatus. She got the children to do this exercise onto benches. She called the exercise a 'squat on'. Mo asked the children who were having problems with the straddling of the buck practise leapfrogs over each other. Eventually all of the children in the class including John, David and Ewan had achieved the 'squat on' and 'straddle vault' over the buck. Nick said, 'You can be as safe as you like and have an accident, but if you go on safety and preparation with them and make them aware of the dangers then you've done all you can to minimise the risk.... ..The leeway in the gym has to be closely structured or the children will do things that are really dangerous.'

The teachers wanted the children to feel the sensation of doing a new skill, step by step. They knew that once the children had experienced what the separate sections of a complex exercise felt like, they would find that attempting the new exercise was much easier. The teacher repeated the preparation exercises many times before moving the children on to the more complex exercise.

The teachers were aware that by breaking the initial barrier with the children, by giving them the feel for an activity, the children's inhibitions could be overcome. At the same time the teachers had to balance the need to develop the child's skill with the requirement that the child should not be put in a dangerous position (see below).

By using preparatory methods which allowed the children to experience the sensation of a movement in a less dangerous or less worrying position, the teacher allowed the children to get the confidence and experience required to carry out the more complex manoeuvre. However, the problem existed that though the use of preparation exercises could increase children's involvement in an activity and, in the long run lead to greater fun, repetitive skills practice was found boring by some children.

Senna (Liz's class) complained that in swimming classes there was too much repetition by the teacher:

'I don't like swimming as you have to do what the teacher tells you to do, you can't just swim around an that, its doing the same thing all the time.'

The problem for the teacher was how to balance the need to keep the children interested whilst accepting the need for skills practice. The decisions the teacher made directly affected the children's involvement in and enjoyment of PE.

Often, high skill children would get bored during gymnastics classes. Hazel appeared to get bored of one of the exercises that her group had been set:

Hazel gets every one doing forward somersaults off the spring boards, its an amazing transformation, from this group's first few minutes here, when they were higglety pigglety. But they have forgotten that they are not supposed to do this. They are supposed to be using the spring board in a jumping fashion, practising 'height' for getting on horse and buck. As it is, Nick waits a few minutes until they all do it again before he calls them in and politely explains what they are supposed to do.

I felt sure that the decision by Hazel to get the group to do a more complex exercise than they had been asked to do was based on the fact that she found the initial exercise boring and felt it did not develop her skills. My understanding was that the exercise was in some way beneath her.

However, I became aware of an important issue during this class. The groups had been made up as mixed ability groups. Hazel had managed to get her companions to attempt a complex exercise, despite the fact that some of the children in the group were not highly skilled in gymnastics. This meant that high status children could actually increase the involvement of other children in the class. This was important, if the children had not been put in mixed ability groups they would never have been taught the somersault by Hazel. Nick had stopped the group from carrying on doing somersaults because the skill was more advanced than the one they were supposed to be practising. My belief was that he stopped this situation because it was dangerous. It was quite clear that not only did some children not try things because they thought they were dangerous but teachers prevented children from attempting exercises because they considered the exercises to be too difficult and therefore, dangerous.

The teachers constantly attempted to limit the likelihood of someone getting hurt during basketball classes. They went to great lengths to explaining the safety aspects of the exercises which the children were to do. This usually occurred at the start of a lesson when the teacher set the parameters within which the children were supposed to work:

In a class taken by Mo, a couple of boys had got changed and come into the gym first. When Mo came in they were climbing on the wall bars. She used this chance to explain the safety rules. The rules were that the children should only work on the apparatus while the teachers were present and that the children should only use the apparatus in the manner that the teachers had demonstrated.

During the course of my observations I realised that children would often use what the teacher said as an excuse to opt out of an activity. On some occasions I observed children's levels of involvement dropping as a direct consequence of children attributing a teacher's remark as being related to, or, directed at themselves:

Jim told the children to decide themselves what exercises they wanted to attempt and not to attempt new things without asking him. This freedom of choice meant the children had to ask whether they themselves were capable of an exercise and if the children found the answer to this question was no, the child would only be able to attempt new things if the teacher was there. The problem in this situation was that the more confident children demanded more of the teacher's time and the less confident children tended not to ask for help. Jim was aware of the fact that certain children were not attempting more complex exercises. He said: 'There are still some of you who are a little unadventurous on the apparatus. I know some of you are frightened of hurting yourself, but don't be. If you want to try something please come and ask.' The problem is a lot of children still appeared to be responding to Jim's statement by thinking 'Oh he's not meaning me.'. The child who thinks that Jim's statement to the class (to be more adventurous) does not refer to him/her makes the decision to opt out of attempting a new task and, therefore, actively reduces his/her own involvement in an activity.

It is at this point, the point where a child has to decide whether to attempt complex skills, that the gap widens between those children who have the confidence to try new things (those children who are spurred on by Jim's statement to try new things) and those children who do not have the confidence to try new things (Who don't attribute positive meaning to Jim's comments).

The problem with the teachers' approach was that it made children aware that an activity might be dangerous and this meant they would not try the activity. However, this problem was unavoidable because the teachers had to ensure that the children did not hurt themselves.

I was acutely aware that lack of expectation by teachers lead to lack of involvement or a lower level of involvement in PE by certain children. This was never more obvious than the contrast between Jim's approach to Nataly and Nick and Mo's approach to the inability to do vaults of children in their class. Jim had told me that there was no point in forcing Nataly to take part in gymnastics as it was obviously torture for her. Jim believed he was respecting Nataly's rights. This raised an interesting issue for me, where is the point where respecting a child's wishes becomes failing to expect enough from the child in PE? The only way to encourage Nataly to take part would be to use the approach of Nick and Mo. It struck me that had Nataly's problems been in mathematics she would have received far more help, and possibly learning support. Moreover, Jim would have had to find a way to help her.

The problem was the fact that children's abilities could easily be differentiated. Meritocratic ideas meant the teachers felt that the children who did not accomplish things in PE had personal attributes that prevented them from developing their involvement in PE. Personal attributes such as not being co-ordinated, not enjoying running around, and not being willing to try at an activity even when they were not that good at it.

The important point is that the teachers linked personal attributes to the children's behaviour in the PE class. Thus, if a child was failing to achieve in the PE situation the teacher had an in-built mechanism for finding the reason for that failure. By drawing attention to the personal attributes of a child for their failure, or achievement, in PE classes the teacher had a method through which he/she could avoid taking the responsibility for that child's success or failure in PE.

Nick and Andy identified the problem that some children wouldn't try during PE:

Nick - 'Some kids at Riverview just don't want people to see they are trying in case they lose. Chris is maybe one of those, he's a bit of a quitter.'

Andy - 'You can watch to see who is getting something out of volleyball, if they just stand there they might as well not be there, they have got to want to move. If you watch those two groups the children in that group are more co-ordinated, they want to move and use their skills. The children in the other group don't want to move, they're not so co-ordinated so the standard of their game is lower.'

Nick failed to understand the mechanisms which prevented Criss from trying. The reason why Criss did not like to be seen trying was he was worried he would lose. But that in itself was not the answer: it was not only the case that Criss worried he would lose the game, he worried he would look stupid in front of the other children.

I realised that there existed a value which was articulated something like, 'It's stupid to be caught trying if you subsequently end up failing'. This value needed to be challenged by the teachers.

A final important issue when understanding children's behaviour in competitive and non-competitive PE activities, is several primary school teachers challenged the need for competitive activities in PE:

Mrs Y: 'The other thing I would say is that I try and see PE as being quite a wide thing and not being awfully competitive and that quite a few people do things that are important for their own sake and like fitness and pushing that side of it the sort of personal side of it, push the satisfaction, so a mean if I was to have a big aim that would be it. (To avoid competition?) Its something that I'm not too hot on, a wouldn't say a totally disbelieved in competition because a think, you know, that it is important to want to strive to get better and competition is part of that. A think competition can also emphasise the worst parts of PE, em, the thing that its all about winning, there's no value in doing it unless you've won. Em, you know, a lot of the nasty feelings some children have about PE. They argue about cheating and things like that. I'm far more into things that, like you know its worthwhile so let's take part in it even if you don't win, or, even if you're not considered good at it. So I would say that I don't really make competition a very high priority. Or if I do its competition with yourself can be something that, I would promote, you know, doing better than you did before or learning a new skill. Its a sort of competition with yourself, but am not too into matching people up and saying oh you, you're the loser, you're the winner.

My impression was that the teacher totally avoided the real issue. Competition would take place wherever the children took part in PE. Their value system automatically found criteria by which they could differentiate between themselves. By avoiding competitive situations and by only asking the children to compete in themselves, this teacher failed to even attempt to educate the children she taught in positive ways to compete.

She simply concluded that because the competitive nature of PE led to children differentiating between each other and the consequences that children's (like Criss above) involvement in the activity dropped, she as a teacher would avoid competition during her PE classes. All this meant was that children could still differentiate between each other and no one was checking on how this was articulated. Moreover, it was my perception, that her avoidance of competitive activities might have repercussions for the children she taught when they moved on to the secondary school setting.

Conclusion of the Consequences of Differentiation in PE:

Within competitive activities children differentiated between each other in order to maximise their chances of winning points or games. This process resulted in some children being excluded from full participation during the class. Moreover, these children were found to actively disenfranchise themselves. Disenfranchisement took the form of children of lesser status passing to children of higher status, rather than attempting a skill themselves. This form of behaviour was 'expected' of low status children.

A number of forms of expected behaviour were identified in PE classrooms. Children were differentiated by their peers on the basis of how they should react in a given situation. Status was attributed, or withdrawn, to children on the basis of their compliance with certain expected forms of behaviour. This situation had the effect of reducing, or increasing, a child's ability to take part in an activity.

Griffin's (1989) observation that those children who did not possess sufficient skills were pushed to the periphery of involvement in PE in secondary schools was found to occur on a daily basis in PE classes. However, it was possible, as a result of the study, to extend this view to state that during this process some of the children who could be located on the periphery were found to disenfranchise themselves by providing the high skilled children with more opportunities during PE classes.

This finding confirmed the view that the hidden curriculum, by reinforcing the perception that those children who succeeded did so on merit (Bain 1990), both sustained the process of differentiation in PE classrooms and supported the status of certain children at the expense of other children.

This had meaning for policy initiatives in PE. It suggested low status children could be brought back from the periphery of involvement in PE activities if teachers could find ways to integrate children into PE classes.

Moreover, teacher differentiation of pupils was found to reinforce the children's perceptions of each other. At the same time, children who did not identify with the values of fair play held by the teacher were also found to be labelled as 'non tryers'. This led to the conclusion that when teachers identify pupils as lazy (Hendry 1978, Hendry and Marr 1985, Hendry et al 1989), they are in fact stating that the pupils do not conform to their expectations as teachers. Ultimately, this type of statement can be identified as expressing conflict between the pupil's values and the PE teacher's values.

Specific teaching methods (i.e. the use of competitive ladders in badminton lessons) were found to reinforce the hierarchical perceptions of children in PE classes. The very nature of the teacher's role demanded they ask the pupils to differentiate between each other. The terminology used by teachers in PE classes was identified as acting as a criteria by which children could judge their own and other children's abilities.

Some teachers articulated certain pupil's problems, within PE, in terms of these pupil's personal attributes. This meant that they could understand these problems as not being within their professional control. Where quality instructional experiences were not provided for all the students in the class (identified by Bain (1990)), the teacher could rationalise this situation in terms of the failings of the pupils. That is, when a teacher failed to provide 'quality instructional' experiences for a pupil (i.e. Nataly in Jim's class), it was found that the teacher explained this occurrence in terms of the pupil's problems and inability with regards to PE.

That is, some teachers sought to explain pupil's failures during PE in terms of factors which were deemed 'the fault of the pupil' and therefore, as outwith the teachers control.

Teachers were identified as holding meritocratic ideas, similar to the children. These ideas meant they avoided having to understand the cultural background of individual children's personal attributes. When attempts were made to explain pupil failure in terms of factors outwith the school, these attempts related pupil failure to lack of resources in the home and therefore, as not within the teachers control.

Moreover, when a pupil's problems in PE came within a teacher's professional area, the teacher could articulate failure to resolve these problems in terms of the structural problems that confronted them in their PE classes. These structural problems (reinforcing Hargreaves 1986) were namely lack of facilities and resources.

It was concluded if teachers could be encouraged not to label children and not to view children's problems outside of school as outwith the reach of their teaching methods, it could be possible for them to address each child's specific problems with regards to PE. Further, this may allow teachers to develop mechanisms to overcome the fact that some children have more support in their home background².

During competitive activities, the study identified the hierarchical nature of PE classrooms with the values that children held concerning competition. The prevalent value held by children in PE classes was that the aim of participation in these PE activities was to win. Those children who, on an individual or team level, possessed the skills to provide winning opportunities were attributed with high status.

² This would mean the development of homework for children who don't usually have the opportunity to practice their PE skills at home.

This led to the development of elite groups of children in each PE class. Children's interaction in the PE setting was governed by ideas of status and hierarchy. What was expected of an individual child by both teachers and children was dependent on the status of that child.

Teachers attempted to confront the patterns of behaviour of children during competitive activities. The most successful strategies employed the children's competitive urge and will to win as a mechanism by which children could be encouraged to participate in the way the teacher desired. However, this often acted to reinforce the ability of some children over others. It was concluded that these coping mechanisms could be made the focus of a policy which attempted to overcome the consequences of differentiation in PE.

In secondary schools, as had been the situation in primary schools, children's expectations had repercussions during non-competitive activities. Children's ideas of their own abilities and self perceptions were unavoidably interlinked with ideas of status. Those children attributed with high status were identified, by the study, as possessing more confidence than low status children during non competitive PE activities. This confidence allowed these children to progress and develop their skills faster than low status children.

In activities such as gymnastics the likelihood of a child attempting and achieving a skill was found to relate to their idea of their own ability. A self fulfilling prophecy was identified which meant that children who perceived themselves not to have ability in PE lacked the confidence to develop their skills in non competitive activities. Children were found to make choices about their level of involvement in activities like gymnastics based on their self perceptions.

Confidence was a crucial factor governing children's behaviour in PE classes. A child's confidence was identified as being restricted by the fact that teachers'³ and other children's expectations of that child's behaviour were governed by their perception of that child's status. Children of low status were expected to keep in their place.

Teachers could overcome children's lack of confidence. They did so through developing exercises from the simple to the complex. However, some teachers failed to encourage individual children to participate in PE because they had already labelled these children as not being capable of certain skills. It was possible to conclude that policies on PE which encouraged teachers to overcome their preconceptions with regards to the participation in PE of certain children could lead to greater stimulation of children during PE.

Children's low confidence was identified with a fear of getting hurt. This fear was found to be reinforced by certain teaching methods⁴. Surprisingly, on some occasions, high status children were found to encourage other children to try new activities. I concluded that activities which did not involve mixed ability classes would prevent low status children from learning skills from high status children and reinforce the elitist perceptions held by some of the children.

This chapter has identified the consequences of differentiation during competitive and non-competitive activities. One of these consequences was that it was possible for children to gain and lose status during apparently non-competitive activities because criteria existed by which children could differentiate between each other during these activities.

³ The study found comparison with Dodds (1993) description of PE classes in schools in the USA which indicated that differentiation was reinforced by differential treatment of children by teachers.

⁴ Especially those concerned with safety issues.

Therefore, Competitive individualism⁵ has been observed as leading to elitism in the PE classroom in both competitive and non-competitive activities. This finding has consequences for those who argue that the provision of a broad curriculum (with emphasis on both competitive and non-competitive activities) will help address the problems of elitism and equity in PE (Williams 1993 and Scraton 1993).

The view that issues of sexism could be overcome by providing a broad curriculum in PE was found to be a red herring. It was concluded that even if there is provision for the breadth of curriculum identified as necessary to provide girls with equity in PE, certain children (not necessarily all girls) are still likely to fail to gain the same benefits as other children from these activities.

This situation is likely to occur because children will still be able to differentiate between each other on the basis of their successes and failures during non-competitive activities. Hence, a policy which finds ways of counteracting elitism and differentiation in PE which go further than merely tinkering with the content of the curriculum⁶ could improve children's experiences during PE.

This policy might achieve the aim of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* curriculum to provide equality of opportunity and experience for all children. By dealing with issues such as the processes of differentiation in competitive and non-competitive PE it may be possible to reduce the situations where some children attempt to exclude other children from participation and other children lack the confidence to participate during PE classes.

⁵ Identified as an ideology subscribed to by the PE profession (Thomas 1993) and as the informal unintended consequences of sporting activities (J Hargreaves 1986).

⁶ See chapter 9.

However, the description, in this chapter, of the effects of differentiation between children during PE classes paints a picture of a rigid hierarchical structure substantiated by rules of interaction. These rules are identified as giving way to patterns of behaviour which are governed by a child's status. In this way, I have illustrated children's involvement in PE as solely determined by the nature of ideas of hierarchy held within PE classes. This picture, though extremely representative of my observations and experiences, fails to identify the fluid nature of children's interaction during PE classes. In the next chapter I will describe how I discovered that children's involvement in PE did not always subscribe to the expectations of the status hierarchy.

CHAPTER SIX: THE FLUID NATURE OF HIERARCHY IN PE
CLASSROOMS:

In the previous chapter children's ideas of hierarchy were described in a manner which suggested they were rigid, providing little scope for negotiation. The consequences of these ideas were described in such a way that the effect of hierarchical structures on children's behaviour, within PE classes, appeared unyielding. During the course of the research it became apparent that children's and teachers' perceptions of a child's abilities did not always equate with that child's actual abilities. This chapter will identify a number of competing (conformist and non-conformist) value systems within PE classes. It will illustrate how these value systems affect child-child and teacher-child interaction, whilst demonstrating that the interaction of children with different value systems can lead to conflict and one child imposing his/her values on another child. It will conclude by identifying the consequences for policy making in PE of these competing value systems.

The chapter is separated into four sections; contrast between actual and perceived ability, non-conformist behaviour in secondary schools, teachers and non-conformist behaviour and teachers' value systems.

Contrast Between Real and Actual Ability:

Children's perceptions of each other's abilities were not always correct. This became obvious during the class¹ where Shirley did not want Richard as a partner for badminton:

I watched them as the class develops. Shirley is talking to Richard, now, coaching him through the game. They win and Shirley looks satisfied. Whilst they are waiting for their next game, Shirley practises with Richard at the side of the court. It is obvious that this is an advantage of mixed ability and co-education. Shirley has totally raised Richard's level of involvement. They win again. Even when taking into account the coaching Richard received from Shirley, I realised that Shirley and Jim must have misjudged Richard's ability.

Two things could be deduced from this situation. Firstly, all Richard needed was the right environment and encouragement from Shirley to play well. Shirley's will to win overcame her worries about Richard. She decided to make the best of the situation and attempted to increase Richard's skill level. This reminded me of the situation where Hazel had encouraged her team mates to try somersaults during gymnastics.. It reinforced my perception that the value upon which the status hierarchy was built - doing the most logical thing to win - could be employed so that children like Richard could benefit from playing with children like Shirley.

My second realisation, was that their pairing won the most games that day. This suggested that Richard was not the worst partner Shirley could have had. Shirley's and Jim's view of Richard's ability (that he was the worst in the class) had been incorrect. Their misjudgement allowed me to understand that status was not, solely, based on an individual child's actual attributes. Richard had been stigmatised into a low status position that did not reflect his actual ability in PE. There was a gap between the children's perception of Richard's ability and his actual ability.

¹ See last chapter.

This contrast between real and perceived ability reminded me of something I had seen in one of Nick's classes:

John has as many problems in gymnastics as he had in basketball. John is on a mat, on his own, trying to do a cartwheel. His co-ordination is such that I believe he'll never achieve the cartwheel. I find this quite depressing but an unavoidable fact. What can you do for these kids they'll never be able to do anything here. Nick moves from the other side of the gym to help John. He asks John to do a forward roll. Is Nick saying, 'don't bother with cartwheels you'll never do them.' Is this labelling? John doesn't do the forward roll very well so Nick shows him how to do it and after a couple of attempts John succeeds in doing the forward roll. Suddenly, John doesn't look so uncoordinated. By spending a lot of time with John, Nick manages to help John to develop a routine beginning with a forward roll, going into a balance and ending with a stag roll. John's ability to do this routine makes me understand that the actual ability of a child could be developed very easily. John's confidence rises immeasurably during this class and at the end he is doing 'squat on' vaults on the buck. However, he only attempts vaults when the teacher is watching him. It is as if he had learned that day that, 'I can succeed when the teacher is watching me' and was applying that rule on all occasions.

I had begun to think like the 'best' kids. I did not believe John was capable because I was using the same system of status attribution that the children in the class used. In essence, Nick hadn't labelled John, Nick had used his teaching knowledge to advance John's involvement in the gymnastics class. It was I who had labelled John.

Nick had been joined in this class by Mo a final year student teacher. This allowed him to concentrate on John at the expense of the other pupils. The time Nick spent with John markedly increased John's participation in the class. This meant that a child's involvement in PE classes did not have to remain constantly low. In fact, it could be increased.

However, what was more difficult to change was the prejudices of the children and adults (like my self in this case) around that child. These prejudices meant that there was never any expectation that the child would be able to achieve things in the gym. This realisation allowed me to understand another situation that had been confusing me:

Ewan was playing in a game of four against four. His interest level was not that high during the game. However, late on in the class he stole the ball from Sarah, made a break for the basket and scored. The look of delight, mixed with shock, on his face was hilarious to me. I felt that he had shocked himself by making such a good play. For the remainder of the class Ewan kept trying to emulate his successful feat. His level of involvement had been transformed. I had to confront the fact that Ewan had skill levels greater than I had anticipated. I had been putting him in a box for non-performers. If he was able to do this now, why hadn't he done it before

Ewan appeared to make an active choice not to try. My belief was that this choice was determined by the nature of his PE class. He was not expected, by the children in his class, to participate to a high level during PE. He normally accepted this expectation.

Ewan, John and Richard were capable of skills which I, other children in the class and to some extent their teachers, thought were above their ability level. Their confidence was increased through help from another child (Richard), help from the teacher (John) and simply having the opportunity, which was not usually available, to participate in an activity (Ewan).

Previously, I had identified the fact that : children differentiated between each other in terms of their physical and mental capabilities during PE; this differentiation led to certain children being excluded from participating in PE classes and this exclusion was based on the idea that those children who gained high status in PE achieved this high status on merit.

Now, I realised that the exclusion of children in PE classes did not relate to merit. Those children, like Ewan, who were excluded from full participation in PE classes were capable of greater skills than were expected of them. This was an important discovery.

By understanding that children's status was built on their perceived rather than their actual ability, I was made aware that a child's status, during PE, did not have to remain low throughout their school lives. If these children received proper opportunities in PE classes, they would be able to develop their skills and confront their poor status. The problem was that children like Ewan did not have the opportunity to show this greater skill because of the deterministic nature of ideas of hierarchy within PE classes. These ideas both excluded children from full participation and reinforced their low confidence within PE. What this meant was that new PE policies would have to find ways to develop these children's skills. It was not that these children lacked ability which led to their low involvement in PE but that they lacked opportunity to learn and demonstrate skills.

Ewan, John and Richard did very little to confront the other children's perception of them. However, during the course of my participation in PE classes I realised that some children did not conform to both the other children's and the teacher's expectations.

Non Conformist Behaviour in Secondary Schools:

There existed a high level of interaction between the children, during PE, over the rules of the game. At the beginning of a specific skills practice session, or game, the teacher explained the rules by which the activity would be governed:

During badminton, Jim asked the children to practice their backhands by only playing shots using their backhand. He told them to play between certain lines on the court and to play a game up to five points. Some of the children asked questions to clarify what Jim was actually asking them to do. Later in the class he ask them to play games using all kinds of shots, up to seven points.

In this way, the children were made aware that the rules of an activity could be flexible. Some children were aware that what they did in PE was quite different to the way a sport was played outside of the school set-up. I asked Brian in one of Nick's basketball classes what he had felt about a game that I had noticed had been extremely scrappy, he said:

'It's no like the telly where one team goes up wi' the baw an th' others wait, every one here goes after th' baw, so it's a mess.'

Brian's perception of basketball came from his experiences of watching it on TV. He new that the way basketball was played in the PE class was different to the way it was played on TV. This meant that he knew that just because this activity was played in a certain way during his PE class, it did not mean that this was the way basketball had to be played. The teacher could outline how an activity should be played, ultimately it was the children who decided if they would follow the teacher's wishes.

This freedom was reinforced by the fact that, as result of only having one teacher in the class and 25 children, the children had to umpire themselves during certain competitive activities. E.g. in badminton this resulted in the children constantly reassessing which lines they were playing and questioning each other, the score and where the shuttle/ball landed.

Negotiation of the rules was a natural process of these activities. I began to understand that there were differences in the way certain children approach rule negotiation:

Two boys, David B and Innes, were playing doubles against two other boys, Neil and Simon. Neil and Simon were winning. They appeared to have a good grasp of the rules of badminton. David B and Innes kept shouting 'out' when the shuttle was 'in' and at every opportunity they tried to play a 'let' when they had actually lost the point. Eventually David B, having hit the shuttle into the net said that the shuttle went over the net. Simon said, 'no it didn't David B' and an argument proceeded. Previously I had been chatting to Nick during a volley ball class. He said, 'This class have a mature approach to PE, they are good at umpiring themselves, the point here is to get them using the skill of volleyball, the terms, and so on, to get the idea of the game. No one is arguing here unlike in other classes. I can stand back now, but if they have problems, or, begin mucking about then I'll have to intervene.' Now, whilst watching Jim's class I was beginning to understand what Nick meant. The children I had been watching, eventually, resolved their argument. Jim, having missed the argument, came across and said to me, 'You can hardly leave those two on their own for a minute, watch they'll be arguing over the score soon and I'll have to sort them out, they're just a pair of idiots.'

David B's and Innes's behaviour appeared futile. Their non-acceptance of the rules of the game could not prevent the inevitability of them losing.

Nick and Jim defined their behaviour as immature. Nick added:

'We the adults, those of us who have played and enjoyed sport, find it hard to understand why someone wants to cheat, muck about and ultimately delay the game, like David G (a boy in his class). It is frustrating not only for their opponents but it is frustrating for us.'

Nick's view suggested to me that sportsmen and women accepted that the rules should be negotiated in a fair manner and that individuals who did not accept this idea of fairness were not, in some way, adult or real sportsmen/women. This might be understood as the dominant value of PE teachers. This was the idea that teachers attempted to get across to children during PE classes. However, this did not explain why the children attempt to play outwith the rules of a game. I posed the question, 'why did they do it?'

I tried to develop my understanding of which children negotiated the rules during my interviews with them. I received several interesting responses:

Rebecca: '(Do you always play by the rules of the game?) Yes, the rest of the team may not, but a do. (What happens with them?) Well it depends, the people who think they're good at basketball normally don't play by the rules but it depends on their mood. Like, if they're feeling in a bad mood, if they're, like, annoyed with their friends, or something, they take it out on the pitch.'

Julie: 'When someb'dy was really cheating then a'd just, depending on what situation, ad probably, em, shout or something or a don't know. (What about other children, who tend to cheat?) Kevin B, like eh in basketball he'd shove you out the way and shout at yi (what do you do?) Eh, shout him back or tell the teacher, or something. It just depends.'

Graham: (Does anybody not play by the rules?) Em Kevin B, cause he always likes to win, and eh. (Who else?) Eh, Simon usually makes up a few excuses on how he lost.

Mark.: '(Do you play by the rules of the game?) Yeh. (What about other children?) Normally yeh, but if they got angry with someone, or were having an argument, they might foul a bit.'

Gavin: (Do you always play to the rules of the game ?) Nut no a'ways. (When don't you?) Whenever the teachers no lookin'. (Why's that) Cause if yi cheat sometimes yi get mair chances. It depends what yi dae. (What about the other children in the class?) Sometimes. (Which ones?) Just about aw o' them, 'cept for Neil and Kelly they dinnay ken how ti cheat.'

Children could be differentiated by the way they negotiated the rules. The children themselves differentiated between each other on the basis of who 'cheated' and who got 'angry'. The children suggested that sometimes the aim of those children who negotiated the rules was to increase their chances of winning.

Initially, I could not understand why one child would argue about a point when the other five out of the six children round the badminton court (and myself observing) all knew the shuttle was out. I believed that one child's attempt to rule negotiate ('cheat' as I saw it at this time), even if they were angry or wanted to win, was a waste of time. I viewed it as an immature attempt to defy reality.

My prejudice was soon overcome when I realised that, on occasion, a child could defy the reality of a situation and win a point. It was at this time I realised the reality to me of the call (e.g. the fact the shuttle was out) was irrelevant. All that was important was whether one child had to accept an other's view of reality:

In Gail's badminton class I watched Kevin B negotiate the rules when he was playing against Kevin C. He was constantly arguing with Kevin, saying things like, 'wasn't that out?' or, 'That's in'. Each time he lost a point he shouted 'Ach!'. This appeared futile to me. When a close call happened Kevin C said, 'In!'. Kevin B shouted, 'Shut up, that was out!'. In fact the shuttle was in. However, Kevin B won the point and went on to win the next point to win the game. It was a close game and Kevin B benefited from negotiating the rules.

My view, that the behaviour of children who carry out rule negotiation was futile, was blinkered. It was merely a reinforcement of my own ideas of fair play.

An interesting example of how different children reacted to rule negotiation occurred in Gail's class:

Gail had asked the children to separate into groups of four or five, one group to a court. The children were asked to play round-robin matches within their group. A girl, Lynn who I viewed as not being very good at badminton joined a group of three boys (Titch, Peter and Kevin C). Titch was probably the best badminton player in the class, Peter was probably the second best player in the class. However, in the first match of the round robin, Kevin C beat Peter by employing rule negotiation to his advantage. Several times he called shots 'out' when they were 'in'. After this match I overheard Peter say to Titch, 'Big deal so he beat me, he cheats the score all the time anyway.'

In this instance Peter was aware that Kevin C was 'cheating'. However, he got on with the game without complaining. This suggested to me that Peter had assessed the situation and thought to himself, 'Is it worth arguing about this?'. His decision was that he would just play on and get the game over.

He confirmed this when I interviewed him:

(Do you always play to the rules of the game?) "Me, yeh. Sometimes like you make mistakes, like do forward passes an that but no not deliberately". (What about the other children?) "Yeh Kevin C, he's always shuvin' you about and stuff and cheatin' and Kevin B he sometimes cheats as well (he laughs). And Lynn, definitely cheats, (laughs again). (How do you feel about that?) Am not really bothered, some, eh, it spoils it a bit cause eh, cause if they win by cheatin' then you get a bit annoyed".

Despite the fact that Peter did not like Kevin C's behaviour, he did not react to it. Peter's self view was, 'I don't get involved in that sort of stuff.' I realised that he held the point of view that he only wanted to win by playing within the rules. This belief contrasted with the behaviour of Kevin.

In the following two games of the above class Kevin C played against Lynn and then Lynn played against Peter. I had seen Lynn negotiate the rules a lot in previous classes so I was intrigued to find out what would occur between two prolific negotiators:

Kevin C won the first four points easily, due to the fact that Lynn was not very good at badminton. As a response to this situation and in an effort to give herself a chance Lynn started shouting, 'Stop it yi ken a canny reach em' and 'The lights are puttin' me off.'. Kevin gave her a chance and having got what she wanted Lynn calmed down. It appeared that Kevin C gave Lynn a chance for a combination of reasons. Either, because he wanted to stop her shouting, or, because he knew he would win any way. When Lynn played Peter she complained even more angrily when she started losing. It appeared that she was aware, having watched his game with Kevin C, that Peter could be brow beaten and that he would give her a chance. Like Kevin C, Peter began to give Lynn more of a chance.

In the above example the children were aware of each other's status and capabilities. They made judgements about rule negotiations that related to this awareness. The outcome of the negotiations depended on how the actors viewed their own status in comparison to that of their opponent. Lynn's status related to her ability to fly off the handle instead of her actual ability at badminton. Kevin C's behaviour altered depending on who he was playing.

Children were constantly judging their status against that of other children. The outcome of this judgement could have a down side for certain children:

Rana was one of the first children into the badminton hall and he started to hit the shuttle to himself on the first court in the hall. Kevin came into the hall, grabbed a racket and shouted to Tom to start playing. They walked onto the first court as if oblivious to Rana and started to play. After a few seconds Kevin bumped into Rana and turned round and shouted very aggressively, 'Get off the court'. Rana got off the court.

The result of this was that no courts were now left for Rana to go on and as there were an odd number of pupils in the class he had no partner. Thus, he had to wait at the side to get a chance. Eventually Gail realised that he had not been on a court and organised for him to play. Thus Rana's chance to get involved was thwarted by Kevin and Tom. I was not sure whether Rana accepted this situation because Tom and Kevin were better badminton players or whether it was because of the physical threat that Kevin posed.

It was not only a negotiation of the rules that depended on children's perceptions of each other's status, but the children's every day interactions that were affected. Rana had to put up with being shoved about because Kevin B did not perceive him as a threat. Why did the boy not stand up for himself?. My conclusion was that he was not confident about what the outcome of standing up to Kevin would bring.

Whether rule negotiation took place, and was successful, depended on the status, or abilities, of the actors involved in the negotiation. That is, before the negotiation took place a child posed the question to him/her self , 'Can I get away with this interpretation of the rules?'. The answer to this question depended on the abilities of the other child involved in the negotiation. That is, the child was really posing the question, 'Will my opponent let me away with this interpretation of the rules?'.

If a child was satisfied that he/she could win a negotiation he/she proceeded with the attempt. Therefore, what occurred was that a child summed up his/her own ability and status and related this to his/her perception of his/her opponent's status. The occurrence of negotiations depended on the 'self view' and 'perceived view of others' of the actors involved in a situation. Within this context, a child's response to another child's negotiation of the rules depended on the same procedure as above. That is, he/she asked him/her self, 'Do I have to put up with this negotiation' The answer to this question depended on how he/she related his/her own status to the status of the other child taking part in the negotiation.

This state of affairs was identified as important. Children had the opportunity to make choices about how they behaved. This meant that by finding the right circumstances children could be encouraged to make the choice to adopt more integrative patterns of behaviour during PE.

Over and above this interaction between individual children, there existed a clash of values between those children who played by the rules of a game and those children who did not.

I was aware that more situations involving conflict arose during PE classes at Hillside and its feeder primary, Castle, than at the other schools I visited. At Hillside, in contrast to Riverview, children with a low level of involvement in an activity would often walk off the court and sit out without saying anything to the teacher.

I came to understand that the children did this for a number of reasons:

Today I counted the reasons for them walking off court. Gavin felt he was not getting the ball. Karen claimed Gareth was cheating, but Gareth thought this was just an excuse for losing. Michael A did not want to do fitness he wanted to play basketball. Donald was unhappy that the teams were not fair and did not want to play with the boys on his team. Lisa thought Bill, as the referee, had been biased towards the other team.

In all of these situations the children stopped taking part in the class because they did not think that the situation they had been involved in was fair. These occurrences were fascinating, this was not what I had seen at Riverview. Children at Hillside made the decision that they were not going to take part if they didn't like the circumstances of the involvement. This made the teachers' jobs extremely difficult. They were constantly having to play the role of peace workers rather than PE teachers. Moreover, the children at Hillside verbalised their complaints. This contrasted with the children at Riverview who did little to try and increase their involvement in an activity and made little complaint.

At Hillside, all the children, with the exception of Gavin, had complained because they believed they did not have the chance to win. In Gavin's case he complained because the other children excluded him from participating.

At first I thought their behaviour meant they were against the values of PE. However, I came to realise that their behaviour was driven by the same values that affected children's participation in PE at other schools. Namely, the requirement that competitive activities should be participated in to win. The children at Hillside put an enormous emphasis on winning. They did not reject the values associated with competitive activities, rather, they took these values to further extremes than the children at Riverview.

Interestingly their behaviour involved the exercise of choice. That is, unlike children like Ewan, these children reacted to any situation which might restrict their involvement in PE. Their non-conformity to the expectations of the teacher (the fact they refused to take part) was actually a reinforcement of the value I had identified in most children that the aim of participation in PE was to win. Their non-conformity was derived from the fact that they were or were going to be excluded from the opportunity to succeed. This was a crucial issue. Children required the opportunity to find PE successful if they were going to integrate themselves into the process of PE.

Some children redefined the meaning of 'successful behaviour' during PE classes.

Michael's behaviour was designed to confront the authority of the teacher during PE:

Michael is not good at football but the other boys pass to him, his status appears to come from the fact that he challenges the teacher's authority and often this involves a process that makes the other children laugh. I was aware that Michael must be intelligent because he was very sophisticated when it came to taking the piss out of the teachers. He would often mimic what the teachers were saying and finish their sentences for them.

This made the other children laugh. Michael tried to promote his status with me by telling me that he goes up to the sports centre and drinks, 'Cider, in Becks in that.' I asked him where he got the alcohol, he said, 'Fri the store a just went up like, in says four Becks, in the guy says three quid sixty. A gees im it an wi went up the back o th' sports centre.' Willie intervened at this point and said, 'Aye an is ma id tan 'is hide if shi kent'. In this way Willie diminishes the status Michael is trying to attract.

Michael did not target other children in the class. His conflict was with the teachers. His idea appeared to be to derive status from annoying the teachers. Moreover, he promoted his status in terms of his ability to carry out adult-type activities such as drinking. This behaviour did not impress Willie who was high-skilled and played by the rules at PE. However, both children, whilst in the PE class, were involved in the same activity. That activity was the pursuit of successful moments which gained them status.

In a later class I witnessed Michael's behaviour deteriorating from simply making fun of the teacher:

Jill tells the children they are going to play rounders. However, Michael refuses to play because he doesn't like the way the teams have been picked. He sits at the side whilst his team bats. When it should be Michael's turn to bat he goes over and picks up the bat. Jill says, 'I'm afraid Michael you already excluded yourself. You either take part in the whole class or not at all, you can't pick and choose.' My feeling is that she is working up to getting an apology from him. However, if she is, this backfires. Michael says, 'Fuck yi, fuck the lot o yi then,' and storms off to get changed. At the end of the class Jill tells me that she will be referring him to the senior staff. She indicates that she did not try to make a big deal of his behaviour at the time because she wanted to avoid further confrontation.

I came to realise that a number of children, within each class I had visited, actually rejected the values held by the teachers and the other children.

When I looked back through my experiences, I became aware that these children's rejection of expected patterns of behaviour within PE classes took a number of forms. These forms graduated from the rule negotiation with which David B irritated his opposition to conflict with the teacher; and on to more extreme and violent forms of behaviour. In all these cases the children involved in non-conformist behaviour had redefined what was successful behaviour or had come into conflict with the teacher or another child as a reaction to their status being threatened. Three violent incidents stand out from my experiences:

During Gail's basketball class: Emma constantly negotiated the basketball rules to the point of completely ignoring them. She shoved a tall boy four or five times. Eventually he had had enough. He hit Emma. This shocked her. It appeared that this response was not what she expected and that it challenged her own view of her status. She responded, 'You're gonny get it after!'

During Bill's football class: Tam stamped on a boy's leg. He could easily have broken the leg. Tam did this because he had lost the ball and his team had lost a goal. The boy hadn't even tackled Tam, Tam saw a way to vent his annoyance and knew this boy would not react. This was a classic case of bullying. The boy who Tam stamped on did not even complain to the teacher. If he had complained to the teacher I'm sure Tam would have been waiting for him after school.

Gail had played extremely well at basketball during Jill's class. After the class was over a girl called Michelle S attacked Gail in the corridor. I came along with the teacher as Michelle S had Gail down on the ground and was kicking her in the head. Michelle stopped kicking Gail as Bill and Jill rushed over. Gail had won the ball off Michelle several times during the preceding class and on the third occasion Michelle had threatened Gail. Gail won the ball off Michelle again and this was why, once the class was over, Michelle attacked Gail. I had not noticed anything wrong in the class and neither had Bill. Michelle had made her threats without either of us knowing. Gail had refused to be intimidated by Michelle and had paid the violent consequences.

Throughout these three situations children had inflicted violence on other children because they were aware they could and because they had to reassert their status. The conflict was between those children whose behaviour conformed with the rules of the activity and the teachers (who could be identified as possessing positive PE values) and those children who rejected the rules (who could be identified as possessing anti-PE values) .

David P at Castle indicated that some children got more passes because of the physical threat they posed:

(Do some children get more passes or more of the ball than other children ?) Uhuh, well it's mostly Robert an Steven H and Steven L and John, (why's that?) 'cause they 'hink that they're bullies, an that, but a don't 'hink they are.

In this situation, violence was the cultural expression of some children scoring baskets. Status could be attributed to those children who scored baskets, status could be attributed to children who knew the rules, status could be attributed to those children who could disregard the teacher's authority and beat other children up.

When I related this information to my perception that Hillside children put an enormous emphasis, during PE, on winning and that this emphasis led to a lot of the children refusing to take part in PE, I realised that for them, not winning meant losing. Losing meant lowered status. When I compared the consequences of having low status at Hillside with Riverview, I realised why the stakes were higher at Hillside.

The consequences of low status at Hillside brought with it a likelihood of suffering physical violence during PE. Low status children had to react quickly when they were losing, when it was possible they might lose, or, as in Gavin's case, where being labelled as "not good". The consequences of losing and low status could be a threat to a child's well being. For Gavin, the consequences could be more

frightening. If he stayed around too long doing nothing, during PE, someone like Tam might use him as a punch bag.

My perception was confirmed by Bill:

'A lot of the kids that go to the lunch time clubs don't actually take part, they sit and watch. They come into the club because it's safer, because there is a teacher there. People like David, they know that if someone misbehaves in the basketball, I'll chuck them out. So they come and bring their sandwiches, or whatever, and sit and watch. I don't mind for the weaker ones, it's either here, or a kickin' outside. The girls were as bad as the boys. (What, like the situation with Gail and Michelle?) Gail's English and she stood up for herself, so she got it. You can see now why people like David keep their heads down, it's a battle field out there in the playground and if they see a weakness you've had it.'

Losing resulted in lowered status at Riverview, and other schools, without children refusing to take part. I believed that the reason this difference in children's patterns of behaviour between schools occurred was because the result of not having high status at these other schools did not have as violent possibilities as was the case at Hillside. Certain children had to be extremely wary of other children's behaviour both inside and out of PE. I felt this was the last piece in the jigsaw of why some children did not fully participate in PE classes. Children did not take part because of the consequences of their: lack of physical capabilities (skill levels); mental inabilities; lack of confidence and now, likelihood to be subjected to physical violence. I realised that children who did not fully participate in PE classes had a number of options open to them during these classes:

- * Try to adapt the rules in their favour to increase their participation level.
- * Confront those children who were preventing them from taking a full part in the activity.

- * Look for help from the teacher.
- * Give up and reduce their level of involvement to either sitting out, or, just being in the gym (or on the court) but not taking part in the action.

The problem was that if the child attempted to negotiate the rules, or, confront other children this could lead to them either being ridiculed or being beaten up. This is especially obvious if we remember that these children are expected by other children to stay in their place. If the child chose to approach the teacher, the teacher would not necessarily take their side they might just perceive the situation as moaning. Even if the teacher takes steps to alter the course of the class, the teacher cannot watch all the children all of the time, so this child can not always receive their help. This doomsday scenario relates to children like Ewan, Rana, Neil and Gavin. Their response was very often to opt for choice four above.

Hence, any plan to increase the involvement of a child in a PE activity must understand that children put pressure on each other to behave in certain ways, that different children attributed status in different ways. If success is not available to children they can resort to violence, rule negotiation, and or confrontation with the teacher and other children.

There were no distinct lines between pro-PE children's methods of gaining status and anti-PE children's methods of gaining status. At times children who didn't usually play by the rules would play by the rules and vice versa. However, their overall participation in PE fitted into these categories. The question remained however, where did children learn that they could choose whether to negotiate expected forms of behaviour and not conform to other peoples expectations during PE? The answer to this question was found in the primary schools.

Non-Conformity in Primary Schools:

Children's perception that they could negotiate the rules was developed in the primary school situation:

Whilst watching this class (at Craggs) I was immediately struck by the fact that the children routinely ignored the teacher's instructions. At the start of the lesson when the teacher asked the children to get a ball she said, 'OK we will do this in twos, one partner go and get the ball and we will have no bouncing of the ball 'till I say. If any one bounces the ball they will sit out.' I expected the children to go and get the balls and sit down. In fact the first girl to get a ball completely ignored the teacher's instruction and bounced her ball. This ball bounced quite high and that appeared to satisfy the girl, who then bounced the ball all the way back to her partner. I expected the teacher to intervene at this point and make an example of this girl. The teacher did nothing. The rest of the children tried the balls out before choosing them. The teacher's comments counted for nothing. I had detected an underlying pattern of behaviour here - the children placed a premium on the apparatus which governed their choice of apparatus. Eventually the teacher said to the last child, 'Come on Bill it doesn't really matter which ball you've got as this is a throwing and catching exercise.' This statement appeared to reinforce the view that the children should check if the ball bounces well when they are going to be dribbling with it.

I was surprised by the above occurrence. The children had a collective will of their own that had the power to directly disregard the teacher's instructions. They directly flouted the teacher's authority. Moreover, this disregard of the teacher's instructions had not resulted in conflict between the teacher and the children. It was as if the children were saying, 'Which fool would choose a ball without bouncing it?' and answering, 'The same sort of fool that would tell you not to bounce the ball in the first place.'

The children had disempowered the teacher because her instruction did not fit into their idea of reality. I had located the children's belief that they did not have to accept another individual's ideas of reality.

In primary schools, unlike secondary schools, the teacher taught the same children every day of every week. Probably, the familiarity that was developed between the teacher and the pupils resulted in the children individually and collectively attempting to negotiate with their teacher. This negotiation, ultimately, led to the children questioning the teacher's authority. The children were aware that they could negotiate or ignore the teacher's instruction. They were aware they could make choices.

This rule negotiation with the teacher did not occur in the classes with the specialist teacher. In these classes, rule negotiation was limited to child/child interaction. In the P7 volley ball class taught by the specialist, rule negotiation involved the children arguing over what a point was and whether it was in or out:

'(Child 1) Its oot its oot. (Child 2) Its one one. (Child 1) Naw, its two one.' Interestingly the specialist does not try to settle every dispute, unlike the class teachers. When the children come across to her to complain about something she says, 'Sort it out by yourselves.' Later the class teacher, who is also taking part in the lesson, adds to this statement by stating, 'Now ave been watching for a little while, if there are problems with the other team and you can't sort it out go and chat to Mrs Mc (the specialist).' The class teacher almost contradicts the specialist in this situation. The specialist is trying to get them to always resolve their disputes. What the specialist is trying to instil in the children is an idea of healthy interaction where the children sort out the calls amongst themselves in a friendly manner.

I believed the children argued with the class teacher rather than the specialist teacher because they knew that the class teacher was not always confident about the rules of a game.

Moreover, they knew that the specialist teacher had a lot of experience with games which allowed her to keep control of the class. In the last excerpt above, the class teacher actually reinforced this point by saying to the children that they should ask the specialist about the rules.

I had discovered that children's patterns of rule negotiation existed in both secondary and primary schools and that the latter were the origins of the former.

The idea of a situation being 'not fair' was evident at the primary schools:

T-J (at Craggs) is bigger than most of the children and uses this advantage to 'hustle' the ball off the weaker children. On several occasions during a game he won the ball within the rules but the child he won the ball off fell over, or, knocked against him. Some of the children started to say he was, 'too close'. There is a rule in basketball called 'over guarding' but I wouldn't have said he was infringing this rule. However, there was a will amongst the children in the opposite team to control his aggressiveness. They started to say he was, 'spoiling the game'. Eventually one of the girls in the opposing team deliberately fouled him. He complained to the teacher. The teacher said, 'This is getting to be a dirty game let's calm down and play by the rules. In this case T-J was confronted because his opponents found a consensus amongst themselves that something had to be done about him.

T-J's behaviour met with resistance from the children in his class. The children did not believe that he was playing 'fair' and he was forced to change his behaviour by peer pressure. The conflict situation here was between T-J's idea of playing basketball (which related more to my idea) and the other children in his class's idea of playing basketball.

Similar situations arose during the 'bean bag' game at Calton:

The children are very competitive during this class. One boy Michael starts accusing another boy James of cheating when his team start to lose. He shouts, 'Oh Cm'on James you pushed her.' He had lost the first game and it appeared he was determined not to lose again. It appeared he was venting his frustration at losing the first game, on James. This frustration appeared to be based on the fact that he had lost face and status in the first game.

These situations reminded me of the cases at Hillside where the children refused to play. The concept the children held here was that each individual should play in such a way that they do not develop an unfair advantage. My perception was that children believed that there was no point in taking part in an activity if that activity was not fair. However, children had different ideas of what was fair:

Conflict arises (at Castle) between Mrs W and Steven when Steven hits the ball during a game of rounders and runs round inside the cones. Steven believes he has scored a point. However, Mrs W tells him he did not get a point because he ran inside the cones, instead of the outside. Steven responds by screeching loudly and literally throws himself off his feet on to the ground. He then says, 'Miss! It wiz a point!' (Mrs W) 'No it wasn't - you must run outside the cones.' (Steven screams) 'A DID!' (Mrs W) 'Calm down Steven and wait at the end of the line for your next go. If you don't a'll put you out.' Steven returns to his team with a very annoyed sort of, 'the world's against me' expression on his face. He says to James, 'Its nae fair.' It is as if Steven blames some external force, fate or fairness, for his own shortcomings. he does not think, 'I made a mistake there', he thinks, 'that wasn't my fault'. This negotiation continues through out the rounders game. When he is fielding, Steven constantly shouts things at the teacher like, 'Miss she wis OOT'. Eventually after one of these sorties he sits in the huff because the teacher gave the other team a point. This negotiation involved Steven ignoring the rules entirely even when the teacher was present. In the case of Riverview, blatant rule negotiation rarely took place in front of the teacher. Here, the children constantly negotiate the rules to the point of ignoring the rules the teacher has set. Eventually she ends the class early and states, 'I'm not willing to be in the gym with people shouting'.

Steven had attempted to impose his perception of the reality of what had happened on the teacher. She did not give in despite his behaviour. Steven rejected the teacher's way of playing and constantly tried to enforce his ideas on the proceedings. His behaviour was in direct conflict with the teacher's expectations. I realised that it was this sort of behaviour which developed into the patterns of behaviour of children like Michael and Tam in the high school situation.

I did not enjoy Steven's behaviour, I got quite frustrated with his constant attempts to refute reality. Later as the class was about to leave the gym, Steven annoyed me again:

Steven did handstands and cartwheels behind his class teacher, whilst she was speaking. Steven showed off in direct contradiction to the wishes of the teacher, he was supposed to be sitting down. Steven's showing off made me frustrated. I thought, 'Don't try to kid me, there's nothing to be proud of in showing off behind the teacher's back.'

Steven was not showing off like the children had done at Riverview. Susan and Michael showed of their skills within the context of the game, or, the practice which the teacher had outlined. Susan and Michael's showing off made me laugh, Steven's did not. The question I had to ask myself was, why?

I became aware that I was prejudiced and did not understand the significant cultural difference between Steven's behaviour and the behaviour of Michael and Susan. All three children applied the behavioural pattern which I called 'showing off' with the intention of gaining status. However, I was not impressed by Steven because he did not show off within the context I had learnt from Michael and Susan. I should have detected that this was the natural context for Steven to show off. I should have understood that, firstly he was showing me his acrobatic skills but, secondly, he was showing me he could defy the teacher's authority.

By uncovering this difference between the children's patterns of showing off I revealed to myself that Steven's perception of his status related not only to his physical abilities in PE but also to his ability to defy the authority of the teacher.

Through this reflective process I came to be aware that when Michael and Susan showed off their behaviour, reinforced or revealed their criteria for attributing status - they attributed status to high-skill children. When Steven showed off his alternative criteria for attributing status was revealed - he attributed status not only to children with high-skill levels but to children who could defy the rules. This was very similar to the criteria by which children like Emma and Michael judged their status.

What these observations meant was that the process through which children develop non-conformist behaviour was identified as beginning in primary schools. Hence, these children's behaviour had to be addressed in the primary school situation if they were to develop positive ideas about PE. My perception was that these children required to be integrated into the values of PE during primary school. This meant being taught the skills which would allow them to be successful and being given the opportunity to put these skills into practice during PE lessons. Ultimately they would have to be given the opportunity to feel part of the PE process. However, there appeared to be very few teachers who attempted to integrate these children into the process of PE. Indeed, teachers appeared to reject completely those children who did not conform to their values. The remainder of this chapter will discuss teacher's values and how teachers reacted to children's non-conformist behaviour.

Teacher's Value System:

The secondary school teachers' values could be understood in terms of their practical and philosophical aims.

The practical aims of the policies created within the secondary PE departments covered a wide area such as discipline, assessment and interaction and co-operation between pupils and teachers and pupils and pupils. The teachers stated that their aims, in part, related to departmental policies:

Jill: 'Improvements in whatever field that policies on, for instance, behaviour policy would be to improve behaviour, or, assessment policy would be to try and improve the way we assess the children. Whichever way, the policy we are looking at can result in improvements.'

Nick: 'Yeh we've got policies on the common course we've got eh, em, eh a rationale and aims set out areas of what we call emphasis, where, if we are teaching certain activities we use these as contexts for learning, to get across certain aspects of the course which will fulfil, em, both the aims and objectives we have laid down. Em, to get the children working together, em, as a group and as individuals to attain not only a good standard of, or, their best standard of practical performance, but also to work together in a group to compete, to co-operate, to interact throughout the lessons and the course.'

Liz: 'A try to relate to the policies because we did get a say in them, a lot of it in 1st and 2nd year is the social side of it rather than their practical ability. Whether they can accept decisions work together, work in a team, without arguing, things like that, more than actually trying to improve their ability.'

The teachers emphasised their aim of increasing the children's ability to interact with each other above the need to increase the children's skill levels. The problem existed however, that whenever children had problems in PE the teacher prescribed skills practices. To some extent, the expressed aim to avoid concentration on skills practices was not achieved. I observed the starting point for teaching PE in secondary schools to be skills practice². Any other issues (such as co-operation etc.) followed from this point and were brought across to the

² See chapter five.

children during skills practices, game situations (competitive activities) or through complex exercises (non-competitive activities).

The philosophical aims of secondary school teachers related to the overall role of PE:

Jill: 'I'm trying to get as many children involved in which ever physical activity they decide they would like to carry on with in the future so whenever they leave school they've got something to take with them, even just an enjoyment of their own body, sports, just to be familiar with it and to enjoy taking part. Well, we're lucky in that we get lots of flexibility within the department so you can, as an individual, push towards your aims. You know, work towards your aims, apart from the policy statements which a work to, you're given quite a lot of freedom. We've got a wide curriculum, giving them a lot of skills and we're not just streaming them into football and hockey. We're giving them an opportunity to develop, badminton, basketball, volleyball, rounders, football, fitness, so those that perhaps aren't instinctively drawn towards football might take part in a fitness class, so there is something there for every one. Whereas, it used to be in schools that there was the rugby and the hockey, or the rugby and whatever, and nothing else and if you weren't that you were useless at PE.'

Bill: 'Policy aims, laid down by the region, we adapt to the type of PE we have here and the children we teach here. (What about your own aims?) To follow the guidelines of the department and my principal teacher and to get through the core and standard grade work set down at the start of each session but also to make it enjoyable, to make kids like PE.'

Nick: 'We try to ensure that children who have an aptitude for PE are given work that stretches them. Children who are maybe not so good at PE are given work where they can achieve a measure of success at their own level, and this is written into the course, but with a class of twenty five the teacher will have to interpret that for individuals. Some classes will be different. We've taken a holistic approach to PE, so that they are aware of various things, aware of themselves, their body, the health aspects of PE, aware of their potential, aware of others and other's potential. We want to teach them to be tolerant of each other and to work in a constructive way. I think it is important to emphasise that PE is not coaching, and that coaching is a completely different skill, and that the teacher has to deal with a wide variety of activities, abilities, perspectives on the subject. That is what they are trained to do. They are trained to teach children not just the activity. Not just to make them better at that activity, although that is part of the aim, but to make them a better person by working throughout the activity as a context for learning, rather than taking the activity first and saying the prime aim here is to make you better at this activity. That's just coaching, there is obviously an element of that in PE and as you go into the higher reaches we might do more coaching but you are also teaching. Coaches are very valuable but in a school context you are a PE teacher, not a coach.'

Jim: '1st and 2nd year is, first of all enjoyment, is to allow them to experience as many different areas of PE as possible. Obviously, the social interaction side of it is very important, 'cause what we are getting over in the way of health, fitness what ever, the activities, just the medium to do that. You can slot any activity in there. I agree entirely with the policy of the department which is something that came out in the interview when a first came for the post here. I was asked for my aims or my philosophy and I feel that in 1st and 2nd year they should be allowed to try out many areas. We do it to a reasonable level but we are not out to train them to be Olympic stars in the short time we have for each block. You're talking about 6 weeks. You are trying to improve their standard as much as possible but also letting them sample the activity and hopefully enjoy it.'

There was consensus amongst the secondary teachers on what the philosophical aims of their policies were. These aims were: that the children should find PE enjoyable; that the children's involvement in PE should allow them to make mature choices about their future sports interests; that this mature choice could be based on the children having experienced a wide range of activities in PE; that children's involvement in PE involved feelings of 'achievement' and 'success at their own level'; that PE should be based on a holistic approach that allowed the children to be 'aware of themselves, their body, the health aspects of PE, aware of their potential, aware of others and others potential'.

A strong differentiation was made between the aims of coaching children to increase their skill level and ability and the aims involved in teaching children PE. The former's sole aim according to PE teachers was to increase the skill level of the child, the latter's aim was to increase the child as a human being both socially and physically. The teachers related their philosophical aims to the practical aims of improving pupil interaction, co-operation, discipline, competition and so forth.

These aims were very similar to the specialist teachers in primary schools:

Mrs Mc: 'To try and make sure you do the job as best as you can, to make sure that you achieve job satisfaction, that you're not chasing your tail, that's important, and also, to make sure the children have a good experience. A think that if you've done that you've achieved a lot.' Mrs R: 'The first one's probably enjoyment, that the children enjoy themselves, and to have a varied PE curriculum. Em, just, think about co-operating with other people eh, building up skills, giving them experience at different games, gymnastics, dance, that's about it. And, obviously, trying to link it in some way with their projects and things in class as well.'

Primary school classroom teachers concurred with these aims:

Mrs A: 'A think at the moment developing some sort of sportsmanship in the children. Developing co-operation. In the game trying to equip them with basic skills, especially in ball games, equipping them with basic ball skills and control so that they can go on and develop better skills. In gymnastics, trying to foster their control and looking at basic movers like rolls, balances and travelling moves, trying to help them think about those. Eh, and you know, work with a lot more control and trying to develop a more creative approach to what they do.'

Mrs W₃ : 'A think you're always aiming to develop mature movement patterns in the children; their motor co-ordination and their skills. So, it's a combination of actually teaching and demonstrating skills, actually giving them an opportunity to practice the skills so that they become more confident and, em, becoming more aware of immature movement patterns that you might see in P2 but sometimes you see in P6-7. Also, what has come out of the course I did is that what you do in the gym doesn't have to be so divorced from what you do in the classroom. Actually, you can co-operate movement with themes in quite a meaningful way, like am gonny be looking at Europe next term and dances from other countries and it doesn't have to be something you tack on, you can actually do it in a much more meaningful way you know. If you're doing a medieval study you could be working towards some kind of banqueting affair with children processioning in that kind of expressive movement as well. They can be creating their own type of dances, if you give them music from particular countries they can build up a sense of the culture and the people. A mean, it can be much more creatively used.'

Mrs A and Mrs W had a very similar view to some of the secondary school teachers. However, Mrs W was far more confident, both in the use of PE jargon and how she could specifically plan lessons than Mrs A. This was due to the fact that she had had more training in PE than Mrs A. This issue of training was borne out by Mrs Y:

³ Mrs W was doing a PE course at teacher training college one night a week for three terms.

'You don't get much PE at college. A don't know if anyone has mentioned that to you. You get ten weeks over 1st and 2nd year and only more if you opt for it after second year, but I opted for art. In those ten weeks we didn't do much, it was very airy fairy , I would have valued getting to know the rules and watching teachers doing real lessons. There was too much creative dance, I still don't know the rules for football. Basketball's not so bad as they don't know the rules either. A mean, I'm a girl and I know part of it's to kick a ball but I've no idea what's offside. We have a lot of autonomy in what we do but you know the specialist's the person who extends them, takes them on but I'm the person you know who gives them a chance to consolidate what they've done. A think most people tackle it the way I do and just see where the gaps are, see what you're confident about doing in PE. It's better to do something you're happy with and do it well than to be struggling on with gymnastics or something and not managing it well.'

Mrs Y felt that she lacked the training to fully develop the children through PE. She saw her role as following from the plans laid out by the specialist teacher. She specifically drew attention to the problems of teaching gymnastics and indicated that this might be left to the specialist. I realised that the children's perception, that their class teachers were not as knowledgeable about PE as the specialist teachers, was based on the fact that classroom teachers received very little training in PE.

Overall the teacher's aims and values were extremely similar. However, their ability to carry out their aims depended on their experience and training. Their rhetoric was directed towards creating an enjoyable integrated PE classroom. The reality fell some what short of this aim.

Teachers and Non-Conformist Behaviour:

My understanding was that sometimes the teachers kept a tight control on the rules of a game in secondary schools. This made me wonder if those children with a similar belief of fair play to myself and the teacher benefited from the teacher's involvement in competitive situations.

This was confirmed to me by Nataly and David B:

Nataly: '(Do you play by the rules?) Yes, most of the time, (when wouldn't you?) Well if the teachers here we wouldn't get the chance. But if were left by ourselves...eh...(what happens then?) Well, sometimes if the teacher's out for a minute we start mucking about.'

David B: "(Do you always play by the rules?) Not always, like eh, a say, if the teacher's not looking in basketball then a might double-dribble, or things. A start cheatin' in badminton when they say it was out a say it was in, (why do you do that) a dunno a usually just do it for a laugh".

David B identified the fact that he cheated when the teacher was not looking and Nataly said the children in her class mucked around when the teacher was out of the classroom. I realised that this meant that those children who were high status and wanted other children to play within the rules of the game had their perception of how PE activities should be carried out reinforced by the teacher's presence.

The teachers employed various coping strategies to maintain discipline within their class. Some teachers were extremely strict on the children in an effort, it appeared, to preempt the possibility of them misbehaving in the class. These teachers would tell the children what to do at all times. For example, from the moment Andy at Hillside came into the badminton class he ordered the children around in a regimented way.

Andy - 'OK right sit down, four people wait at the door, the rest of you sit here and do not move 'till we have got the nets up. OK stand in line to collect the rackets, one at a time. You two go to the top court, you two to the next.... ... Lay your rackets down and sit down...'

Andy had mechanisms for controlling the class. He did not allow the children to get the apparatus out themselves, he did not allow the children to choose their own courts and he did not allow the children to stand with their rackets in their hands when he was going to talk to them about a teaching point. I took part in the above class, and was a partner to one of the children. I responded to Andy's orders and found them extremely restricting and authoritative. This was not my idea of fun. However, by being ordered around in this way I did realise that it meant Andy got his teaching points across without interruption.

Jim was very regimented in the way he got apparatus out of the gym cupboard. He only allowed two children into the cupboard at one time. He organised each pair himself, mostly from within the cupboard, to get a piece of apparatus out.

In contrast, Liz told the children exactly which pieces of apparatus she wanted out of the cupboard and told the children to organise themselves to do it with the least amount of fuss. What happened was that Liz could organise the apparatus when it was out of the cupboard and set it up as required for the lesson she had planned. Jim had to organise the apparatus inside the cupboard before he got to the stage of organising it outside of the cupboard.

The end result was the same - that the apparatus was set up for the lesson. However, in most cases Liz's approach was quicker and the children she was teaching got some educational value out of interacting to get the apparatus out of the cupboard. In my opinion Liz empowered the children whereas Jim and Andy did not.

Teachers reacted differently to individual pupils when they misbehaved. Nick at Riverview believed it was better to ignore minor problems of discipline as a teacher.

'Say if people are coughing in the class when you're talking, a sure way to make it worse is to say stop coughing, then they all start coughing and what are you gonny do? Get doctor in to prove they've not got a cough. If you let some things go you get to the teaching a lot quicker. Though you have to come down on certain kids quickly.'

Nick treated certain children differently with regard to discipline. On one occasion he gave the class a telling off for kicking the ball during a basketball skills practice. Susan and Michael, had started kicking the ball first, but Nick didn't intervene until some of the less well-behaved (David G) and less skilled children (Ewan) started doing it. I realised that Nick did not intervene if he thought the children who were mucking about would eventually settle down and get round to doing the exercise. He made a judgement whether the individual children who were not doing as he had instructed were just having a bit of fun, or, whether these children were dangerous to the stability of the class.

This process of differentiating between children in terms of their potential to misbehave was carried out by most teachers. Teachers responded to children misbehaving by keeping certain children apart and by changing their lesson plan.

Gail: 'It doesn't make it easy to get them to work well if they don't like the people in the group they are in and it's understandable if they hate someone in the class, they are not going to be thinking about what you are saying but about the other person. So you have to watch what groups you put them in. As well as that, you have to watch you don't put children who'll muck about together.'

Jim: 'If the children had started mucking about, then I would have gone back to a formal lesson'.

Thus, teachers did have mechanisms which could prevent children from 'misbehaving'. These processes were employed to confront those children who did not go along with their idea of what behaviour was acceptable in the PE class. This approach outlawed children's behaviour which involved extreme rule negotiation or violence, the behaviour from which some children gained status.

I came to understand that the teachers held perceptions about individual children in terms of their ability to disrupt the class. However, these perceptions meant that they intervened to restrict certain children's actions more often than other children. In this way they labelled some children as trouble-makers.

Nick also held this impression:

'Some children never take responsibility for their own actions, it's always, it's no fair sir' when you ask them to do something. They always see things like this, they're authority they can't accept your decision, they just see it as an injustice. They constantly refuse to do things, i.e. the girl at break⁴. There was no way a could let them out early, what if one of them had been knocked down, then their parents would have been screaming blue murder at the school and me for letting them out early. But she couldny see that, no. These sorts of people will go through school like that.'

At this time Nick suggested that children like Emma in Liz's class and Lianne in Gail's class involved themselves in the above futility. He likened the girl at 'break time' to Lianne. He stated:

'Lianne always sees things like this, kids like her are against authority. They see it as an injustice. They're always obstructive, constantly refuse to do things, like the girl at the front door at break. She would'ny go and wait with the rest on the stairs. No. She had some right to be different.'

⁴ Nick's morning class had arrived back early from the sports centre in which they had had their class. He wanted the children to wait, until the bell rang, downstairs in the gym. One girl refused to wait downstairs she thought the class should be dismissed for break early.

These sort of people will go through school like this. Always seeing us as being against them. A tell yi as a get older they get more difficult, more wearing, an a get less sympathetic to their moans.'

Nick had no sympathy for children who complained. He appeared to have had enough of children who did not conform to his expectations. What the teachers did not realise was that there were complex reasons for children not doing as they were told. Some children did not do what they were told because it was boring, too hard, or, because they wouldn't win that way. Other children's patterns of gaining status resulted in them being involved in non-conformist behaviour.. The teachers did not always realise that the children who were 'mucking about' did so because this was how they revived their opportunities to gain status .

This was particularly true of children like Lianne and Emma at Riverview and Michael at Hillside. For these children not playing by the rules was what PE was about - it was as if they were saying, 'It's stupid to expect us to play by their (High-skilled children) rules, they're just snobs and we've got no chance that way!' These children's behaviour directly contradicted the teacher's, in both secondary and primary schools, ideas of what PE should be about.

The teachers were aware of this contradiction and that these children had different values. However, this awareness did not help the teachers to overcome the alienation that these children experienced during PE. The teachers rejected the non-conformist children's value system. They made little attempt to integrate it into their way of teaching. Their decision was often to condemn non-conformist values and non-conformist children along with them.

This failure to employ the cultural values of anti-PE children to encourage them to adapt the way they participated in PE contrasted with the fact that the teachers adapted the patterns of behaviour of high-skilled children. That is, the teachers changed the rules of games so that high-status children would have to include low status children if they were going to win.

This meant that they reinforced the status of the high status children, whilst attempting to achieve their aim that all the children should be involved in the class. This approach integrated the values of these children into their methods of teaching. That is, by stating that a child like Susan should limit herself to four baskets during a basketball game, Nick reinforced her status in front of the class at the same time as strengthening the children's perception that children should be attributed status for their ability to score baskets.

The exact opposite happened with non-conformist children. The teachers attempted to marginalise or exclude these children during PE⁵. No attempt was made to reorganise the rules of an activity in a way which legitimised these children's behaviour. Moreover, by rejecting and marginalising these children the teachers directly contradicted their philosophical aim that all children should have the opportunity to enjoy PE.

This meant teachers were only attempting to achieve their aims with regards to a specific percentage of children in their class. That group was made up of children who held the same values as them.

5 They could justify this exclusion on the grounds that these children were obstructing their attempt to achieve their teaching aims

It was concluded that teachers would have to develop ways to negotiate with non-conformist children and their anti-PE values, if each child was to receive the same opportunities to take part and enjoy PE during their school years. This negotiation could only occur if teachers made attempts to understand how the children's values were developed. Moreover, this attempt at understanding would have to involve teachers developing teaching methods which integrated these children into the values of PE and allowed them access to opportunities to succeed during PE classes.

Conclusion of the Fluid Nature of children's behaviour in PE:

A child's status within PE was found to relate to other children's perceptions of that child's ability. That is, status was not entirely derived from child's actual ability. As a consequence low status children were found to be capable of skills which other children did not expect of them.

This finding suggested policy making in PE which encourages pupils and teachers to recognise a child's potential with regards to PE may redress occasions in which differentiation leads to a child feeling alienated during PE. It is possible that teaching methods which encourage children to identify each other's short comings and appreciate what each other might be able to achieve could help to prevent the development of elite groups in the classroom. This process could involve teachers asking children to suggest ways in which they might individually and collectively fulfil their potential.

Moreover, this study suggests this approach would have most success if it began in primary schools⁶ and was linked to methods of teaching which were developed to overcome the differences in children's ability levels. These methods could involve homework for children who lack experience of the various activities of PE and teachers encouraging/educating parents on how they can help their children develop the skills required to take an active part in PE classes.

Through their every day actions in groups, children were found to acquire and reinforce certain values and patterns of behaviour. During this process specific forms of behaviour were legitimised whereas others were rejected.

6..The study corroborated the work of Williams (1993) which indicated that primary school teachers lacked the experience and confidence to teach activities which would allow for a broad curriculum in PE. This finding suggests they would lack the experience to implement anything but the most simple of PE policies.

The children constantly assessed each other's behaviour and made decisions and differentiated between each other on the grounds of what was understood to be legitimate behaviour. These understandings could be employed to limit other children's opportunities at the same time as promoting the opportunities of children whose behaviour was legitimised.

In this way expectations were in constant flux with the actions and outcomes of children's interaction. The children made decisions based on their idea of themselves and their idea of what was normal or expected behaviour. These decisions had both an individual and group context. An individual context because a child's status relied, in part, on the outcome of individual child-child interaction. A group context because the outcome of individual child interaction was defined in terms of certain value patterns which a number of children possessed.

Children were found to react differently in certain situations depending on their perception of the status of other children in that situation. This type of behaviour was identified by this study in both primary and secondary schools. Conflict could arise if one child in the situation did not accept the behaviour of another child. The outcome of that conflict was identified as relating to each child's idea of how he/she should react. This idea was based on a comparison of the child's perception of his/her status and abilities against that child's perception of his/her opponent's capabilities.

It was found that a clash of values between those children who played by the rules of a game and those who did not play by the rules of a game often underwrote child-child conflict. This clash related to a perception that games should be played in a fair manner. Within this context children exercised choice. That is, they made the choice as to how they would react in a given situation or to certain behaviour. Children's ability to exercise choice was identified as providing the opportunity for policy makers and teachers to encourage children to adopt positive approaches to PE.

However, the fulfilment of this opportunity would be dependent on policy makers coming to understand that at present different groups of children in PE classes make different choices with regards to PE.

It is possible⁷ to roughly identify five groups within PE classes;

Group 1:

Possesses Pro-PE values. Is positively oriented to the values of both PE and PE teachers. Its members are attributed high status on the grounds of their ability in PE, enjoy more successful moments during PE than any other group and associate with ideas of fair play and meritocracy in the classroom. Teachers identify these pupils with parents who are positive to PE and sports.

Group 2:

Possesses Pro-PE values. Is positively oriented to the values of both PE and PE teachers. Its members associate with ideas of fair play and meritocracy in the classroom and have successful moments during PE. However, these children are not attributed as high status as group 1 children because they often provide group 1 children with opportunities to succeed during PE at the expense of their own involvement.

Group 3:

Possesses Non- or Anti-PE values. Is not positively oriented to the values of PE and the ideas of the teachers. They are often identified by the teachers as lacking co-ordination, as being lazy (i.e. Ewan) and as lacking positive PE role models in their homes. A lack of access to the reward system results in apathy and a low level of involvement during PE class.

⁷ As a result of the findings in this and the preceding two chapters.

These children were perceived as possessing low skill and therefore, were attributed low status by the members of all the other groups. They gained no status for their non-conformity. Hence, they were caught in a 'pincer movement'. Their involvement in PE was restricted by high-skilled children not passing to them and the physical potential of non-conformist children frightening them from fully participating in PE classes. These children were found to have the lowest level of involvement in PE of any children who took part in the study.

Group 4:

Possesses Non- or Anti-PE values. Is not positively oriented to the values of PE and the ideas of the teachers. They often negotiate the rules of PE activities⁸ in an effort to achieve successful moments. Attribute status to children's ability to negotiate the rules. Confront the teacher's authority. Teachers identify their value system with factors outside of the school setting i.e. anti-PE home background.

Group 5

Possesses Non- or Anti-PE values. Is not positively oriented to the values of PE and the ideas of the teachers. They often negotiate the rules of PE activities in an effort to achieve successful moments. Attribute status to children's ability to negotiate the rules. Confront the teacher's authority. However, unlike group 4 these children derive status from their potential for violence and the fact that they resort to violence when ever their status is threatened. Teachers identify their value system with factors outside of the school setting i.e. anti-PE home background.

⁸ Teachers and group 1 and 2 children refer to this as cheating.

The existence of these groups¹ meant that the hierarchy represented in chapter five was not rigid. Children did not have to slavishly adopt certain roles in PE. They had the choice how they reacted to the children around them. They could confront their class mates and renegotiate their relationships with them.

Teachers were aware of children with pro and anti PE values. They were found to label anti-PE children. They were extremely strict with these children and restricted their participation during PE class more often than children with pro-PE values. Teachers were found to give children with pro-PE values more leeway in the classroom. At the same time, it was found that teachers labelled some low status children as 'non-tryers'. In this way they, again, reinforced the low status of these children and their expectation of what these children could achieve decreased.

Teachers were found to differentiate between children in terms of their personal attributes, confirming Hendry's (1978) description that teacher's perceptions of children's social and personal attributes influence children's involvement in PE. A characteristic of this differentiation was that teachers possessed a lack of, or increased, expectation with regards to certain children. Moreover, teachers were found to use differential methods to reward and discipline pupils, (Again substantiating the views of Thomas (1991)).

Teachers took steps to prohibit children's patterns of behaviour when these patterns excluded a majority of other children's involvement and did not correspond to teacher's perception of how a PE activity should be played. This intervention was based on meritocratic ideas. When intervention took place it did so on the basis that the teacher believed that those children who were being excluded during the PE activity were actually trying to take part in the class.

¹ Group 2 could be related to Fleming's (1991, 1992) Straights and Boffins, Group 3 to the Victims and Groups 4 and 5 to the Street Kids.

Intervention did not occur when the teachers understood a child's exclusion to be the consequence of his/her own personal characteristics. This was especially true where the child was perceived as non-conformist.

The children in groups 3, 4 and 5's non—conformity was related to the fact that they lacked opportunities to succeed during PE. This finding confirmed the writings of Willis (1977) and Hargreaves (1986) that children who developed non-conformist attitudes to the education process did so because they perceived the rewards of that process to be outwith their grasp. Teachers were discovered to be unaware of this fact. It was concluded that only by developing teaching methods⁹ which could allow these children moments of success would it be possible to integrate them into the process of PE.

Trevarthen and Grant's (1980) and Cherfas's (1980) assertion that play involved the use of the most complex of social abilities could be related to children's involvement in PE. Their views could be developed to state that PE involves complex and contradictory values. Pupils make a choice to accept or reject these values.

Comoe-Krou's (1986) idea that play acts to integrate children into ideas of community could be developed, as a result of these findings, to suggest that differentiation between children in PE acts to divide children into various integrated groups such as high-status groups, low status groups, non-conformist groups and so forth. It was concluded, therefore, that PE can be both integrative and divisive at the same time¹⁰. What was good and enjoyable PE for some children could be irrelevant and alienating PE for other children. Enjoyment of PE, therefore, was identified as having a group context.

⁹ Beginning in primary schools.

¹⁰ This is especially true when associated with Talbot's (1993) idea that certain PE lessons can be viewed by potential participants as exclusive.

This finding meant that Comoe-Krou's (1986) contention that the border line between play and non play was socially defined could be reinterpreted to state that the border between children's understanding of what is or is not play, PE, or, sport is culturally defined.

The argument that youth cultures are based on biographies which are defined as the careers of individuals based on daily experiences of structures and cultures (Hall and Jefferson 1976) has value here. It is the contention of this study that a dialectic not only exists between agency and structure but also between agency and culture. Not only do children make choices which are affected by and effect those structures around them but these choices are affected by and effect those cultures around them.

Explained in terms of the PE classroom; a child makes choices during a basketball game. This choice is affected by and effects a number of children around him/her. Each of these children possesses values and patterns of behaviour that amount to a culture, this culture may be the same or different to his/her parents culture and same or different to the cultures of the other children taking part in the game. Consequently the child's choice involves a dialectic between the child's culture and the other children's cultures.

At the same time each child's and each group of children's behaviour can be related to the structure of the PE classroom. The PE classroom has two parts. The first part of the structure of the PE classroom is the formal rules as laid out by the teacher and school PE policies. The second part is the rules which underpin the PE classroom¹¹. In this case the underlying rule of participation in PE has been defined as; children participate in PE to succeed.

¹¹ Bourdieu (1990: 10) refers to this as the 'ordering principle'.

Hence, when children interact with other children or the teacher during PE there are four factors at work. The agency of the child (culture a), the agency of the other child or teacher (culture b), the rules of PE pertinent to that moment of interaction (structure a) and the underlying rule that PE should be about success (structure b).

The outcome of the interaction depends, therefore, on five dialectics; the dialectic between culture a/structure a, culture a/structure b, culture a/culture b, culture b/structure a and culture b/structure b. When put into the context that this chapter identifies five separate cultural groupings, the situation is extremely complex in the case of group interactions¹².

When related to Hall and Jefferson (1976) it could be argued that young people's lives, with regards to PE, should be viewed as involving a career of dialectical experience based on the above. Some of these experiences will be integrative and others will involve conflict. This means any attempt to change PE policy must be built on a understanding of the dialectics between cultures and structures in PE classrooms.

For example a change in curriculum content (structure a) from competitive activities to non competitive activities, which aims to reduce elitism¹³ would have to be understood as affecting the aim of children to gain success in PE (structure b) and therefore, bringing a response from children in terms of how they would choose to behave (possibility of five different cultural responses). The children's decisions (agency) would have consequences for the actual form the new curriculum content (structure) took. They would most likely find new ways to compete. This would mean that their cultural patterns had overcome a change in structure.

12 The no of dialectical moments between the five cultures and two structures is ten. There is the possibility for four dialectical moments between the five cultures.

13 Which has been shown to be misguided in the last chapter.

Therefore, this chapter suggests successful policy changes in PE, would involve policy makers predicting the consequences of the dialectic between structure and agency in PE classes. That is, a successful PE policy would predict the meaning of change for each group within the PE classroom and the structures underlying interaction within the PE classroom.

Hence, this type of PE policy could improve the process of PE by encouraging teachers to understand the way in which children of different cultures interact and the fact that this interaction can lead to conflict during PE classes.

We can describe instances which lead to conflict in Bourdieu's terms. The conflict between two children's views of how to behave in a PE classroom is the struggle of two children with different definitions of legitimate behaviour. Both children are trying to monopolise the definition of legitimate behaviour. This struggle is dialectic in nature.

Bourdieu believed that sports participation involved a struggle of cultural capital. In a PE classroom each cultural grouping attributes status to certain behaviour, each child's membership of a cultural grouping involves the reproduction of that behaviour and each member of the group derives cultural capital from their ability to represent this behaviour.

However, because not all groups have the same definition of high status behaviour, certain children are attempting to reproduce and reinforce one form of behaviour at the same time as other children are attempting to reproduce other forms of behaviour.

This means that a number of definitions of cultural capital can exist at the same time in a PE class, each definition has its supporters who attempt to reinforce this definition at the expense of other definitions. When two children with different ideas of cultural capital interact, one must back down or the interaction will lead to conflict until one child's idea of cultural capital is reinforced at the expense of the other child's definition of cultural capital.

Bourdieu's idea's that the social space between classes is defined by their condition of existence has meaning here. Children become aware of how their behaviour during PE classes is different to other children's behaviour. This creates space between them and children who do not behave like them, whilst creating bonds with children who do behave like them. Bourdieu states, people relate to certain areas through becoming aware of how their behaviour in these areas is different and that classes struggle to impose their idea of legitimate behaviour on a social area.

What this means for teachers and policy makers is that it may be possible to provide all children with equal opportunities during PE if ways can be found to enable children to develop the perception (what ever their personal characteristics) that their participation in PE classes is welcomed by their fellow participants. It is the finding of this chapter that the teacher who, in a reflexive way, finds a line between the different cultures of the classroom may be able to make each distinct group of children feel part of the PE process. This turns the role of the PE teacher into that of a cultural negotiator which contrasts with the present uni-cultural approach to PE identified in this chapter.

The struggle illustrated in this chapter occurs between children of different cultures. Hence the social space is created between children of different cultures. However, the interaction of structures and cultures in the PE setting is not the only factor which determines group membership and cultural identity. The importance of factors outside the school setting on children's behaviour within PE classrooms was brought into play by the findings in this chapter¹⁴.

I was aware that any changes in PE curriculum which were to address cultural issues would have to understand how the culture was developed in the first place. Though links between children's behaviour in primary and secondary schools have been identified in the previous chapters, the role of influences outside of the school (i.e. non-school sports clubs, parent's help, friends, previous experiences of sport) have yet to be identified. The following chapter will discuss the children's past and present sports interests and identify links between children's behaviour in PE classes and their sports interests outside of school hours.

14 This is dealt with in the following chapters.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INFLUENCES IN CHILDRENS' SPORTS AND PE PARTICIPATION

Any attempts at curriculum change in PE classrooms will have to address how children's behaviour in PE is influenced by their experience of non-school sport. In this chapter a number of categories of sports involvement are defined in an attempt to illustrate children's variety of affiliations to sporting activities. The relationship between the patterns of behaviour of children during PE and children's 'free time' behaviour is discussed. The understandings developed in the previous chapter, namely, that children could be differentiated on the grounds of their skill levels (perceived and actual), confidence levels and the values they exhibited during PE lessons, are related to children's sports behaviour patterns.

The influences affecting children outside of the school (i.e. non-school clubs, parents' help, friends and previous experiences of sport) are represented in terms of the children's responses to interviews carried out during the study. It is concluded that children's different opportunities to participate in social and club competitive ball sports results in differentiation during primary and secondary school PE which leads to the development of the groups identified at the end of the previous chapter. Moreover, it is argued that the consequence on school children of the differential availability of sporting resources outwith PE must be addressed if policy makers are to influence children's behaviour during PE.

Types of Non-PE Sports Activities:

From the interviews I carried out with secondary school children I identified a number of activities which children were involved in outside of school time.

Club Sport:

These forms of sports involvement could be separated into participation of school and non-school clubs. The activities which took place at these clubs could further be separated into competitive and non-competitive activities

The competitive sports clubs which the girls interviewed were involved in were basketball, skiing, diving, athletics, volleyball, tennis and football. The non-competitive sports these girls were involved in were synchronised swimming, skiing, dance, fitness and gymnastics.

The competitive clubs that boys were involved in were rugby, football, cricket, badminton, tennis, athletics, golf, basketball, volleyball, chess and skiing. The non-competitive clubs were dance and fitness.

Within this context, some children took part in activities like synchronised swimming and gymnastics which could lead to competition but had not resulted in some of the children interviewed taking part in competition. I understood these activities to be non-competitive activities.

Social Sports:

Again, these activities could be divided into competitive and non-competitive sports.

Non-competitive social sports included skiing, tennis, swimming and ice-skating. Competitive social sports involved rounders, outdoor football played in local parks, five-a-side indoor football, basketball, table tennis, golf. These activities were carried out within groups of friends or relations and involved the children using facilities near their homes. A review of the interviews indicated that almost all of the boys were involved in competitive social sports and that very few girls were involved in these social sports.

I differentiated between social and club sporting activities on the grounds that the former took place at set times during a week and were organised and run by adults, whereas the latter did not involve such a high-level of organisation.

However, these findings are sociological generalisations of the types of activities children were involved in. They tell us nothing of the process of children's sports participation.

The Process of Sports Involvement of Children Perceived as Highly-skilled:

Participation in Club and Social Sports:

I was interested to find out what free-time activities children, who were perceived as having high-skill levels in PE took part in¹. I wondered if it might be the case that high-skill children were involved in more club sports than social sports. My impression was that some amount of coaching led to their high-skill level.

I had identified Andy (Jim's class) as receiving more passes during games at PE. It appeared he had a greater skill level than other children in the class. He stated:

‘A play fir Liby football club on Tuesdays and Saturdays (What about other activities maybe not clubs?) A go swimmin', a just go wi ma pals, usually when its dark early at night an a can't play football an that. Then a go quite a lot, like four times a week, but when its lighter, right, we just play football. Sometimes 'cause it's dark wi go ti Meadowbank, 'cause it's got floodlights and we used to go there a lot ti play table tennis, or badminton, or football. It was just a pound fir table tennis and fifty for the ball, it was about two fifty fir the badminton and a canny remember the football 'cause we just split it.´

I realised that Andy's 'free time' time was almost entirely spent playing sports activities: Only two occasions during the week involved club activities, the rest of his time was spent involved in social competitive sports activities. Andy's relationship with competitive sport had been developed long before he entered secondary school:

(What sports did you do before?) ‘A played for the Crag's school team an a played for Edinburgh primary schools, CP boys club and PL boys club. A played for Edinburgh, Crag and CP at same time and then a left CP for Liby (So Pilton was before that?) Aye. (Why did you leave?) Well CP were a federation team, that's a lower league and Liby were juvenile that's a higher league. (Is that to do with age?) Naw it's better leagues, a just played for PL for a couple o' weeks an then a went ti CP 'cause they seemed a better team. (How did you get involved in these?) Well ma friend in ma class at primary he played for PL an he got me along.

¹ These children were located in group 1 of the five groups identified in the PE setting at the end of chapter 6.

Eh, a wis asked ti play at CP an Liby. (Did you know anyone in these teams?) A never knew anyone in CP, but eh a new ma friend, Neil, he played for Liby, well they'd be under thirteens now but am a year older an a play fir the under fourteens now.'

I compared Andy's responses to Michael's (Nick's class) interview and Kevin B's (Gail's class) interview:

Michael: `A like tennis that's what a do in the holidays, a like swimming, that's it. (Swimming?) Yeh, a go with Garry and sometimes his little sister. (How do you get there?) Garry, a go up ti his house every Friday and sometimes he stays at ma house. Wi sometimes go ti Meadowbank. (What do you do there?) Indoor football wi ma brother and his friends and Garry and that. They just book it. (What about outdoors, what sort of things do you do?) A play football, or, go out an muck about in the woods or something wi Garry and Ross.`

Kevin B: `Yeh, eh a play for a club called Hutchy Football Club, eh, they're a really good team. Eh, sometimes a play squash as well, a used ti be a member at CC squash club wi ma dad and ma sisters. A sometimes play tennis. (What about things like swimming?) Yeh a was there last night. Em, well, ma mum started to go every week so a try and go every week, but it's not always a go. Ma friend Michael comes, or, a might just go like with a big group of friends on a Friday or something. (Do you ever go to the ski slope?) Yeh cause am goin' ti the ski trip in January to Austria. (How often do you go skiing?) Like, sometimes if it's just been raining. (Why?) 'Cause it makes the slope a bit faster, 'cause if it's dryer it sticks to the skis. A go with Kevin C and ma friends. (Do you ever play in parks?) Yeh a go ti the field, like there's like a little park thing at ma bit an wi play football, or, practise chipping golf and that.`

These children played lots of sport in different settings. They played any sport made available to them. I concluded that it was their constant involvement in club and social sport which resulted in their ability in the PE sports setting. This conclusion appeared to be borne out by the Hillside interviews. Dean, an extremely good basketball player, stated:

A go `I basketball at the school Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday an up at the JC on a Thursday night. A go ti karate, ken, at the Commonwealth. A go `I Darren's an play computer an that or take his dug for a walk, ken, up the coal fields up the back, ken, rabbit huntin'. (What other things do you do with your friends?) Just stand aboot an that, walk the streets, (Do you play any games?) Wi play basketball in ma back green sometimes, (How many people do that?) quite a lot eight mibay, ten, an a go swimmin' wi ma pals an that just get the bus up there (Commonwealth). A got in ti basketball at primary, ken, but nae other laddies do that, they did football. A used to be in the school team at primary, a just went along wi ma pals, (What made you stop?) A just didnae like it, a wasnae very good at it.'

Dean's interest in basketball contrasted to the other children he knew at primary school, it was notable that he avoided football because he wasn't very good at it.

Donald stated:

'The morn' al be goin' ti fitbaw after school (At the school club?) Aye. (Do you go anywhere else?) Play fitbaw. (Aye.) Wi go ti the big park up at the JC, (Is there quite a group of you?) Aye. (Are they aw laddies?) Aye, an, just in, there's one guy. (Is he older?) Aye, one's 16, one's 15. Sometimes wi muck about wi the lassies at the venti (adventure play ground) an that. (What sort of things do you do there?) Just have a fart about. A go ti thi commy (swimming) wi ma pals, (The ones yi play football wi?) Aye wi get the bus up (What about the facilities at the JC?) Wi sometimes play basketball, or fitbaw, in the halls, fir fifty P an hoor.'

I had begun with the perception that these children would have learnt their skills through participation in clubs. However, I now realised that though these boys were involved in both social and club competitive sport they were also involved in purely social activities with their friends. This led me to understand that the children perceived as having high-skill levels in the PE setting were not solely involved in sports activities in their free time. Andy, who spent all his free time playing social or club sports appeared to be the extreme. Boys like Andy and Dean had developed their interests in their respective sports at an earlier age; their present sports participation appeared to be the continuation of a trend started at primary school .

I discovered a contrasting situation with regard to the participation in sport of girls perceived within their PE classes as having high-skill levels. Margaret at Hillside stated:

'A go ti the lunch time basketball club, a sometimes go ti dancin' (school club) aefter school. A go ti the leisure centre and play badminton. It's a club thi teach badminton. (How did yi get involved in that?) A just went round ti see what was goin' on and they taught me. A go every Wednesday it seven o'clock, two hoors fir two pounds. (Have you ever been to Meadowbank?) Aye a went no long ago ti a tournament, yi ken, (a basketball course held during the Easter holidays). (What about the Commonwealth Pool?) Commy, aye wi ma pals an that. A wis in the basketball team it primary, they didnay really have much else, the teacher asked me to go.'

Hazel at Riverview stated:

(What sports activities do you do?) Just basketball and a go running three times a week. A go to the Riverview Basketball Club and the City Athletic Club. We race all year like in the winter, it's cross country and in the summer there's a league and a final and everything, and there are other races in between. (How often?) Monday and Thursday at six o'clock and Sunday at eleven o'clock in the morning. (What about at home?) Ad just muck about on the computer or muck about outside and things. Louise T she lives near Riverview and Sarah lives at Calton, sometimes, it's like, on Fridays after school, or on the weekends, we might go to the cinema, or swimming, or something. (Do you do any other things?) A wanted to go to the youth club but a can't 'cause ave got ma running on Thursdays. We used to have a youth club at ma bit but that was on a runnin' day as well.'

Susan at Riverview stated:

`A go to basketball on Mondays at the school with Hazel and Lynn and Thursdays to the Livy Club with ma sister. (How did you get involved in that?) Well ma sister went first so a just went when a wis old enough. (What other sports do you do?) Ave got a pass an that so a can go up skiing any time a want. Ma dad gives me a lift up with ma sisters. A can go to Meadowbank and do running, a used to be in the club but a gave it up now, it was City Mill Club, it just got boring. 'Cause we did like javelin every week and shot-putt and a just wanted to get better with ma running. (Do you go to the Commonwealth pool?) A go there sometimes wi ma mum and ma two sisters after, like sometimes on a Friday. (What do you do if you go out?) Just go down town. (What does that entail?) Just looking around the shops. A sometimes play in the street at ma bit but it's no very often.. (Hazel said she sometimes played hidy and chainy?) Yeh we sometimes do that as well.'

These girls had developed their interest in competitive sports activities starting at primary school and now were increasing the specialist nature of their involvement in their respective sports. This increased involvement meant spending several days a week on one specific sport, yet maintaining an involvement in another sports clubs at the school level.

Although in some cases the actual sports they were involved in were not available at the club level in their primary schools, this had not hindered their involvement in other competitive activities in secondary school. Thus, importantly, primary school age activities were used as a stepping stone to a range of other sports activities at the secondary school level.

It means that if children have a positive involvement in sport at a primary school level, the likelihood is that they will be involved in extra-curricular activities at the secondary school level, even if these activities involve different sports.

Notably, these girls did not take part in social competitive sports. All the competitive sports they were involved in took place in club situations. This meant their experiences of these sports were developed in situations controlled by adults. Their patterns of sports participation fitted into my preconceived ideas that high-skilled children would have learnt these skills only through their participation in clubs. That is, unlike boys they did not learn about competitive sports during social sports participation.

I realised this meant that boys' involvement in social sports did not involve interaction with girls. When I reviewed my interviews this was confirmed. No boys said they were involved in social competitive sports within which girls participated.

I now understood why certain boys had the perception that girls were not good at competitive ball sports. Firstly, boys did not play competitive sports with girls so their ignorance resulted in them being prejudiced against girls. Secondly, the fact that these boys spent more of their free time playing ball sports meant that they developed a greater skill level and understanding of competitive ball sports, than their girl counter parts of the same age.

Having discovered that high-skilled children were involved in sports clubs, school sports clubs and social sports, I wondered how they differentiated between these areas of sports involvement.

Differentiation Between Sports Activities:

I had begun to develop an understanding of the different types of activities available to the children. They could play the same sport in a number of different settings. What I did not yet understand was how they differentiated between these settings.

When I reviewed my interview with Susan, I recognised some relevant insights. Susan went to both school and non-school basketball clubs. She made an interesting differentiation between the school club and the non-school club.

Susan - 'Well Miss D, that's the Livy coach, she's more professional 'cause she plays for Scotland so she doesn't let us muck about, so we have to get to work or we get thrown out the team. (So what kinds of practices do you do?) We practise lay ups an then we get shown different zones, like the two, one two and all that kind and the defence positions that you have to do. (What like screens and stuff?) Yeh. There's not so much of that with Mr Mc.'

Susan was aware that the expectations of adults running clubs could be different and that different clubs could take training or competitive activities more, or less, seriously. The inference was that school club sport was less specialised than non-school club sport.

As this interview developed I gained greater insight into the perception Susan and her sisters had of sports involvement:

'Wendy plays basketball for Livy. (How did she get involved?) Mr Mc told her about the basket ball and she was told to go along to hockey because Mr C thought she was good at it. She plays hockey for Riverview, they train on Wednesdays after school. (What about your other sister?) Yeh, she does netball every Tuesday. It's a school club that she goes to and she does skiing every Thursday. She gets a season pass which allows her to go up for any day. She's also done all her grades and her instructor said she was good enough to go for the LSRA and she got in for it, she did it through the school.'

Susan said her sister joined a hockey team because her teacher thought she was good at hockey. This reminded me of other interviews I had carried out.

A number of girls mentioned that club membership related to whether they, or another child, were good at the activity. Indeed, this was a common issue surrounding club membership:

Thuri: 'A go with ma sister, a like running and a used to do it at school sports an a did it really well, an a just got a leaflet to see how to join.'

Hazel: 'A get there by car, eh ma mum and ma dad. There used to be a girl there before me but she wasn't very good so she just gave up.'

Susan: 'A did it (basketball) at primary school an a was good at it, an ma sister went to the Livy basketball team so a went as well.'

In these cases the girls' idea of themselves was crucial. Thuri and Susan chose to increase their level of involvement in basketball and athletics to that of 'club player'. The girl in Hazel's club chose to stop her involvement in the club because, according to Hazel, she was not good enough. I had become aware that the girls' idea of their own ability and other girls' abilities was crucial when it came to deciding whether to join or maintain their involvement in a club.

The girl who stopped going to athletics must have thought she was good enough to start at the club. She could only have come to the conclusion she was not good enough by comparing herself with the other girls. I realised that this was a similar process to that identified in the PE setting. Children developed their understanding of who was 'good' and 'bad' at an activity by comparing the children taking part in the activity. They developed a hierarchy in their heads based on their own and other children's abilities.

Hazel's statement made me understand that in the club setting children could be perceived by other children, or by themselves, as having low status. The perception the children held (as had been the case in the PE setting) was that it was not normal to take part in an activity if you were not good at it. Once again, I had been made aware that low status in sporting situations reduced participation by individual children.

High skilled boys held a similar view point to the girls. I had asked Andy during a PE class if he played football for the school team; he said he didn't play for the school football team because they were not as good as the club he played for.

This view of which clubs were better was held by Kevin B, he stated:

'Yeh a play for a club called Hutchy vale football club, eh, they're a really good team.'

Michael also held this view that some teams were better than others,

Michael - 'Am in N M football club but am goin' ti GP 'cause they're better. (What about the school team?) Yeh third years 'cause am that good, a had to go in goal for them though, so did Garry, a went for the trials for Edinburgh but a never got through.'

Michael had an awareness of his own abilities at football. He knew he was good at football because he had been picked to play for the football team in the year above him.

I realised that it was not only important for children to think themselves good at a sport so that they joined a club, but it was also important that they found that the club was of a certain standard. The children had to pose the questions, 'Am I good enough for this club?' and 'Is this club good enough for me?'. This meant that one club could be 'good' for one boy and 'not good' for another boy. Again I became aware of the existence of an idea of hierarchy, which was based on how a club was perceived by the children.

This raised the issue of, 'how does a child decide if they are a club player or a school player?' I was sure that this idea depended on the children's view of themselves. In PE the child decided, 'can I do this activity?', in relation to clubs the child had to pose the question, 'am I going to be a social player, a school club player or, a club player?'

My perception was reinforced when I looked at why some boys had stopped certain activities. They indicated that they had given up certain social sports activities because they were not good at them:

Andy: 'A wis ice skatin' once when a wis in Aveymore but a wasn't good at it, a got bruised ankles.'

Graham: 'A went skiing once but a didn't really like it so a haven't been back. (What didn't you like about it.?) Eh a just found it pretty hard to do and eh a kept falling over so a didn't really like it much '

Mark: 'Av got a discount card now, em a didn't used to like skiing but with ma primary they have an activity week and they took the group skiing but I hadn't really done it before and I didn't really like it but I found I like it better when I got used to it, em I go with my friends now. '

Andy and Graham stopped their activities because they were not good at them, Mark overcame his deficiencies and now enjoys skiing. Mark's comments increased my understanding of what sports enjoyment meant to the children. Enjoyment involved being able to do the skills of an activity. Mark only liked skiing once he had, 'got used to it'. The question for me was, if a child is not supposed to try at activities he/she is not good at how are they going to have the opportunity to get used to that activity?

Moreover, though these children were involved in making individual decisions about their sports participation, the context within which the decision making process took place was the group. That is, I was aware that children decided how good they were at an activity, during PE, by comparing their ability to that of the children around them. Now I had identified the same process as affecting children's participation in competitive sports clubs. In both situations though the individual child makes an individual decision, that decision relates almost wholly to the other children around that child.

This made it likely that those children who were stigmatised during PE classes did not take part in sports clubs because of this process. That is, that the negative perceptions that the children had about some of their classmates' abilities at PE not only inhibited those children's involvement in PE, they lessened the likelihood of these children taking up a sport outside of school time.

High-Status Children in Primary Schools Interests:

Kiren had received a lot of passes whilst playing basketball, indeed the teacher appeared to reinforce his status by asking him to referee. When I interview him his 'free time' activities were very similar to that of the high status boys at Riverview:

(What do you do after school?) Em, watch the telly, listen to music and play games with my brother, or a go swimming, 'n play football on the street wi' ma brother and his friends. A play for the football team on a Saturday and the practices are on Wednesday and Fridays. Wednesday we practise in the school hall and Friday we practise on an astro-turf pitch. (How did you get involved in this?) Well, the head teacher told us, 'cause a was in the football team last year, that if we were interested we could come in again and pick a team, that would be interested in making up a new football team. Last year a asked one of the people who were already in the football team if they could ask if a could get in and a got in.

I realised that Kiren had a number of opportunities to practise his football skills both in the street and in his football club. These activities did not involve members of the opposite sex and this gender separation of activities children at primary school was confirmed in Ashley's interview:

Ashley: (What do you do after school?) A sit down and watch telly sometimes, children's ITV and BBC, Neighbours 'n Home an Away. (What about if you go out?) Yeh, sometimes a sleep over at my friend Sarah's house, or go over after school, an that. Sometimes we go down to her gran's while she's waitin' on her dad to pick her up, she's just down the road at the bottom. We just play in the back green while were waitin', we usually sit an talk, or we have to keep her little sister occupied as well. (What about other?) We, sometimes, well we usually go swimmin', or go an see a movie wi Sharleen an a few other people from the class. (Do you do any sports activities?) Yeh, sometimes, well av started ice skatin' a do that on a Wednesday night an sometimes on a Saturday and em a used to do gymnastics but av just passed another grade so it's off for a few weeks and a do netball as well. (How did you get involved in ice-skating?)

Well one time, sometimes Sarah comes as well, an one time we went on a Sunday because Lauren ma sister had been pestering ma mum to do something so we just went down there an a invited Sarah and Claire. And we just went down ice skatin an we heard about the lessons and stuff. (What about gymnastics?) Ma mum got me involved, she read up about it an got me, enrolled me an stuff. (And netball?) There's a club, its called netball for kids, am not sure where it is. It's like part of like, there's different sports that go on there, a just found that in the Yellow Pages a just found it from, a did it when a lived in Australia, a went before 'cause a liked it an that.'

Ashley's competitive sports involvement took place in a club situation not a social situation which contrasted with Kiren and the high-status boys at Riverview. Her interests were very similar to the primary age interests which Susan and Hazel had described to me. It suggested that the availability of competitive sports clubs for girls of primary school age was an important factor which led to their future involvement and enjoyment of sports.

Again, it was noticeable that all Ashley's 'free time' activities were carried out with other girls. I realised something important during this interview: Ashley had one close friend, Sarah who she spent a lot of time with. This contrasted with Kiren who played football with his brother and his brother's friends. I realised that the activities of high-status boys needed more people to take part. This reminded me of my own childhood where I would wander around other boys' houses to round up enough people for a game of football. Boys needed more boys to make the games better.

I reviewed my interviews and realised that, in most cases, girls spent time with one or two other girls. This contrasted with boys who tended to be involved in same sex groups. The alternative to this was the older working class² boys and girls (those who were in second or third year) who had contact with members of the other sex during social activities in their home area.

² What I mean by working class is clarified towards the end of the chapter.

I had identified a link between the behaviour patterns of those children who participated in competitive activities in secondary schools and those children who participated in the same type of activities in primary schools. Boys tended to learn about competitive activities in both club and social settings during primary schools. Girls were found to learn about competitive sports in club settings. These same boys and girls carried on their involvement in competitive activities once they entered the secondary school. To some extent, the stereotypical views held by boys about girls' sport and PE participation could be related to the fact that boys and girls do not take part in competitive social sport together, and rarely take part in mixed sex competitive sports at primary school age. The next step was to investigate how low status children learnt about sport.

The Process of Sports Involvement Of Children Perceived as Less Highly-Skilled:

These children could be separated into those who had some level of involvement in club and social sport³, those who were only involved in social sports activities⁴ and those who were only involved in social activities⁵.

Participation in Club and Social Sport:

I had come round in a circle, I had attempted to understand how non-PE sports involvement led to children coming to the PE situation with high-skills. Now I was wondering if involvement in PE led to non-involvement in sport outside of school.

I had the idea that those children perceived (within PE classes) as being less skilled would not be involved in sport outside of the school setting. This perception was confronted very early on during my interviews.

Julie had a low level of involvement in PE classes. Her teacher had told me that she was not involved in sports. Julie stated:

(What sports activities do you do after school?) Gymnastics, a used to do it twice a week but we only do it once a week now. Em it's outside of town, ma mum takes me in the car. A used to go three times a week when a was younger, so there wasn't time for much else. (How did you get involved in the gymnastics?) A think it was primary, one ma friend went down so I did as well. (What about other sports?) Em well av been going swimming for quite a long time (Who with?) Just ma brother or some of ma friends (How often?) Every week. (What about people like Hazel and Susan do they live near you?) Hazel yeh, a know her but a don't really see her much after school, em she's not that far away but like, Susan, a used to be in her class at primary school, but a don't really see that much of her.'

³ These children were located in group 2 of the five groups identified in the PE setting at the end of chapter 6.

⁴ These children were located in groups 3-5 of the five groups identified in the PE setting at the end of chapter 6.

⁵ These children were also located in groups 3-5 of the five groups identified in the PE setting at the end of chapter 6.

I was surprised by the fact that Julie was involved in sports clubs. What this made me realise was that it was not the case that she was put off sports by her school experiences, rather, she chose to take part in non-competitive sports clubs and these were influenced by her friends and parents.

I began to think that status (In PE) was attributed (by the highly-skilled children and their teachers) to those children who were involved in competitive sports activities outwith the PE class. That is, Julie's teacher thought her not to be 'sporty', despite the fact that she had been involved in gymnastics for a number of years, because she did not take part in competitive sports clubs .

Julie was aware that she had a problem during competitive sports at PE:

'Em if a got a bit bored when we were doing basketball, a wouldn't, a wasn't as enthusiastic as a was in everything else. (So what sort of things did you do when you got bored?) Sit an complain sometimes an that, like, say a hated basketball, an that. That's about it. (Do you try as hard at competitive activities?) We mostly do competitive sports an a don't do them as much any more. (Why's that?) A just don't enjoy it as much, competing with other people.'

It was not the fact that Julie was uncoordinated that led to her being perceived as not highly skilled, it was the fact that she was not fluent in competitive ball sports. Notably, she did not socialise with children like Susan and Hazel who were perceived as high-skilled even though they lived in her home area. Also she was not involved in social or club competitive sports. This meant she had no vehicles through which to learn about competitive sports.

My perception that children perceived as 'sporty' were proficient in competitive ball sports and those children perceived by their class mates as not 'sporty' were not proficient in ball sports, was reinforced when I interviewed Richard. Richard's teacher and class mates attributed him with low status in sport, yet I discovered he was an accomplished athlete:

^A like athletics a came third in the Scottish cross-country championships, and our team came twentieth in the inter-Britain. Well a was training four times a week and a was second in the Edinburgh league and that was just because a missed some of the races and now I'm out of it cause I'm injured. (Which club did you run for?) Well a used to go to Edinburgh athletics and a'll probably start again because it's clearing up, starting to anyway. (Where did you train?) A trained down at Meadowbank and the Meadows and I used to go running in Arthur's seat. (Who did you go with?) Well, I didn't go with anyone in the school but I had friends in the running club. (What about other sports facilities like swimming?) I usually go with my dad and my dad's friend and occasionally I go with friends from school. (Do you just go home straight away after school?) Yes, I have dinner, or read a book, or do my homework, or I've made aeroplanes and gliders so I'd do that before I go out. I play the violin, eh, in the regional orchestra and the school orchestra, but not at the moment they start again in September. (What about activities in your home area?) We don't usually just go outside and muck about, like I find most people they go out and play football, but if, we might go up and buy a book or something but not much. (Do you have friends....?.(interrupts)) Eh I have friends in church that are older who I go swimming with sometimes, but not really, I think if I lived in a flat, I'd have more friends and more variety of friends 'cause you'd meet the people in the flats around you.'

Richard's involvement in athletics was very high, yet it had nothing to do with the school. Moreover, his involvement occurred in spite of the negative labelling he received in the school PE class. It was noticeable that Richard was not involved in competitive social activities with other children and that he himself felt this was not normal for someone his age. He concluded that this happened because he did not have many friends. His perception was that boys of his age played sports like football in a social setting.

This interview, when understood within the context of Julie's statements, revealed to me that children who have low status in the PE setting need not necessarily have low involvement in sports. Rather, their low status is related to their lack of involvement and experience in competitive ball sports. Moreover, I began to understand the sort of factors that influenced a child's sports involvement, such as encouragement from parents or friends. This led me to believe that Julie and Richard's sports involvement occurred outwith the influence of their school's PE department.

This was an important understanding. It meant that even if children were isolated in PE classes they could still be encouraged, by parents or friends, to take part in sport outside the school setting.

However, I also realised that these children could not address their low status in the PE setting unless they had a chance to improve their experience of competitive ball sports. They did not appear to have these opportunities within their home setting.

These children's perception of their sport's involvement was not centred around taking part in competitive ball sports in social and club settings. They did not spend every evening in the park playing football, or attending sport centres to play basketball, or attending school clubs to play volleyball, hockey or football. It was their alternative 'free time' patterns that differentiated them from the 'sporty' children.

This made me confront my own prejudices: I had believed that when I interviewed the children, it would be easy to differentiate them into those who played sport and those who did not. I had been wrong.

Non -High Status Primary School Children's Club and Social Sports Interests:

Carol and Amy had, in my opinion, a reasonable level of skill during PE classes, but not as high as Kiren and Ashley. Carol stated:

`On Mondays and Wednesdays a go to the SS club an like we go on trips and we won a competition for a model, or something. (Who do you go with?) Victoria and Anne, but they all go different days because on Wednesday Victoria's got her acting. Less people go on Mondays and like, less younger people go there so we get to play darts an that. On Fridays, a normally go out an play, but on Friday you know how we get out early, a have ti wait on ma friend 'cause she gets a half day on Wednesdays. We've got woods beside us an we go there and we go cyclin' runs, or play on the trees, or play swing ball. (Who do you play with?) Two people, av got one she lives at ma bit at and one she goes to Grants school. They both used to live next to me. (Do you go to their houses?) Yeh, we play board games and we play computers, ma best friend, the one at ma bit, she got a Sega Masters system and a`ve got Nintendo. (What about sports?) A go swimmin at the Commy, or Leith Waterworld, wi ma friends.

Av went ice skating every three weeks, it just depends when av got time. Megabowl Cool Cats Club, a sometimes go to that with Katie. At the weekends we stay at each other's house. A used to be in the girls' football team, but girls stopped comin' to it so it stopped 'cause most of them were primary seven and a wis primary six and a just stopped going. (Have you gone to any other clubs?) A left drama because there was this man and he was off more times than a wis there, one of ma mum's friends, Deirdrie, like does it, an she told us about the club. A was in a art club, but a stopped because we always did the same things over and over again and it was boring.'

I realised that Carol's involvement in sport, did not involve competitive ball sports. She had been involved in the girls' football club at her school but this was no longer running. Notably, even when she had been involved in this club it was single sex. Almost all her free time was spent with girls, usually one of her two close friends. Her interests were more socially and aesthetically oriented than those of the high-status children.

Amy stated:

'Well, a get the bus home an when a get home a just sit an watch TV. (What other things do you do inside?) Well av got computers an a sometimes play with it an sometimes a play in ma room, listen to pop music, or draw pictures, or something. (What do you do if you go out?) If it's some special occasion we go out on a meal somewhere; we go to this Chinese restaurant, or sometimes a just brush ma hair an go to Emma's house. We go outside on our roller blades or sit on our own an do stuff. Or we play games on her computer. Emma's the one a sit beside in the class. (What about if you go outside, what do you do?) A go swimming, usually ma dad drops us off, an we just, eh, we just walk, an av been to the pictures with Lauren and our big sisters. We sometimes go down to Savacentre wi our sisters and walk around Well, we just muck around an we look in shops an things and if we see something wi like, an it's not too expensive then we might buy that. A used to do basketball, but it kept on getting cancelled an everything, so a just didn't bother going back 'cause you never knew if it was gonny be cancelled or not. Ms G the other primary seven teacher started running it because she is quite good at teaching basketball, so she was the one who started it up.

Amy, like Carol, had a mix of social and sports interests. I was struck by the fact that she and Carol had both been involved in competitive ball sports but had stopped because the clubs stopped. These girls' opportunities to learn competitive ball sports had been reduced by insufficient opportunities.

I realised that at primary school age the children wanted clubs to be constant and not to involve too much repetitive activities or they would stop going to them. Importantly, these children would have played competitive ball sports if the clubs had been organised for them properly.

This was an interesting issue. These children failed to gain experience of competitive ball sports because the clubs that offered these activities were not run properly. That is, they chose to take part in competitive ball sports but this choice was not catered for by the available facilities. If they had been boys this would not have been so important because they would have had the opportunity to play outside with groups of other boys. These girls did not have that opportunity. Like Richard, they were starved of opportunities to take part in social or club competitive ball sports.

I realised that facilities and opportunities allowing girls, and boys like Richard, to take part in competitive ball sports at primary school age were crucial if these children were to have the opportunity to further their interests in sport. Importantly, these children had wanted to take part in competitive ball sports. I understood from this that it would not be a case of coercing children into, so called, 'male-dominated activities'. If these children were given the opportunity to take part in competitive ball sports, it would be a case of allowing them to fulfil their own wishes.

Again, a link was identified between children's involvement in sport and PE in primary and secondary schools. This situation contrasted with that of Thuri. Thuri, like Richard, was involved in an athletics club. She took part in no competitive club, or, social ball game activities. When I interviewed Thuri, she said the only sport she did was athletics, but in fact, she also went swimming and skiing. I developed an insight into how she made decisions about choosing to do social sports activities amongst her and her friends:

'Athletics, a go with ma sister, a like running and a used to do it at school sports an a did it really well, an a just got a leaflet to see how to join. (Do you ever go swimming?) Yeh a like swimming. (Where do you go swimming?) The Commonwealth, a go wi ma friends. (But a thought you didn't like swimming?) A hate going wi the school 'cause yi stand about gettin' cold, like yi don't get ti do what yi want. But a don't mind going wi ma friends an everythin, havin' fun. (How do you decide what to do with your friends?) When we're bored, 'n that, wi think wi need something, rather than sitting on our butts, wi just say why don't wi go skiing, or something. Em, like, yi could be at home an someone 'ill call yi up an' say why don't wi go swimming, or you call some. (What about in the past, primary school?) A didn't play any sports, it was always basketball at PE which I hate.'

Thuri's involvement in athletics came about despite her lack of involvement in sports at primary school. I realised that if a child had the idea they were good at a sport they would be inclined to join a club even if they had not previously been involved in sport.

This issue was important as it meant that just because a child was not sporty at primary school it did not mean that they would never want to take part in sports.

Thuri's social sports involvement contrasted with her athletics involvement which was pre-set on a weekly basis. The important point for Thuri was that social sport should be fun and unregulated. She hated swimming at school because she did not get to do what she wanted. I realised that some children reacted against controlled sporting situations. Her idea of fun did not involve participation in social ball sports, rather she enjoyed participating in unstructured un-competitive social sports such as skiing and swimming. Moreover, she said she had hated basketball at primary school. I realised that not all children wanted to be involved in competitive ball sports at primary school. However, my perception was that if it was possible to make competitive situations in primary school PE classes less elitist, then perhaps children like Thuri would not develop a hate of these activities.

I felt these children lost out during PE classes; I believed this related to the fact that they did not have opportunities outside PE to learn competitive ball sports and I believed that these children required help to learn competitive ball sports.

Children involved in only Social Sport:

Ormond was rarely involved in PE. His parents gave him a note every week so that he did not have to take part in PE. I had fully expected him not to be involved in any sports. He confirmed this at first in his interviews but then later stated that he went swimming and had enjoyed ice skating but did not go anymore:

`(Do you have a favourite activity?) Nut (There must be something you like?) Just playin' Sega all the time, just tryin' ti' get through the rounds and that. A dinnae play any o' the sports games on Sega. (Is there anything else you do?) Sometimes a go to the pool, like aboot once a month, a go ice-skatin' as well, just ma sell, or wi ma niece. (To Peterfield?) Aye a get the bus, but a dinnae go that often. (What about skiing?) Aye a went wi ma school every Thursday for ten weeks, (Did you enjoy that?) Uhuh. (Do you do it any more?) Nut. (Why's that?) A just dinnae go up there now. (Are your parents involved in sports?) Nut. (What do they feel about PE at school?) They just say, `if yi dinnae wan ti dae it, yi dinnae have ti dae it' (What about your brothers?) Aye ma big brother he plays fitbaw. (Did he ever try to get you ti play fitbaw?) Aye he used to try and get me but a never done it. (Do you muck about with friends?) Nut. (Why's that?) A just dinnae like muckin' aboot wi' other people (Why?) Dunno. (A mean av seen them slaggin' you, an that, is it like, do they do that often?) Nut. (Is it because of that?) Nut. (Is it because they play things you don't like?) Aye they're a'ways playin' football. (Are you any good at football?) Nut. (Is that why you don't like it?) Aye. (So what happened, you must have kicked a ball once did you?) Aye, a used to play in primary just a couple of times. (Then what happened?) A just didnae bother playin' it any more after that, an that was aboot it.'

Ormond had very little contact with other children, other than his relatives. Ormond's isolation from his peer group deeply concerned me. It was hard to say if his sports experience lead to his isolation, or his isolation came first. His parents declined to be interviewed so the trail went cold there.

Though Ormond stated that he enjoyed some sports (ice-skating and skiing) I believe that his low perception of his own ability, low status amongst his peer group, no friends to involve him in sports and low sports involvement by his parents, led to his low level of involvement in sports activities.

This situation was compounded by the fact that the few sports Ormond enjoyed (ice-skating and skiing) were both far away from his home area and expensive. His brother had tried to get him involved in football but had failed to achieve this. If his brother had taken him skiing on a weekly basis, Ormond might now have a greater involvement in at least this sport.

My feeling was that Ormond lacked support in his home environment which could help him to take part in sports. This lack of support was compounded by the fact that his parents supported his efforts to avoid taking part in PE classes. Ormond held a strong view of himself as not being involved in sports activities and as not having friends because other children didn't play activities he liked. He differentiated himself as 'not like other children'. This differentiation reminded me of Richard's statement that he might have had more friends if he had lived in a tenement block. Both boys had a perception they were not like other children.

Another child at Hillside who appeared, at first, to have a low level of involvement in sports activities was Gavin. I was aware that Gavin did not get passed to during competitive activities in his PE class. He stated:

'(Do you do any sports activities?) No really. (What about clubs?) A go to the dance club once a week wi' thi school. Mrs P told us aboot it cause a kent aw the moves an that from watchin' the pantomime, a kent it awff by heart. (What about things like swimming?) The Commy. Sometimes a go ma sell, an wi' ma pals an a go to the music club aefter school 'n aw. (What about in the past?) A hated PE in primary it was aw rollin' aboot mats an tryin to do cartwheels aw roll overs an aw that, a load o' rubbish. I tried the football team, a went wi ma pals but a only stayed in it a couple o' times then a left, cause a just wasny inti it.'

Gavin's lack of interest in PE had begun in primary school. I had expected Gavin to be involved in no sports but he liked swimming and dance. The fact that Gavin at first had said he played no sports made me realise that his definition of sport tended to be club and competition oriented.

Interestingly, when I asked the children if they played any sports they would usually mention the club sports they played, or if they did not play club sports, simply replied they did not participate in sports. Only when I asked about other facilities that were available to them did they then say they took part in social sports activities. This occurred in Ormond's and Gavin's interviews. My impression is that those children who only took part in non-competitive and social sport were viewed by their peers, and viewed themselves, as not being 'sporty'. I was again left with the impression that the definition of 'sport' that most children held was 'competitive ball games'.

A quandary for me was, could *dance* be considered as sport? The school dance club did not go in for competitions. However, other dance clubs in the Hillside area did. Gavin had not thought of dance as sport. Up to this point, I realised that neither had I. I came to no real conclusion, other than that my own perception of sport had been very much competitive and club oriented.

These boys had had little encouragement to take part in competitive ball sport at club or social levels. It was my belief that they did not associate with friends or relatives who could encourage their involvement in anything other than social sports activities. I believed that this meant when these children took part in PE in school they had very little experience of sports activities. This lack of experience, in some way, explained their low confidence and low level of involvement in PE classes.

Their 'free time' interests were in some way similar to Lisa's:

'(What do you do in your free time?) Go ti the venti an JC an that, just muck about. (Sports?) Naw, its just a big park. Sometimes go ti the pool an that (How often?) Whenever we want, we used ti go skiing at primary but a didnae keep it up. (Do you have a favourite activity?) Nut. (There's nothing you like doing, what about music?) Aye, yi said sports. (Well, no anything) Goin shoppin' ti Princess street an Glasgow. (Who do you go with?) Pals (Do your parents do any sports?) Naw. (What about your brother and sisters?) Ma bro'er plays football an that at school, ma sisters goes to step up, what is it, the aerobics, eh, 'Step Reebok' at the JC.

Lisa chose to be involved in social activities with her friends rather than the sports activities of her brother and sisters. This had also been the case with Gavin and Ormand. Lisa, like the two boys, occasionally went swimming. However, her real interests were socially oriented and took place with her friends. Lisa had very little interest in PE at school. It was my belief that this related to the fact she chose to associate with children who did not involve themselves in sports activities during their 'free time'.

These children both compared and contrasted with Dinese from Hillside. Dinese was also socially oriented:

'A sit an watch telly, children's ITV, Neighbours and Home and Away or a go ti, ma pal's house, or a might go ti the pictures wi ma pal Gail. Ave been ti her house once, like a go up ti her hoose or she'll come ti mine and we'll sit in ma hoose or that, a prefer sittin' in ma hoose. Wi play wi ma Supernintendo. (How often?) Just aboot every day, but ma dads on it mare often than me. (Do you ever play outside?) Well a play wi Gavin some times just ootside, we go in for other people or walk aboot. Ave some pals frae H school, wi used ti play ken babies together, 'cause ma mum an dad ken her's, an we've known each other frae years,. (What sorts of things do yi do with her?) Go oot up the toon, or thi pictures, or somethin' like that. (What do you do up toon?) Well if av got money, a'll buy stuff, an if av no, all just go 'n look. A go wi ma mum an dad sometimes, ti thi pictures ken if we're goin oot together. (What about sports?) Nut, av been ice skatin wi ma auntie an ma wee cousin Kelly, ave just been the once. Ma mum `ill no let me go ma sell, it's too far. A'd probably get lost. (What about discos?) Nut. (Why?) Ma mum would'ny let me go ti any raves an that, ma dad says yi wouldny know what they were puttin' in yir drink. (Is there anything else you do?) A take wee bairns oot, a take them ti the park, they live roond the corner frae me, like if ma wee cousins stayin wi mi, she's only one and a half, all take hur up tae the park and ma other wee cousin, he's three, al take him up ti the park, a just dae it cause a like it. (Are you doing any sports at the moment?) Nut, but am gony start up somin' at the JC am gonny start up karate, a just ken, yi ken, there's somethin' on at the JC so a went up an got sheets ti see what the times and that are, so all go soon. (Will yi go your sell?) Am gony get Gail ti go wi me.'

Dinese was the first child I had met who was not involved in any sports outside of school. She was very home oriented and her parents appeared to operate a certain level of control over the activities she did. Like Lisa, Dinese was involved in social activities with her friends rather than sporting activities.

This was ironic because she had a high level of involvement in PE at school. I was surprised. I was aware that she had asthma and this appeared to have some bearing on her sports involvement:

(What activities do you like doing in school?) Rounders and badminton and basketball (What do you like about them?) A dinnae ken it's no so energetic as others, an av got asthma. Ma asthma's quite bad and football, yi dae a lot o' running about an that.'

Dinese wanted to take part in some sport, but was aware that she had to be careful of energetic sports. This fact taken in conjunction with the influences of her friends and parents led to her not being involved in sports activities out of school at the time I interviewed her.

Primary School Social Sport:

I was aware that Jason at Calton had low status in the PE class:

'(Are you ever left out of an activity?) Sometimes, 'cause when a pick some people they're with someone else and av got to go with someone else. (Do some children get more passes or more of the ball than other children?) Yeh, some like Neil, Neil passes to Stuart and they sometimes don't pass to anyone else. (Why's that?) A dunno, it might be because they're friends, it might be because they're good at it and they forget about other people. (Does that happen to you?) Yeh. (How do you feel then?) Kind a left out. (What do you do after school?) Nothing really, a just play ma Sega. (How often?) Quite a lot, not every day, most days. (Do you watch TV?) Sometimes. (What sort of things do you watch?) Anything really, just flick the channels see what's on. We just got Sky, a couple of days ago, a think its OK. (What do you watch on that?) Kind of anything, cricket, basketball and aw that, a like basketball. (Do you do things outside?) Well, a sometimes go into the garden and play. (Who with?) A just play on ma own. (Do you have a favourite activity?) Av got two favourites, basketball and football. (Who do you play that with?) Well, half the class go down and play football, a didn't used to play football a used to just go down the Meadows and watch, but a like it now, a scored a goal just yesterday. (Do you go swimming?) A went wi' the class, it's OK, a don't go very often. (What about parks?) A go to the swing park sometimes wi ma granddad, (Where?) On the Meadows.'

It was obvious to me from Jason's interview that he wanted to be involved in competitive activities. He enjoyed watching them on TV, but he did not have any friends (rather like Richard) to play with and his free time outside school was spent indoors (like Ormond).

He did not enjoy being left out of activities. However, recently he had had some success at football and now enjoyed taking part in the games. The problem was that Jason was not involved in any clubs and did not play social sport with other children. This meant he had very few opportunities to increase his skill levels and experiences of sport, other than in PE classes or at break times. In the PE class, children like Neil and Stuart tried to exclude him from the games and until recently he had not been involved in the football games at break time.

Again, my quandary over whether children like Jason should be coerced to take part in competitive ball sports was not a problem here. Jason wanted to be involved, the problem was that he had little opportunity to be involved. I was aware that if his opportunities to be involved in these activities were not increased, his 'free time' patterns and future participation in PE would most likely evolve along the lines of children like Ewan and Ormond.

I had identified a link between children's low involvement in competitive activities and low involvement in PE classes. This occurred both in primary and secondary schools. It was becoming very obvious to me that children's experiences in primary school set crucial patterns for their future participation in sport and PE.

Moreover, I understood, now, that boys who were attributed with low status in the classroom did not take part in social competitive sport. As a result of this fact, their patterns of 'free time' could be identified with the majority of girls who also did not take part in social competitive sports. I concluded, what these children required was opportunities, both in and outside of school, to take part in competitive ball sports at an early age.

Children Oriented to Social Activities:

I had observed David G failing to understand the concept of certain activities in PE classes. He was prone to adapt his behaviour by not following the rules of competitive games (as laid out by the teacher) and by lowering his involvement in competitive games (avoiding taking part in games by wandering about with Ewan and John who were in his class). When I interviewed him he stated he took no part in sports activities. When I asked him about facilities he might have used, I discovered that he did go swimming. However, he never took part in competitive activities in either club or social settings. I was interested to find out what his 'free time' interests were:

`Em, well a go to Johnnie's amusements wi ma friend. A go ti, they've got some snooker tables in it and bandits, (How often do you go to Johnnie's?) Just about every day at the weekends, a leave about two an get back at five. Aafter school a go down aboot five and come back at seven. (If you stay in?) Play on ma computer, or watch the TV. (Do you go to friends' houses?) Aye Steven, Brian and John, we play on the computer. Steven's got Sky and ave just got Sky so we watch wrestling and the big cars. (What about outside if you don't go to Johnnies?) Hang about ma bit, just muck about in our gang an that. (Are these friends in your class?) Na, none o them ir frae Riverview, an none of them were frae ma primary school. (How did you get to know them?) Well Steven's big brother knows ma big brother, so that's how a got to know him, an they live near me. A wiz in the BB's, a got chucked out `cause o' ma bro'er. (How was that?) Well, a wiz at hame an ma bro'er punched his pal in the nose an he (the organiser) said, `hey you shut up curly' an ma bro'er said, `shut up pea head', cause he's got a baldy head, an we got told no to come back.'

David spent all his free time with these friends. I asked him if he ever did anything with his parents and he said 'no'. It appeared that his 'free time' patterns involved going to the amusement arcade to gamble money, or play snooker, and hanging around his area in their 'gang'.

I realised that David had no experience of social or club sports, apart from swimming, and that it was this that led to his lack of involvement in competitive situations during PE. Moreover, the influence of his friends appeared to be more important than his parents, further, this influence did not lead him to a high level of sports involvement. The only club David had been involved in was the BB's and he had been excluded from this club because of conflict between the organisers and his brother.

Lianne had friends whose influence was contrary to sports involvement. Her description of her behaviour outside school reminded me of the behaviour of her friend Emma inside school:

'(Are you involved in any sports activities?) Nut, a never dae sports.. (Do you ever go to swimming pools?) Aye, wi used ti go ti thi infirmary baths, but (Laughs) wi got banned. (Who did you go with?) Wi Emma in Tracy. (Why did you get banned?) Eh cause wi, like, thir wis aways a queue fir thi showers, an we just shoved in, so this fat woman got nippy an Emma told hir ti `shut up fatty', in the guy came an wi got chucked oot. Wi go ti thi Commy now. (How often do you go swimming at the Commy?) Twice a week.'

Lianne had three close friends whose patterns of behaviour were non-conformist at school and at the swimming pool. I realised that their non-conformist behaviour inside school was carried into other areas of their life. Indeed, on one occasion, I was walking through the centre of Edinburgh and came upon her and three of her friends, harassing a boy the same age as them who was wearing the uniform of a fee-paying school:

Just at the moment I walked by Lianne, who had not noticed me, she spat in the face of the boy, punched him a couple of times and said `fuck off then ya snob'. The situation did not seem unusual to me, I was used to watching Lianne in conflict situations and her leisure time appeared to have a similar preoccupation with conflict that her time in PE classes had.

Lianne's 'free time' interests were centred around her friends and they did not differentiate between the conflict type situations they got themselves into in school and opportunities for conflict outside school. Their patterns of interaction involved non-conformist approaches whether it be in the street, swimming pool or the school situation.

Lianne's conflict-based 'free time' interests were similar to Michael's at Hillside. Michael had been involved in competitive and social sports clubs. However, he had been banned due to his behaviour. I discussed this situation with him.

(Do you go to any after school clubs?) Nut 'av been banned from maste o' the aefter school clubs, like there was one at ma primary and a started the badminton after school club an a got chucked out o' that. A wis at the Jim Kane club, an that, but a got chucked oot o' that. (How did you get chucked out of them?) A let doon the Bouncy Castle (said with a beam) 'cause there was people on it an the' just chucked ees oot there an then. (What about the badminton?) Well, badminton a was chucked oot for mucking aboot in the showers. (What about at primary?) Aw primary, (said like 'yuck'), just a wasny behavin' on the trips, an that, cause a threw people in the swimmin pool wi' their claze on. (Why did yi want to do that?) Just fur the fun o it.'

When I asked Michael what he did instead he indicated that he mucked about with friends who were older than him.

(What do you do if you're outside?) Just takin' a long walk, an that, tae the bing (rubbish dump), an that, an have a shot o' a motor bike. (The bing up at?) Aye, 'av got half a motor bike ma sell but its broken the now, an a need a weldin' kit to fix it. (How did yi get that?) Well ma big bro'er had it wi' this other laddie, an ma big bro'er just selt me his half. (Where did yi get the money for that?) A just save it up. (Is there anything else you do outside?) Aye 'av got pals frae H an P schools. (From?) Aye some o' them live in ma area. (What do you do with them?) Go in aw the old hooses an that. A take aw the copper oot. (Do you get money for it?) Aye, a sell it.

Michael's alternative forms of enjoyment to sport appeared to be low level crime. This was confirmed when I asked him if there were any kinds of play or activities of which his parents disapproved. Michael responded:

'Stealin', (Stealin', where do yi go stealin'?) Just steal motor bikes an that, just muck aboot on them an burn them when were finished an that. (You've not graduated to cars yet?) Naw, a know how to hot wire a car but a dinnae dae it. (Have yi been done for it?) Av never been caught on the motor bikes an that, av been caught shop liftin' up the toon wi' a wee laddie.

(An' what happened?) Charged me, put me up on a charge. (Did yi have ti go?) Ti a panel next year. (So yiv not been up for it yet, have yi got any other charges holdin'?) Well a had one but that got taken away fur stealin'. (So what did yir folks think about that?) They didny like it they kept me in fir just about a week. (Did that put yi off?) Well, n', `av no been up the toon since, an that was about last month, av no been anywhere stealin' lately, av been tryin ti get a motor bike but it's got a lock on the front wheel. (What did you do with the stuff you stole from the shops?) Take it roond thi hooses. (What selling it?) Aye.

I had viewed Michael's behaviour in school as non-conformist and now his description of his 'free time' patterns reinforced this non-conformity. However, it was fairly obvious that Michael's behaviour was `par for the course' amongst his peer group. This fact was borne out further on in the interview:

`(Did you ever play in sports clubs?) A used ti play fitbaw it primary, but a lost the first game so a just quitted, a wis goalie. A wis a size three and the laddie gave me a size one and the' squeezed the feet aff me so a couldn'y jump aw that well. (What about teams here?) Na a cany play fitbaw an that now, so every one just gees me a slaggin. (Is that what puts yi off,?) Aye. (Did yi ever go up the sports centre?) Aye quite a lot o times. (What did yi do up there?) Drink. (Where di yi get the drink from?) Shopwrite, it's just at the cross-roads, it's just been built, 6 becks for four ninety nine or three ninety nine. (Do you just go in yir sell?) Aye he just serves yi. (Who else di yi go with up ti the Jim Kane ti drink it) William F. (How old's he?) Fourteen, he's no at this school he's at another school. (Do you ever go to Discos?) Aye a go ti aw o them, just wi ma big bro'er an that an aw his pals the YHT (Young Hillside Terrors), Saturday Sunday an Friday. (Do yi get involved, somebody was tellin' me they don't go any more 'cause there wis too many fights?) Aye it's been shut doon from the under 18s 'cause there were too many; people got stabbed an aw that. When a wis there a went an got smashed in the hand o' there (shows me a large scar). It was just aw fightin', glass bottles an aw, a didny get put in hospital, aw thame did, there wur skin-heads an that, the Leith, an we aw just jumped. They were gettin on ur nerves, an that, aw the baldies. (Was it just guys?) Guys and lassies, aw big baseball bats an that started hittin them, when we heard the police commin' wi just aw ran up Calton hill. (Did they get any one fir it?) A couple o' people got caught, no that much just two or three oot o' the whole forty o' us. One night we aw raided the shop, Supersweet, we aw ran in an grabbed juice an sweets an that from the disco an just ran back oot. An when we wis comin' hame from the Calton, this is about ten half ten, we went an threw a boulder through the windy, an ma broer's pals went an pulled the big juice machine oot, an went behind the till an grabbed stickers, an that, anythings like the bags an aw that.

Michael's patterns of 'free time' were more extreme than the other children I interviewed.

The people he knew were much older than him, mainly because of his brother. Michael's patterns of 'free time' got him into trouble with the police and physically injured.

However, there was a pride in his voice when he relayed the stories of his experiences. Michael's cultural patterns thrived on conflict both inside and outside the school setting. Just as the basketball player gets enjoyment at increasing his/her level of specialism in basketball from social, to club, to district and to international player, Michael increases his expertise in conflict and crime. Conflict and crime are what he practises in his free time and in his interactions with children and teachers at school. Whereas, what the basketball player practises is lay ups and baskets, and methods of gaining status on the basis of his/her ability.

It was noticeable that children like Michael had a history of causing conflict within organised sports and club situations. This conflict had led them to be 'banned' from certain activities. When these children rarely avoided opportunities to cause 'trouble', this contrasted with other children like Peter and Janna:

Peter C: 'A just left Scouts 'cause a didn't get on wi the leader; a didn't like him, but am thinking of joining the ones up at Craiglockhart 'cause a liked it (Scouts), but the leader didn't like me.'

Janna: 'A used to go to the Brownies but it was just sort of boring you didn't really do much and Brown Owl used to always say we'd do things but we never did, so a just stopped.'

Both Peter and Janna left the clubs they were members of. My impression was that had Michael, Lianne, or David G been involved in these clubs they would have complained and created a conflict-type situation which would have ultimately led to them being 'banned'.

When put in the context of conflict I had witnessed in PE classes, I came to understand that children like Michael, Lianne, and David G's idea of themselves was that they reacted quickly to confront a situation.

Often this meant that they made the decision not to conform to expected patterns of behaviour set out by sports centre, or club organisers. It was as if these children were saying, 'we don't have to listen to anybody's rules'.

Unfortunately, I failed to get Michael's parent's permission to interview them and therefore, lost an opportunity to fully follow-up the background behind his 'free time' involvement. I was aware that his parents had separated from each other several times and got back together again and this may have been one of the unsettling parts of his life.

Michael's idea of himself was that he was not good at football and sport but extremely good at disrupting sports clubs. This behaviour was also in evidence in the school PE class. Conflict, crime, violence and riding motor bikes was what Michael knew he was good at and his idea of himself was reinforced through his patterns of 'free time'. This involved a group of older children, including his brother, known as the YHT. I realised that if adults wanted to involve children in sports they would have to compete with the way these groups and children attributed status. My impression was that by helping children like Michael to find success through their participation in sport and PE, their non-conformist attitudes might be confronted.

However, to increase my belief in this impression I believed I had to identify where Michael's non-conformity began. I only identified two children whose conflict approach to PE caused them problems in primary school. These children were Steven at Castle and David at Craggs. Steven had been excluded from school by the time I carried out interviews at Castle. This meant I could not interview him. David's interview brought forth some interesting information:

'(I've noticed that some children kick the ball away when others are trying to pick it up. What's happening here?) A have had that done to me, a was tryin' to turn and a hit ma head off the side of the court and yi just have to get up and start again, or, a would pick a fight with them after school.

(What would happen then?) Sometimes like Kiren am usually pickin' on him, but last time a picked a fight with him he said he couldn't be bothered fightin', he said he didn'y want a fight. (Why did that happen?) Well, he didn'y pass ti me. (Does that happen often?) Yeh, like Peter he's dead tall, so's Tim so they get most of the passes, and Ashley's the best girl player in the class. The girls, like, keep their hair all tidy, but Ashley she, like, goes for the ball, and that, but the girls just stand there like zombies, but Ashley goes for the ball. And the boys are more into sport than girls so we like it better. (What do you do out of school?) Well av got roller blades and a got, em, a mountain bike for ma birthday, so a usually muck about on them, or play wi ma basketball wi ma brothers. If it's a horrible day al just stay in and watch telly or play ma Sega master. (Do you play basketball with anyone else in your area?) No, we don't really associate with them because ma mum doesn't like it there, she's wantin' to move and like av got a few friends that stay down the road and ma nanny and granda stay round the corner. (Few friends?) They go to the primary school at ma bit, they like football so a just play football sometimes, but a like basketball just. Last year a was in the school football team but a quit and ma brother was in it this year but he quit. (Why?) Well, because a wis a defender and, em, we were just losin' every game and the last time we played was the football team where a had a fight on the pitch with one of their players. A left and ma brother left too because all his games were losin as well. There was no point embarrassin' ower sells so a just left, me John and James and Peter.

My understanding of David's behaviour was that if he lost or had his status threatened in one situation he knew he could win it back through conflict and violence. He saw no point in putting up with situations that might cause him embarrassment, even if this course of action caused him to get into trouble. David's experiences at primary school taught him that he did not have to put up with situations he didn't like. My impression was that children like Michael and Lianne had also, somewhere along the line, learnt this lesson. Their idea of self was that they could maintain their status through the use of violence and conflict. It was my belief that by confronting this idea early on at primary school and by allowing these children to find success in other ways, their non-conformist behaviour could be addressed.

I was aware that these children did not have their 'free time' interests stimulated by their parents. I had asked the children what their parents' occupations were; my impression was that these children were working-class⁶. Ormond and Lianne's mothers had not worked, in their memory, and their fathers had been unemployed for such a time as neither child could remember what they used to work as.

Both Michael's parents were unemployed. Lisa lived with her mother who was unemployed, her brothers who were 'builders' and her sister who was a shop assistant. Gavin's mother worked as a cleaner and his father had not worked since getting injured whilst working as a miner. Dinese's father was a slater and her mother a housewife. David G's mother was a housewife and his father a builder. It was fairly obvious to me that these children were from working-class backgrounds⁷.

However, this did not mean that all working-class children were not involved in sports clubs and social competitive sports and were non-conformist to the ideas of sport and PE. Michael at River view's father was a janitor, Dean at Hillside's father was a butcher and his mother a housewife, Margaret's father was a baker and her mother a housewife. I realised that these children had found success through sport and PE. They conformed to the expectations of teachers and adults who ran clubs. This realisation confirmed my impression that non-conformist children required to have the opportunity to succeed in PE and sport in the context of schooling before they would give up the values they held at present.

⁶ My understanding of which children were working class was based as much on my own experiences of living in Edinburgh as the questions I asked the children about their parent's occupations and the resources available to the children in their home areas.

⁷ As a combination of my own cultural awareness of class differences in Edinburgh and as defined in the Registrar General's classification reported in Goldthorp (1980) and Saunders (1990)

Conclusion of Influences in Childrens' Sports and PE Participation:

These findings had consequences for understanding how issues of elitism, gender, class and culture effect children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling.

Elitism developed as a result of the prestige placed on competitive ball sports both inside and out of school. Status was attributed to children who were proficient in the skills of competitive ball sports. These children, had constant opportunities in their lives to hone their skills, learn the rules of the sport, learn how to umpire themselves and how to negotiate competitive games. The children who did not choose, or have the opportunity to play competitive ball sports in their free time did not learn these skills: rather they reinforced their idea of themselves as not 'sporty', or, in the case of the last group of children, honed their non-conformist skills.

High status children perceived themselves to have greater knowledge and skill levels in competitive sport than other children. Indeed, most children, who were interviewed, were found to relate the concept of 'sport' to competitive activities, especially competitive ball sports. What this meant was that children who took part in these activities were both perceived as 'sporty' and attributed status by other children. Equally, those children who did not take part in competitive activities did not believe themselves to be involved in sport and were not perceived by their classmates as 'sporty'.

The major single reason a child became involved in a club sport was that he/she believed him/herself to have ability at that sport. High-status children were found to possess the idea that a reason for joining and staying in a club was that they were good at it.

The inverse was true of children who were not good, or did not gain success, in a club situation. These children were expected to give up their involvement in a club. Thus, the same meritocratic ideas that supported high status children's credentials in the PE setting was identified in the club setting. Moreover, these ideas of meritocracy were identified as developing whilst children were in primary school. This chapter has established a connection between the meritocratic culture which was identified with groups 1 and 2 in the PE classroom and the culture of competitive sports clubs.

The gender differentiation I had experienced in PE classes could be related to the fact that boys and girls did not participate in the same competitive ball sports either socially or at a club level. The only opportunities for girls to play competitive ball sports, at this age, lay with joining a club. However, in Carol and Amy's case the football clubs they had been involved in had stopped running. A lack of opportunities and facilities made it very difficult for these girls to participate in team and competitive ball sports. This finding might be one of the factors contributing to the perception that team games are more popular with primary school age girls than secondary school age girls (Hendry and Singer 1981). That is, it would suggest that one of the reasons girls lose interest in team games is that they do not have the opportunity to take part in them on a consistent basis as they grow older.

These findings supported Hendry et al's. (1989) observation that boys and girls participated in different sports from each other. It was concluded that boy's stereotypical views of girl's participation in PE related to the fact that boys and girls rarely participated in competitive ball sport activities together, particularly at primary school age. This also supported the view that gender stereotypes fostered prior to primary school were reinforced during primary school and carried into secondary school (Williams 1993).

However, this did not mean that all boys were involved in ball sports. Boys like Jason and Richard were not involved in social ball sports. I understood, now, why these boys were considered not worthy of a pass during PE. They lacked the experienced knowledge of ball sports and actual experience of the skills used in ball sports which was required to gain status in the PE situation.

These boys had similar 'free time' patterns to girls who did not attend competitive ball sports clubs. The research suggested that enthusiasm for PE and sports activities waned over time with boys who did not have the opportunity to participate in social competitive ball sports. Again, as had been the case with girls who did not participate in ball sports, these boys, over time, developed negative ideas about competitive sports on the basis of their early exclusion from competitive ball sports.

The importance emerged in my interviews with these boys of having a group of friends to play competitive ball sports with. I realised that it was not necessarily the case that these children did not want to play competitive ball sports; their problem was that they did not get the opportunity to participate in these sports. This was an important realisation. My perception was that by the time these children reached secondary school it was too late, they had given up on competitive ball sports and in some cases on sports all together. These children were left with no option other than to find alternative forms of 'free time' interests.

Moreover, it meant that they developed interests which defined status in alternative ways to that of group 1 children in the PE setting. This accounted for the finding that boys, like Richard, though possessing a high opinion of their abilities were not considered 'sporty' by high-status children and boys like Michael attributed status to violence because their alternative 'free time' pattern involved membership of a group which attributed status to this behaviour.

It was possible, therefore to distinguish a graduated scale of sports involvement amongst the children. This scale had four main points on it:

- Point 1 Competitive and non-competitive social and club sport participation and involvement in social activities.
- Point 2 Non-competitive social and club sports participation and involvement in social activities.
- Point 3 Non-competitive social sports participation and involvement in social activities.
- Point 4 Non-sports participation, only involvement in social activities.

A relationship was identified between children's behaviour in PE class and where they were located on this scale. The culture of children on point 1 of the scale was associated with elitist behaviour patterns which attempted to exclude the other children during PE classes⁸.

Children on point four of the scale were observed to; behave in ways that confronted the authority of the teacher, come into conflict with other children, not conform to the values of the teacher and other children in the class and possess values which were anti-PE.

⁸ Point 1 children were usually located in group 1 of the five groups identified in the PE setting at the end of chapter 6. Point 3/4 children were usually located in groups 3-5 of the five groups identified in the PE setting at the end of chapter 6

More boys were identifiable with point one on the scale than girls. More working class children were associated with point four on the scale. However, this did not mean that no girls' or working class children's forms of participation related to point one. Nor was it the case that only working class children's sports participation took the form of point four on the scale⁹.

This classification scale was potentially extremely fluid. A child could move up and down the scale depending on his/her ability to take choices and the other individuals who influenced that choice - though a child's place on this scale was found to, very much, relate to children's primary school age experiences. Not all children maintained their primary school interests on entering secondary school. Where there existed breaks in the chain, the reasons for these breaks were:

- * That children had developed an idea that they were now good at an activity they had not been involved in at primary school, so now participated in that activity.
- * That a child had received encouragement from parents, friends, or, relatives to start a new sport.
- * That a child had stopped a sport which he/she had participated in, whilst primary school age, because he/she no longer believed him/herself to be good at that sport.
- * That a child had come in to conflict with the organisers of an activity.
- * That a child had become disinterested in an activity because the organisers of that activity did not run it on a consistent basis.

⁹ Again, as had been the case with studies on the relationship between gender and children's participation in PE and sport, this meant that studies which identified class as a specific governing factor in children's involvement in sport overlooked the fact that all working class children did not have the same behaviour patterns with regards to PE and sport.

- * That a child had come to perceive an activity as repetitive and/or boring.
- * That a child had had an injury or illness that interrupted their involvement in an activity.

Apart from when these breaks occurred, children's 'free time' interests could be observed as developing through a number of stages.

Early involvement in certain activities at primary school age was found to have a bearing on children's experiences of primary school PE. These experiences influenced children's opportunities to be involved in certain social sports, club sports and social activities. Involvement in these areas at primary school age had a bearing on children's experiences in PE and their 'free time' interests at secondary school age.

To return to the theoretical context within which this study is located, one could suggest that in Bourdieu's (1978, 1986) terms, children's early experience of sport is related to the distribution of capital (the resources which were available to the children in the study in terms of opportunities to take part in specific sports). Differential distribution of this capital results in a differential distribution of cultural capital (some children possessed greater experience and knowledge of certain skills in the PE setting) amongst children in PE classes in primary schools. This leads to the struggle between children (identified in the last chapter) who develop and possess different definitions of cultural capital. This struggle leads some children to identify with certain sports (i.e. competitive ball sports) and other children to reject certain sports and associate with socially oriented activities (i.e. Michael's gang membership).

It is possible, therefore to argue that children's behaviour in PE is not solely dependent on the dialectic described in chapter 6 between the structure of PE classes, the five cultural groupings and children's capacity for agency. It can be argued, again with reference to Bourdieu (1986), that there exists a dialectic between the 'habitus' of school children¹⁰ (the form their behaviour takes during PE and sport) and their conditions of existence (the resources available to them out with PE classrooms in terms of opportunities to be involved in sport or to be involved in social activities).

Relating this argument to chapter 6, the opportunity for children to differentiate between each other during the process of PE and sport in the context of schooling (and to reinforce this behaviour through behaviour which involves conflict with other children) can be understood to reinforce divisions between children based on class, race and gender which are articulated differently in specific schools and geographical areas¹¹. Therefore, PE can be viewed as reinforcing structural divisions in society through sub-cultural interaction, at the same time as providing children with the opportunity to develop their idea of themselves and their cultural/sub-cultural allegiances¹². What this means is that any attempt to alter children's behaviour during PE classes must take account of their conditions of existence outwith the PE setting.

¹⁰ The capacity to produce classifiable practices and words, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate those practices and products (taste), that the represented social world i.e., the space of life styles, is constituted' (Bourdieu 1986: 17).

¹¹ This is an important point when considered in the context of the differences between Scottish and English schooling.

¹² This reinforces the belief, discussed in chapter 2, that South Asian involvement in PE relates to cross cutting influences of religion, traditional culture, class, gender and sub-cultural interaction.

This finding returns us to the central theme of the study which is to delineate an understanding of the underlying factors affecting the efficacious implementation of the *5-14 Expressive Arts Guidelines for PE*.

These findings mean that any attempt to change the PE curriculum in schools has to address the fact that at primary school certain children begin PE classes with an advantage over other children. This chapter suggests it may be possible to achieve equality of opportunity in the PE curriculum if children who have no knowledge and experience of competitive ball sports have this gap addressed early on in primary school PE. By helping these children to overcome their 'knowledge gap' it may be possible to develop a somewhat more level playing field from which to begin individual children's PE.

This study has identified the long term consequences for children who do not develop experiences in competitive ball sports at primary school. These consequences are not only likely to make these children's experiences of PE unhappy ones but also to make their experiences of school life less integrated. Therefore, it is the conclusion of this study that this situation should be attributed the same importance as that of children's problems with basic literacy and numeracy skills.

This resolves the quandary between whether children should be left alone to enjoy sport in their own way or encouraged to take up ball sports because these activities help their integration into PE classes in primary and secondary schools. The result of maintaining the status quo would be that these children would continue to lose out in PE classes because they would suffer stigmatisation. Moreover, those children who wished to take part in ball sports but did not have the opportunities to do so at primary school age (i.e. Jason, Richard, Carol and Amy) would not have their hopes fulfilled.

I concluded that opportunities which allowed boys and girls in primary schools to learn the basic skills of ball sports would reduce the likelihood of them experiencing exclusion from participation and stigmatisation during PE classes.

I realised the only way for children's experiences outside of PE classrooms to be addressed by curriculum change was for greater contact to occur between parents and teachers. The next chapter will be concerned with three main themes. A discussion of the role of parents in children's sports interests. A delineation of the processes through which children are socialised into specific sports interests and an illustration of how children develop the ability to make their own choices with regards to these interests.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HOME BACKGROUND AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN

CHILDREN'S SPORTS PARTICIPATION:

This chapter illustrates the nature of parental influence with regard to children's sports interests. The importance of issues such as the input of resources, availability of role models and parental encouragement are investigated in order to understand how parents support and instigate their children's interests.

The process through which children are socialised into specific sports and leisure interests is analysed. In this way, an understanding is developed of the contrast between situations where children are socialised into participating in specific activities and occasions where they make their own choice to participate in an activity. Therefore, this chapter represents how children acquire a view of their sports participation and how they develop an idea of 'self' with regards to sports. Finally, the process through which children gain an idea of self and learn to make choices concerning sports participation is related to parental control in the home.

These areas are discussed with the aim of arriving at an understanding of how children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling can be and is positively stimulated. It will be concluded that teachers and policy makers who wish to increase children's involvement in PE and sport must address the influences on children's participation in these activities. Notably they should recognise the effect on participation levels of differential resources in the home, the cultural capacity of children to make choices and parental control influencing children's confidence levels.

This chapter will discuss ten of the interviews I carried out with parents. These ten interviews were carried out with the parents of:

- * Hazel, Peter, Nicki, Richard (All Riverview), Dean and Margaret (Hillside) who were involved in competitive club sports
- * Janna, Rose (Both Riverview) and Gavin (Hillside) who were involved in non-competitive social and club sports.
- * Emma and Cath (Both Hillside) who were involved in socially oriented activities.

Parent's Influence: Role Models and Resources:

My interest when interviewing parents was to develop an understanding of their role in their children's sport and leisure activities. My preconception was, that the parents of those children I had identified as being 'sporty' in the PE and non - PE, setting would, themselves, have a high-level of involvement in sport. I imagined that parents acted as role models for their children.

This preconception was confronted by Hazel's father's comments:

'A play a bit of squash with a friend, its me and ma pal at work, we play for fun, we've played for years and years, and we have a game of snooker afterwards. We fairly enjoy it, it's just a bit of social and whatever. My wife Jannice doesn'y really do much, she used to play badminton. (What about in the past?) A played football in school a was never really sporty maself, a wis no really into running or that, a don't know where Hazel gets it from. She wis always out there running in the street and then she said she wanted to go to a club.'

Hazel's interest in athletics had not been developed through her parents, or even as a result of her parents being involved in other sports at the club level. This was interesting. I wondered if Hazel's parents had any input into her sports involvement:

'(Do you help out with Hazel's sports?) We've really been led by what Hazel wants to do we've never really pushed her into anything. A don't think there's any point in pushing her, although a lot of parents do. But we make sure she gets the help she needs; its 60p a session for the track at Saughton plus the membership, plus, often, if you go to the cross-countries, it's parents' cars. It's only about a pound for the race. You go to Kilmarnock, where ever, and it takes most of the day. A give a fair amount of time, its a whole day Sunday, if you're away, by the time you leave here, register at twelve, the race is at one, then you wait to see the rest of the team, and stay for the prize giving, get a prize, it's 5, 6 before you're back. But a don't really mind, you have to encourage them, it's a good healthy pursuit.'

Hazel's father was motivated to encourage Hazel's sports involvement. He wanted his child to have healthy positive interests, so he invested a lot of time with Hazel.

The knowledge that Hazel was involved in healthy pursuits, which he helped out in, reinforced Hazel's father's idea of his role as 'father'. Hazel's father took a pride in the fact his daughter had the interests she had. Interests which he, by investing his time and resources, promoted.

This discussion sat better with my preconceptions. Though Hazel did not follow a role model set by her mother, or father, her interests were encouraged by her father. Hazel's parental input into her sports activities contrasted with that of Nicki. Nicki's mother told me that her father ran a sports centre. Despite the fact that Nicki's parents were divorced and she lived with her mother, he and her mother had a great deal of input into her sports activities. :

'Both me and my ex-husband go skiing and swimming with the children. Although swimming not as often. We've played badminton together and certainly the outdoors; hill walking, surfing, canoeing. They would sail together and hill walk together but they would do that with one, or other, parent and maybe canoe together. It depends, because of the way we do it. In that situation they could have a choice of activity on the day and maybe not do the same one. (Are the activities they do with you separate from with their dad?) We would do it separately, but we do get on very well, we have sort of mutual agreement on things. (Does Nicki do any activities with other adults?) It would also be Kev the chap am living with, because he's also outdoor minded and friends, again through my ex's work she's been sailing with friends and we also go skiing with friends, or, we've also booked to go skiing with a friend, she's a PE teacher. She likes cycling too we've all got mountain bikes and we do that together sometimes. The skiing is expensive but am glad they do it because they enjoy it and you've always got this feeling, as a parent, that if they are not filling their time with things like that then, you know, we get this am bored business and so on. So, at least you know what they are doing . But also a know that sport's good for your existence, any way, so I would always encourage it. Yes, race training fees have to be paid once a year and then you've got all the equipment and if they are in a race they have race fees and that's £310 a year. Now we're lucky with my ex 'cause he buys a lot of his stock wholesale for the centre so we get a discount. I've tried to impress on Jon, I can't afford another expensive sport and he's beginning now to do wind surfing and sailing and in the last year has got involved in sailing race training and av told him that that's as far as it will go, as a couldn't afford to buy him a Laser, but that if he could lay his hands on one, second-hand, as he gets older, fair enough.

And it's the same with wind surfing, he's now able to enter races and he really enjoys it and to be honest he's very good because he's been exposed to it and he can hire stuff from my ex out of the centre's stock but there no way a can afford to buy him a board and he knows that, but he's of an age now where he can get himself work and try and save money.

Nicki's parents both set role models through participating in sports with their children and through Nicki's father's employment. She had an enormous amount of opportunities to take part in sports. Nicki's mother¹ was happy to invest resources in activities which are positive and which nurtured healthy interests in her children.

Both Nicki and her brother were lucky to have access to so many high expense sports. For some of the children I met in schools, there was no way their parents would be able to afford the equipment for 'expensive sports'.

Nicki's mother participated in a dialogue with her children along the lines of, 'I'm happy to provide resources for your sports interests but you must realise that it is your responsibility to maintain and not over reach these resources'. Nicki and her brother had it impressed upon them that their mother was not a bottomless pit of money. This forced both children to learn to organise resources which were made available to them.

I asked Nicki's mother if she thought there was a relationship between her and her husband's experiences of sport and the fact her children were 'sporty':

'(Do you have any sports interests?) From younger swimming. The other interests started as a got older. (Do you think that's affected) a don't know a don't know about that, in ma case it wasn't my parents a think that can happen and if you've got pushy parents then yes it will happen. There's one girl in Nicki's year Laura, who's parents were good at tennis, a think the father was kind of Scottish level tennis. So that child was goin' to tennis after school, but a think they have to be interested in it, a bit of both really. With the swimming, yes they couldn't get away from doing it, because I was doing it, but the skiing came from them and the ballet.

¹ Like Hazel's father.

They hear a lot about the theory of sport in our company, so they are picking up information through us that might encourage them. My ex's work allows them that opportunity. In my case there are set days that they do things, so I'll know that my time table has to fit that in, a mean, Nicki has ballet tonight she knows she has to get there herself and I pick her up. What ever a do, I know that Monday I will have to do this. Its mostly, I try to work round their schedule. Thursday nights race training (skiing) so I know that I have to be home to make their tea early and so forth. I think I put my self out for them and they know it, so its OK. A lot of my friends say that, 'you do far too much' but a suppose a always think, for how long. A mean Jon is almost in 6th year he could be off in a year, so what the hell maybe they're spoiled, a try to sort of detach my self from them sometimes and have a think about it, but a don't think so.'

There was a constant exchange between Nicki's mother and her children. She wanted her children to make their own decisions rather than be pushed into sports. This was an interesting point. Despite the fact that, Nicki's parents were extremely active in sport, Nicki made the choice to start skiing and ballet.

My notion of parent's involvement in their children's activities was developing. There was no simple determinism, or socialisation. Children were making their own choices about sport. However, these choices did appear to be influenced by the resources made available to the children.

Nicki's available resources came not only from her parents but, also, from involvement in sports with her parent's friends. This had not been the case with Hazel because her parents did not have as great an involvement in sport. The breadth of Nicki's sports interests owed much to her parents and her parent's friends' interests. This was similar to Peter. Peter played a number of sports, including rugby and basketball at club level. His father had played rugby for Scotland B and there was a direct link between Peter's involvement in rugby and that of his father. This was borne out in the interview I carried out with his parents²:

² Murray's mother's comments are in Italics.

His main sport's rugby and he plays tennis in the summer and he hates golf and he'll play football occasionally in the field. Having been on the skiing holiday with the second year ski trip he's into skiing and he's a reasonable skier as is Lynne (sister). (He said he played with you at the Pleasance?) We did have a few games on Sundays with friends of mine and that's apparently gonny start up again and kids will be allowed to go along. It's a social thing. Basically, Peter's into that, he's keen on all sports, he still plays badminton. *Sunday night he and Lynne went to the local sports centre for an hour.* It got to the stage when both of them got too good for that but they're not at the stage where they're, eh, they don't pursue it, they're recreational badminton players. *They had the chance, the guy said he wanted them to go to extra coaching a way down at Prestonpans and I said, 'nut there's no way they're going away down there', and they were happy enough to keep just playing, you know. If we're on holiday, or if they're on holiday, we'll hire a court and play as a family.* We played in the Christmas holiday and it's amazing how much they have improved. Lynn and I played against ma wife and her sister and almost won. (Do you often play sports together?) The most recent one is just skiing with us. We would go occasionally to Hillend and up north, but its expensive; we've done it once this month. It's getting to the stage where if we can, we will go on a family ski holiday. (What about sports with other adults?) *Ma sister's taken Peter up a couple of times to play golf em because when, I don't like playing with him because he thinks he should be able to hit the ball really far, so we end up arguing. Jill got him a couple of lessons for his birthday and Jill takes him out and we go cycle runs with her. But its more she joins in with what our family's doing rather than taking the kids away. Criss and Sandra, friends of ours, take them down the sports club. But mostly friends will call up, or we'll call them, and say do you wanta go sledging and off we'll go. But it's haphazard..* Probably the only thing he instigated himself was basketball he's been to two basketball courses.

Peter's sports involvement was supported, instigated and enabled by his parents. His range of involvement in sports owed much to the fact that his parents' leisure time was spent taking part in sport and he and his sister were included in this process.

However, Peter's mum put a stop to his and his sister's opportunity to specialise in badminton because this would have involved too much of her time. I understood from this that she felt her kids had over-stepped the mark in terms of negotiating for resources. She did not feel it was fair on her to have to invest the time, taking them outside of Edinburgh to a club, on top of the help she already gave them.

Again, like Nicki, Peter received positive stimulus from adults who were not his parents and this was a case of him being included in their patterns of leisure³. Peter rarely involved himself in sports which had not been instigated by his parents. It appeared that his parents did actually act as role models. Interestingly, in these families the brothers and sisters were both involved in club sports and often (though not in the case of ball sports) in the same sports. It appeared, to me, that where the resources were available both female and male children would develop a similar level of sports involvement.

This perception was somewhat premature. In the case of Janna and Rose I discovered that their brothers were involved in a greater amount of sports than them.

Janna's mother:

(Do you take part in any activities with the kids?) No, eh, uh, well they did, a must say that my husband was very athletic when he was younger, em, he's into golf now, so he was trying to get the boys interested in golf, and they were for a while, but then rugby with my eldest and basketball with the younger son took over. When they're very young you can take them swimming, whatever, but as they get older they don't wanna do things with their parents. (Did the children take part in leisure activities together?) The boys did things together especially rugby but not Janna no. (What about yourself and your husband, have you sports interests?) I wasn't sporty at all at school. I was brought up in Canada so we skated, and I was quite good at that, never good at skiing, but it was more of a social thing than a sport. I played tennis to meet people and I did that more as I got older. My husband is a very good golfer and was always sporty so the boys take it from him.

Janna followed her mother's 'non-sporty' role model. Her father had been sporty and so were her brothers. Within Janna's family, there was a division of responsibility between her parents which led to her lack of involvement in sports. That division of responsibility meant that Janna's father looked after the boys' interests, taking them to their clubs and so on, whilst Janna's mother looked after Janna's interests.

³ However, Murray's father indicated that Murray had only instigated his involvement in basketball.

There was a division of resources within the household, in terms of available role models to stimulate the children's sports interest. Janna's father could act as a role model to the boys, her mother could not act a role model for her. As a result of Janna's mother's inability to act as a positive role model, Janna's involvement in sport was instigated by her friend.

The situation was almost identical within Rose's household. Rose's father had played rugby for a Scottish first division rugby side and at one time had been an extremely fast sprinter. Rose's mother:

(Are you involved in any sports with your children?) My husband has always done that, I hated sport at school and a can't hardly bring myself to go to the rugby club. Av always tried to avoid sports, but my husband played rugby for Edinburgh and he still coaches and he was a good sprinter at school, so he's really the sporty one. He puts in so much time, either ferrying them about, Grant and Keith to their football three times a week each and then there's the rugby on Tuesdays and when they were younger he would take them to the pool with their friends and he used to ferry Rose to the skiing. At times he's just a glorified taxi service. (What about Rose taking part in leisure activities with her brothers?) Not really, though Grant and Keith play football they're too apart in ages to play together, though Keith is quite happy to go and watch Hearts (Grant plays for Hearts youth team) when Grant's playing and a think he wouldn't have got so involved in football if it wasn't for what's happened to Grant. A think he dreams about he and his brother playing at Tynecastle in front of thirty thousand, you know. (What about with adults?) No, not really either, I took her to the dance but she instigated it, she hasn't been like the boys, a mean, it just seemed natural for them to follow along with my husband, but even Rose will go with them to watch rugby and sometimes she'll watch them play football, but its more a case of she's bored and she just wants to go for the trip in the car.'

The story here was of two parts of the family. The male sporty side where the boys drew on their father as a resource to aid their high level sports club involvement and the female non 'sporty' side⁴. Rose had joined no clubs. It had not 'seemed natural' for her to follow her father's sports interests, for her mother to instigate her sports interests.

⁴ Grant had signed forms to become a professional footballer and was earning £150 a week.

These children were from Riverview and their parents had a number of resources available for their use. Hazel's parents both had HND qualifications, her father worked as an engineer in an electronics factory and her mother as a catering manager. Nicki's mother was a teacher, having done a degree at university and her father had done a PE degree.

Peter's father was Head of a Department in a secondary school and his mother a PE teacher. Janna's mother had previously been a secretary before becoming a housewife and her father ran his own graphic design business. Rose's mother was a college lecturer and her father director of a housing organisation.

These households had a number of resources (i.e. time, money, experience in sport) which could be allocated to the children within them. However, these resources were distributed disproportionately between boys and girls in Janna and Rose's households. I believed this occurrence to have an important bearing on the fact that these girls had low involvement in sport outside of PE. These girls appeared to have been socialised away from competitive sports involvement by their mothers on the basis that it was not the sort of things girls do. On the other hand, their brothers had been socialised into competitive sports participation.

I perceived⁵ the above parents to be middle-class. I had already developed the preconception that certain working-class parents were not involved in their children's leisure activities. I was interested to find out what resources working-class children had available to them.

⁵ As a combination of my own cultural awareness of class differences in Edinburgh and as defined in the Registrar Generals classification reported in Goldthorp (1980) and Saunders (1990)

Cath had little involvement in sport. Cath's mother worked both during the day and in the evening. She stated:

`Do you do any activities with Cath?) A canny do much mi sell 'cause `am workin when she's it school, then `am back fir tea time and then 'am workin again. We're goin on holiday `n a need ti work for ti get the money ti go on holiday. So, by the time am coming in, it's nine o'clock, am quite happy ti come in and watch television an go ti ma bed. A dinnae really do things, we were hopin' ti start swimmin' so eh, we'll probably take hur along. (What about your own leisure interests?) A used to go to step class, a didnae mind doin' PE but a didny play anny games. A wasn'y in the net ball team or hockey. A hated hockey, a feel that's too rough ad be terrified to be hit by the ball or stick. So, naw a didnae like these much. (What about her sister?) No, except fight, argue the toss wi each other the minute they open thur eyes till they close thum it night.

Cath's mother was in no position to stimulate Cath's leisure interests, indeed neither was Cath's older sister a source of inspiration. Cath was left to make her own decisions about leisure interests. These were influenced by her friends and were socially oriented:

`She used ti pal about wi people from school but she has hur own friend now, she's it an other school. She's local and she's not 'cause she's in foster parents. But she comes and visits hur mum down here and that's when Cath sees hur. (Is that her best pal?) Yeh, a would say that's hur best one aye. (What does she do wi' her pals?) She goes up the park, a believe they hang around up there. Eh, am no sure if they meet up wi anybody but usually it's just themselves. Usually, you find she's in after school an she has hur tea an then it's, shi'll go down ti hur cousin's hoose and then she'll come back after that, mibay 8 o'clock.'

Cath's mother's need to work two jobs meant that a lack of money led to her mother not being able to spend time with Cath. Her parents were divorced and Cath had no contact with her father. The cumulative effect of this was that Cath rarely took part in sports unless her friends took a fancy to going swimming. . My perception was that this working-class parent did not have the available resources in terms of past experiences of sport, time and finances to stimulate her child's sports interests.

I compared this interview to Dean's mother's interview. Dean had a high-level of involvement in basketball. He had been a member of a basketball club that was outside his school and home area. His membership of the club had been stimulated by a teacher at school. Dean had dropped out of this club at one stage because he did not like the way the children there behaved towards him. I asked his mother what stage Dean's basketball involvement was at now:

'He has got picked wi Scotland under sixteen, (Does he still go to his basketball club at Porty?) Well, funny enough his gym teacher got the phone back last night for ti go doon ti Porty, but he's, the team's no good ti `um they dinnae talk ti `um cause he's frae Hillside. A think Mark (brother) went once, with Dean, but that wis enough he never went back. He wis the same, he says they were aw ignorant not one o them spoke to `im. But Dean's gonny go an try, he's gonny stick it fir a couple o weeks and see how it works out.'

Dean's mother did not have the knowledge about basketball to help him find a new club. This contrasted markedly with the middle-class parents whose children were involved in competitive sports clubs. They would have found their child another club and driven them to that club and picked them up afterwards. I realised this was a key issue. Dean was suffering from cultural conflict. The children at his basketball club were rejecting him on the basis of where he came from. I could well imagine the situation. My knowledge from the PE basketball class was that children would simply not pass to some one they stigmatised. Dean would know what was happening to him. His choice was to try to change the situation, or to stop taking part. The problem for Dean was that his parents couldn't help him in this respect. However, the teacher at school had the knowledge to help and intervened. Dean's mother was happy for him to do so.

This situation reinforced my perception that Dean's mother, as a working-class mother, had little knowledge of sport. This view point was incorrect:

'He's stuck ti the basketball quite well, a mean, he's in an oot o' every thin. Dean's tried every sport under the sun. He's been inti every thin'; football, ice skatin', eh swimmin'. (What made him stop?) Basketball came along that's what he's like, he's inti one sport for a couple o' months a year or so, then he gets fed up wi it an takes somethin' else on. He was in ti karate, stuck that fir a year, bought aw the gear an every thin, then gave it up. It was just the basketball, he's right inti basketball there's no time fir much else. He used ti go ti boxin' he done really well it that, he stuck that in fact, it shut doon that wis whit it wis, the guy died thit wis runnin' it, that wis aboot two an a half year a go. That guy died an somb'dy else took it over and stopped the boxin' and that wis that finished.'

In fact, Dean's mother had a good knowledge of which sports Dean had been involved in and why he had stopped certain sports. Hence, it was Dean's mother's incapacity to stimulate his sports interests which accounted for her inability to intervene on Dean's behalf at the basketball club. This made the teacher's intervention important as it helped to maintain Dean's involvement in basketball.

I began to feel that working-class parents left their children to make their own decisions about sport and leisure interests. They did not view it as their role to stimulate their children's sports interests. I wondered if this was due to the fact that they themselves had had little involvement in sport. Dean's mum stated:

'A wis sporty it school, a wis inti swimmin a wis a good swimmer when a wis at school (What about after school?) O' aye a kept it up aye but just the swimmin that's aw a dae, a tried the aerobics but it wis too hard, it just aboot killed me. (What about your husband?) He's no really sporty, the only thing Terry's been inti is darts. He used ti play at a pub in Porty but it just seemed ti stop. He's gave it up its aw fell through now, (Was he involved in sports at school?) Nut.'

Interestingly Dean's sports interests never came from his father and his mother had not been involved in competitive sports. I believed that this was an important issue as to why they had not stimulated Dean's sports interests.

This fact reinforced my idea that Hillside parents were not involved in stimulating their children's sports interests. However this did not mean that parents were not positive about their children's sports interests:

`(Are any of Dean's activities expensive?) Basketball, that is costin' a fortune, 'cause he's in ti aw the top strips an aw that and yir payin' forty pound fir a vest, know whit a mean?. And `is trainers are aw, `can a get they ones, they're only 99 pounds.' Aw this is provin' ti be a bit expensive but if he's gonny stick it, dae sumthin' wi hissell, then yi canny, yiv got tae encourage `um. A mean he's aw, he's dead set on it, he wants ti go ti America. Aye, he's wantin' ti go, he's tryin' ti get a year out o' school. He's sayin', `can a no go fir a year and study over there'. Av got a sister who lives in Canada and he's like, 'huv they got basketball in Canada?', an am, `aw a think so'.

Dean's mother saw her role, not as stimulating Dean's sports interests but, to be positive about his sports interest once Dean had made choices about them. Indeed, this reminded me of Hazel's father who believed it was his role to encourage Hazel's athletics because it was a healthy interest for her to have.

This confirmed my view, developed through interviewing middle-class parents, that parents did not have to actively take part in sports with their children, or be `sporty' themselves, to encourage their children's sports interests. The contrast between Hazel's father and Dean's parents was that Dean's parents did not view it as their role to spend time arranging Dean's sports interests. It was as if they said, `that's not our area, you make your own choices and we will support your decision'. Though Dean may have been socialised into basketball at school, in reality his choice to be involved in basketball was his own decision. This raised an important issue, which I would explore later, how do children develop their ability to make choices?

Dean set his own goals and aspirations which his parents supported. The problem for Dean was that when difficulties arose his parents did not have the knowledge to help him. This meant the resources provided by the school and local clubs/organisation was important for children like Dean.

This was an interesting perception when related to something Peter's parents said:

`(Are there activities which you feel are too expensive?) Not really, we're extremely lucky to have two salaries. Most of their sports are cheap. Even the basketball course was £15 pounds and he got a basketball and a t-shirt with that. Rugby is pretty cheap. In terms of money we can afford to belong to a couple of clubs now. I think it's got a lot to do with your environment how you get involved in sport. We did it through the church, though our parents weren't sporty. I hope our kids appreciate what they've got, a don't think they're spoiled.

Peter's parents replaced the role which the church played for them by enabling their children's sports involvement. What this meant to me was that in areas like Hillside, where parents did not have the resources to instigate their children's sports involvement, provision of sporting facilities through organisations like youth clubs, the schools and other agencies, was extremely important.

This did not only count for financial resources. Dean's mother had lacked the knowledge to react to the problems confronting him at his basketball club. This problem was evident during Margaret's mother's interview:

`(Margaret said she was in the basketball club?) Aye, it started off at primary. A mean she used ti do that, eh, that was her PE at primary. And ma brother works at Meadowbank so he hud used to take hur there. So he hud got her basketball and what ever fir hersell, but that's sort o died oot now the basketball. She's just no gettin that at all now. Like the basketball, that wis in school time like lunch time, like, they had a mixed team at dinner time most days. Margaret was in it an another two girls were in it an it was them that all went ti Meadowbank fir that Easter break last year. But they've naething for them at all now so they're nae doin' it(What is her favourite activity?) A think it would have to be things like the basketball because she was really enjoying that, ken like, that was a thing that she really enjoyed. Yeh, she really enjoyed it and a mean we niver, a niver hesitated, when she wanted ti go on that thing last summer (basketball course).'

Though Margaret's mother was positive about her sports involvement, she did not have the knowledge herself to find Margaret a new basketball club. This contrasted with the fact that Margaret's uncle had stimulated Margaret's use of Meadowbank sports centre.

It made me think that Margaret's mother did not ever stimulate Margaret's sports involvement. However, this was an error of judgement on my part. It transpired that Margaret's parents and wider family often carried out sports together:

`(Do the adults in your family take part in leisure activities with Margaret?) Well, when we go on holidays we go ti Pontins at Blackpool and that's got a action pack fur them which does orienteering', eh, waterskiin', every thin. And Maggie is right in ti it, when ever we get there she's right in there, `sign me up sign me up before you go'. The funny thing is she shouldnae huv been daein it till she wis 13 but she'd been daein it fir three years ken. But eh, its been me that's been taking the risk if anything hud happened it would huv been me that would huv copped it. But she's a big lassie and em you could nae say ti her, `you canny day that' so a would just sign hur and Lynn up and say you go and dae it ken. The quad bikes every thing she wis away wi it. (What about up here?) We, like when the weather's different ti this, we usually go ti Perth leisure pool and swim ootside, which is lovely if the weather's nice ken. (Is that the whole family?) Aye we've got, two cars go, ma sister in law and her man go as well. Like a said ma broer works at Meadowbank, Joyce works at the Commy so it doesn'y cost her to go there wi Joyce already being there. A think if it wasny so dear up the road she'd go mair often ken, but it's £2.50 an hour. (Did you take her along to any new activities?) No its mair like she'll say a want ti dae that and a'll let her go along.'

Margaret's sports involvement was a two way thing: She did some activities which her mother instigated and some which were of her own choice. It was noticeable that Margaret's mother believed that Margaret solely made the choices of starting new activities at home. Margaret's mother did not lack the ability to stimulate Margaret's sports involvement. What she lacked was the ability to stimulate Margaret's involvement in sports clubs within Edinburgh:

`When a wis at school it wis netball and basketball fir me as well (Did you have clubs?) nut it wis like Maggie the now. (Did Margaret know that?) Aye, she kent a luvd sport when a wis young. What wi the bairns a just di the swimmin now, a could dae wi daein some more ti get that fat off. (What about your husband?) Naw, he's a baker, he's constant night-shift, so its crazy for him. At school he was swimmin' and football.`

Margaret's mother only influenced Margaret's interests in non-club sport because she had no experience in club sports.

Margaret's father's influence was reduced by the fact that he was doing constant night-shift. However, there was no doubt for me that Margaret's mother's positive view of sport influenced Margaret's overall approach to sport.

I was aware that Gavin was not involved in the sort of competitive sports which a lot of the boys, of his age, at Hillside were interested in. Gavin was purely involved in non-competitive activities. These activities were, dance club, ballet, pantomime and social swimming. His interests were very similar to that of the majority of 'non sports club girls'.

I was interested to understand the influences which led Gavin to reject male-oriented competitive sport and opt for activities predominantly carried out by girls his age. Initially, I believed that the influences were to be found in the school because that was where Gavin's interests, apart from social swimming, were stimulated. Gavin's mother did not see it as her role to involve him in sports activities:

(Do the adults in your family take part in leisure activities with Gavin?) No really, cause a dinnay dae anythin, 'cause a mean like av been ti aerobics and things like that but he wouldn'y go ti any thing like that.'

Gavin's mother was unaware of the contradiction in this statement. Gavin did go to the dance club at hillside which involved aerobics. I was certain that this meant that Gavin's mother did not believe it was her role to stimulate Gavin's sports interests. I felt I could discount Gavin's mother as the influence for his involvement in girl oriented activities.

Gavin's influences did not come from his brothers:

`(Does he take part in activities with his brothers?) Naw, 'cause they're 18 and 20 and there's too much o' a difference, they can't stand `um actually, they're always fightin'. Ma older son's, he'll play Nintendo wi Gavin in his room but Gavin `ill start sayin', `yi dinnae dae it like that yi dae it like this' and Craig ill just say, `right get oot the room' and that ill be it. A mean he spoils it for himsell, a mean Craig does say ti `um cum on we'll play this game together but he has ti tell him how ti play it, so that causes an argument.'

Gavin rejected his brothers' interests. This was confirmed by his mother when I asked her what her older sons did for work:

`(What do your older boys do?) They're both apprentices now. The older one's an electrician and the youngest, Scot, he's a mechanic. A said ti Gavin he could be a painter and decorator and that would save mi daein it ma sell but he said, `o' naw `am no daein' anythin' like that.'

Gavin rejected not only the sports his brothers were interested in, but the types of employment they had as well. Not only did Gavin have no links with his brothers' interests, but he had no links with his father's interests either.

`Ma husband, he's inti the dogs, (pained expression) but Gavin's no inti that he'd never go along. Before he (her husband) hud the dogs he hud pigeons and he played football when he was at school, and any big games that are on he'll watch that, but he never goes ti football games, or hardly ever.'

Gavin's interests were only stimulated by the school. I thought the reason for him participating in non male oriented sports was that the patterns of interaction involved in such sports (identified previously) acted to alienate him from these sports. It was my perception that he never played competitive sports because of the negative experiences he had had of them in the school situation.

However, I discovered that he did have some links with his mother's leisure pursuits:

'He does go to the pictures but its no that often it's only if there's a film he really wants ti see. (Where?) Up the UCI, so sometimes there's me and ma mother goes and sometimes `im and `is pals. (Do you have set times or rules about when Gavin can go out?) Durin' the summer it's maybe about ten o'clock, as long as a can see `um. Unless he's in somb'dys house, then it can be the back o' ten. It depends on if he's got school in the mornin'. In the winter, well, he very rarely goes out he's sat in glued to that telly, unless he's practising his music upstairs but he's very rarely out in the winter unless its for an oor, half an oor after his tea. And then he's in but he's usually just oot there (the square in front of his house), he's no one for wandering' away if he's goin' somewhere `ell come and tell me if he's going ti someone's house he'll come and tell mi. Weekends he comes wi' me on a Saturday to ma muthers a wouldn'y leave him in the house on his own, a couldn'y really trust him ti dae that.'

When Gavin's mother had said , 'A wouldn'y leave him in the house on his own, a couldn'y really trust him ti dae that'. It suggested that Gavin's interests resembled that of girls with low involvement in sport because his mother had somehow intervened in his free time. I pursued this point:

'(Do you have much chance to do things with Gavin or does your work get in the way?) No' really, anywhere a go a take Gavin with me. Ti be honest a couldnay trust him in the house. Anyway, the other two when they were Gavin's age they wouldn'y walk along the street wi me whereas Gavin he goes everywhere wi me. A'll just be going ti the shop and he'll say a'll chum yi, or a'll go wi yi. A mean he's entirely different. A dunno if it's the age gap, or that when he was younger when a had him with me it wis mostly just down ti ma mothers but there wasn'y really anyone ti play wi. Whereas, when a had the other two they had each other ti play wi. So, it's been, more or less, he's hud ti play wi `umsell and he's always been around adults, so a think that's why he gets on so well wi adults and he's never short of anything ti say. He's quite clever, he'll be watchin' the tv and `am no thinkin' he's listenin' then a couple o' days later well be talkin'' and he'll say aye that's right that was on the telly, so he takes it all in. He wants ti stay on at school he's said ti me, aye he's told mi, yi can send fur a bursary and yi can get some money while am stayin' on.'

I now had a clearer picture of the way Gavin's leisure interests were formed. Gavin was able to choose his own interests. However, he had always been around women and had rejected the patterns of behaviour of his brothers and father.

Though his mother did not choose his activities for him, Gavin had been influenced by daily contact with his mother and grandmother. He had not had the chance to interact with other children when he was growing up. It was as if Gavin had adopted a female idea of himself, and his interests, based on constant contact with his mother, grandmother and mother's friends. When other boys his age might have been playing football in the park with their father, brothers or friends. Gavin had been following his mother's routine.

This was an extremely interesting interview. What this meant was that my perception that Hillside parents were uninvolved in their children's leisure patterns was confirmed at face value in Gavin's case. Gavin's mother allowed him to make choices about which facilities he used so his choice was independent of her control. However, his choices were made as a result of his idea of himself which had been influenced by his mother.

Gavin had no male role models in the family and he participated in no male-oriented activities outside of PE. Within PE he had a low level of involvement in competitive ball sports. Hence, Gavin's mother's leisure patterns appeared to have a marked affect on the sorts of activities that Gavin was involved in. Gavin's mother was extremely involved in her son's leisure patterns though not necessarily on a conscious level. It emerged that early on in his childhood Gavin had been socialised into female oriented activities and that now he made his own choice to take part in these activities. Both Gavin's idea of himself and his mother's intervention in his free time were crucial components of why Gavin chose not to take part in male oriented activities.

Summary of Parental Influence: Role Models and Resources:

Children, early on in their lives, were socialised into certain types of activities. These activities were dependant on the resources available in the family and neighbourhood and school . Where children did not pick up positive impressions about certain sports from either their parents, friends, or school, they did not get socialised into sport. This meant they did not pick up the values of PE and sport. This situation could be compounded by the fact that they were socialised into activities or value systems opposed to the values of sport and PE participation.

However, there was no simplistic causal link between parents' approaches to sport and their children's participation, or non-participation, in sport. There existed a number of factors which could aid, or hinder, a child's participation in sport. None of these factors had to exist before a child would choose to take up a sport but all of these factors helped in this process. These factors were:

Factors Which Help

Parental knowledge of sport helping a child's participation in sport.

Parental experience in sport acting as a role model for sports participation.

Parental financial resources allowing for children's involvement in a number of sports⁶.

Parental time resources allowing for children's involvement in a number of sports

Parental control affecting the leisure interests of a child.

Factors Which Hinder

Parental lack of knowledge of sport hindering a child's participation in sport.

Parental experience in sport acting as a role model for sports avoidance.

Parental financial resources prohibiting, children's involvement in a number of sports.

Parental time resources prohibiting children's involvement in a number of sports

Parental control affecting the leisure interests of a child.

⁶ Especially expensive ones like skiing wind surfing and so forth

The influence of the school and other organisations leading to children's participation in sports.

The influence of the school and other organisations leading to children's non-participation in sports.

The influence of friends leading to children's involvement in sporting activities.

The influence of friends leading to children's involvement in non-sporting activities.

Children's idea of themselves resulting in association with certain activities.

Children's idea of themselves resulting in association with certain activities.

Children's ability to make choices leading to their own instigation of new activities.

Children's ability to make choices leading to their own instigation of new activities.

Each of these factors could be understood to be the influences which build up children's cultural capital within PE and sport in the context of schoolings. Hence, children identified with group 1 and 2 in chapter 6 were likely to have experienced the factors in the 'Factors Which Help' column. Children identified with group 3 to 5 in chapter 6 were likely to have experienced the factors in the 'Factors Which Hinder' column. This meant that, in the PE classroom, children possessed different capital depending on their previous experience of both sets of factors.

With the exception of the final two factors (which relate to children's capacity for agency), it can be argued that these factors represent the importance of structural influences on children's participation in PE and sport⁷. That is the conditions of existence of the children (the resources available to them based on the distribution of capital; time, money, parental experience and knowledge of sport) which stimulated them to take part in PE and sport were dependent on the location of the children's family, friends and neighbours within society⁸.

⁷ The perception that lack of resources amongst working class children led to low participation rates (Hendry et al 1989) had some foundation. However, the suggestion that the combination of this factor with working class values led to low participation rates in sports activities amongst working class children (Hendry et al 1989) was not wholly substantiated.

⁸ This supports the work of Bourdieu (1978, 1986), see chapter 2.

Therefore, a child's likelihood to participate in PE and sport was influenced by social structural conditions involving, notably, the differential distribution of capital.

What this means for policy makers is that by taking account of the effect of the differential distribution of resources on children in PE classes the form and level of children's involvement in PE could be improved and increased. That is, teachers and policy makers could reduce the divisions between children in PE classrooms by finding ways to bring those children who lack experience of certain activities (due to the resources available in their background) up to the experiential level of those children who have profited from uneven distribution of resources.

However, as an explanation for children's reduced involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling, concentrating on the structural effect of a lack of resources on children's involvement in PE fails to clarify why some working class children were highly involved in PE and sport, whilst others took no part in these activities. If the structural conditions of society solely determined children's involvement in PE and sport then these children's patterns of involvement in PE and sport would be similar.

It was found that where positive encouragement was available, as was the case with Margaret and Dean, working-class children' could overcome a lack of role models, agents of socialisation, parental knowledge, time and finances. In this situation they made their own choice to participate in competitive club sports. There existed a point, for some children, where socialisation was superseded by children's ability to make decisions. This point was where the last two factors on the above list gained precedent.

This finding raised a number of issues:

- * How did children's ideas of themselves as identified in the PE setting relate to their parents role in their sports activities?
- * How did children develop their ability to make choices in sport?
- * Did parents have a role in this process, in terms of providing their children with the opportunity to make choices?
- * Did parental control affect children's ability to make choices ?

These questions are addressed in the following two sections.

Children's Idea of Self and Parents:

My perception of children in the PE setting was that they made decisions and choices based on their idea of themselves and other children. I wondered if this had any meaning in connection to their home life.

An interesting revelation came to me during Hazel's father's interview

'She did basketball at one time and she played a bit of badminton. In fact she tried most sports, really, just to get a feel of it, but athletics was the one that stuck. At Primary school she played netball, but they didn't have that at Riverview so she tried the basketball, but a wouldn'y say she found it that easy to adapt. (But, would you say running was her favourite interest?) Running, aye, a mean she doesn't have much time for anything else. (What about skiing?) No, a think she's scared that she might fall and break her ankle and miss the running, so no she never really , although she used to come up with us (her father and sister) and maybe watch, she never really took part.'

Hazel's father's explanation of why she did not take part in skiing and his knowledge that she did not find the transfer from netball to basketball easy, interested me.

I felt, from watching children play PE, that some children overcame failure by explaining it in terms that were external to themselves. I believed that this approach safeguarded their view of themselves and gave them the confidence to try new things in the PE setting. Hazel's father used a similar type approach above.

Nicki's mother had opinions on why Nicki had stopped certain activities:

'She's still skiing, but she's not race training, though she has taken part in all the races this year. She gave up because you had to have so many cede points to enter the Scottish Championships and, of course, the younger ones were excluded from this and my point was well, if they can't enter the race, how on earth are they going to get cede points and they were quite disappointed about this. She still skis a lot. (Has she got a ski pass?) Yes, she's got one. She goes to ballet too, but she's beginning to grow away from the ballet that's partly because she's got feet that aren't going to allow her to be a ballet dancer. She's actually got a bunion on one of her feet, she wears orthotics for low arches in her shoes because her feet are a bit flat.

So, she knows that she will never be a dancer , she knows that she can pass all the exams but that's all she will do. So we think this will be her last year. (Does she go swimming?) Just social, it's a family thing she did go to the ED club because her father was a diver, but she reached the stage where she couldn't cope mentally with it as she started to take the dives up higher. She couldn't do that and started to think well, this isn't for me.'

Nicki's mother found logical ways to understand her child's reduced involvement in these sports. Her views reinforced my own opinion that children judge the difficulty of attempting a new skill against their idea of their own abilities. The process was that children stopped their involvement in a new activity if they felt it did not fit with pre-defined ideas that they had.

Nicki's mum confirmed this value that children should not participate in activities they are not good at. I realised that children most likely learnt the meritocratic ideas I had observed in PE classes from their parents.

When Nicki's mother's stated that `Nicki's swimming was 'just social' the use of the word `just' indicated that, in some way, social swimming was lesser than club swimming. Nicki's mother reinforced the status of certain sports participation at the expense of other forms of sports participation.

I traced back through my notes and discovered a number of similar occurrences with other parents.

Peter's father: `He still plays badminton.. ...it got to the stage when both of them got too good for that (playing at the local sports centre) but they're not at the stage where they're, they don't pursue it, they're recreational badminton players.'

Peter's father here made the differentiation between recreational players and children who pursued a sport competitively, like he did, at club level.

Hazel's father: `A play a bit of squash with a friend it's me and ma pal at work we play for fun.... ...A played football in school, a was never really sporty maself'

Again I recognised the idea that a lack of involvement in clubs defined a child as not 'sporty'. The emphasis was that the club sports player was superior to the social, or fun, player. Nicki's mother related this sort of differentiation to Nicki's and her own involvement in skiing:

'I think she probably had a talent for it (skiing) because although my ex skis, he is no way a Bezier instructor and we're separated. They didn't ski with him and I learnt as an adult because I thought that there was no way I was going to just wait at the bottom for them, so I'm now quite good. I learnt because they learnt, so although I now ski at a good level it didn't really come from us. Because we live at Hilltop and the slope was close we fancied that as a holiday activity so we went to the ski schools.'

Her perception was that she herself was good at skiing, however, she was surprised by the level of skiing that her daughter achieved.

She actually has a nice level of skill she's a nice style of skier. Yes, I think a talent because you can't actually get to that level without that. And also a bit of courage to get you down the hill at Hillend when you're six. I expect her to be different, I don't know if it's because she's a girl, or because Jonathan could talk when he was 8 months old. I always assumed she would never achieve the same things. No, I don't mean she was going to be really thick, but I tended to expect Jonathan to do things, whereas she constantly surprises me which is really nice. She does things for herself, but I do remember that the 1st ski school when they took her to the top I said, 'are you scared', she said 'no'. So, certainly no. I see it in the diving that's why she stopped; she was aware of her limitations there but not in the skiing.'

This was an important admission by Nicki's mum. Nicki's specialisation at skiing came despite negative labelling and a lack of expectation on her mother's part. Nicki's mother expected Nicki to have limitations. Nicki's ability to overcome her mother's lack of expectation was linked to her capacity to make her own choices:

'When I divorced, when Ben was a baby, they actually rallied round quite well to that and they are quite helpful and they keep their rooms tidy but they have actually been quite good about that, I've always said to them and hope they'd offer rather than have me ask. I hope that maybe it's a busy time like supper time they'll come and say mum is there anything I can do. And they do, but if it's a day where they have loads of homework then that's OK, but they'll empty the dishwasher or put out the cutlery for supper or whatever, they're not bad.'

A know some parents say 'oh, you do the dishes on a Tuesday' or whatever, but we live a fairly flexible life style. So, a don't think that would work very well.'

Nicki's idea of herself was that she could make choices. This idea developed from having to take responsibilities at an early stage in her life and was also nurtured through negotiating for resources (such as time and money) from her mother.

This contrasted with Peter's father who reacted strongly to a situation where Peter made the decision that rugby was not for him:

'Well, we instigated Peter's rugby and I basically forced him for the 1st year, but after that he was quite happy to go along. In p5 he got better, come p6 he was a lot better and I took his team over in p6 and that helped. *We didn't actually force him.* You wern'y there (to his wife) the day he came off and I forced him to go back on. There was a point (To me) when, if we had given in to his greetin', he wouldn'y have had the chance to play rugby now. We persevered because it is something that he will get recreational enjoyment at whether it's in the 4th fifteen, or, in the 1st fifteen. It doesn't matter. *Why did he want to go off was it the weather.* No, it was a gorgeous day, he just didn'y like it. And he's got through that. He could be a lazy little shit, but we force him and when he gets there he's fine.

I had played with and against Peter's father at rugby and I was aware of how uncompromising he could be on the rugby pitch. He had decided what was best for Peter and had forced Peter to take part in rugby. Having identified children in the PE setting not trying skills which I thought they could achieve, due to losing their confidence, Peter's father's behaviour looked like an attempt to force Peter to overcome his lack of confidence in rugby.

This view was reinforced as the interview proceeded:

'He's gone though a little stage recently , they have been beaten quite heavily a couple of times, and he just canny tackle yet and if you canny tackle it's hard. It's fine that you get hurt, 'cause you get used to it. We had a bad incident at Peebles where a parent called him a 'fat we cunt' and he called me a 'wee cunt' and basically a was brought up likes of going to Darach. A was kicked in before a was eleven, a mean literally beaten up by three big boys, so a new a had survived.

He's not had that and is not used to that. We grew up through pretty hard times, a grew up when there were times when ma mum and dad couldn'y afford pairs of shoes for me. We lived in a single end, a didnay have a bath in it till a was fourteen. Am no trying to say, am glad Peter's no a hard man, am glad Lynne's the way she is, a don't want them walking about looking for trouble.'

This statement was revealing. Peter's dad linked surviving getting beaten up himself, as a child, to succeeding at competitive sports. This reminded me of my feelings about sport, that you have to be able to overcome your fear to attempt new things. Peter's dad rationalised his son's inhibitions in terms of his own logic. He found reasons why his son had difficulties in sport. He then took action to try and overcome these difficulties for his son.

I now understood that certain 'sporty' children developed ideas from their parents. Some of these ideas were, 'its OK to try and fail' and 'you won't win all the time but it's better to have tried and failed than to never have tried at all'.

I was keenly aware of the gender differences associated with children's sports involvement. I was interested to find out if this had any relationship to girls' and boys' ideas of themselves in the home setting. My understanding of this relationship was developed through interviews of Janna's mother and Rose's mother. Both girls had been involved in social sport when I first interviewed them and Janna had been involved in a synchronised swimming club.

Their mothers informed me that each girl was no longer involved in sports activities. I had expected to observe a change in the leisure patterns of the children but this appeared quite sudden and extreme. However, it fitted in with Janna's mother's view of Janna's natural behaviour.

^(Janna used to do synchronised swimming?) She was doing synchronised swimming yes, but she's the type that starts something up very keen 'cause friends are doing it and then loses interest after that. She did it for about six months, a year, and then she decided it was boring after a while and didn't go back. She'll start something up very keenly, go for a while and then it just fades away. She used to go to tennis just round the corner but now that's stopped as well. ^

Janna's mother relayed this information to me in a voice that intimated that Janna never managed to take sports seriously. She related Janna's lack of consistent involvement in a club completely to Janna's personality. She took the opportunity to reinforce her view of Janna as not sporty when I asked her about PE at Riverview.

'Well, she likes it , she's not very good, she's like me, but she likes it. A think it's because they get more choice nowadays. She hates gymnastics she just can't do it but they only have so many weeks of that and then move on so it's OK. She used to be quite sporty; she played in the girls football team at Calton but she's never been very good, not like the boys. The older one plays for the 1st XV at Rugby and the younger one is very good at basketball. (Do you think the PE department cater for girls as well as boys?) I don't really know, David has said the girls play basketball, but isn't really that interested, so I don't really know, there's certainly more than there was in my day. She's not sporty, I wasn't sporty a think if she does a sport it will be for a social reason. That's what I did, a think would be more - leisure as a social activity. Maybe, when she's older, she can play tennis to make friends you know and group activities.'

Janna's mum displaced her own negative views of PE at school onto her daughter. Janna's mum held no expectations for Janna's sports involvement, other than that it should mirror her own sports history. This lack of expectation contrasted with her expectations for her two sons which was that they should follow in their father's footsteps. She said something which I couldn't believe was true, 'She hates gymnastics she just can't do it'. I was aware that Janna was not the most fluent person in the class when it came to doing gymnastics but she did not react in the classroom as if she hated gymnastics.

I was reminded of an early observation I made about Janna in a gymnastics class. I checked my note book and found that I had indicated that she did struggle at certain exercises in gymnastics but that she was still better than most of the boys. Moreover, when, during her interview, I asked her if she disliked any PE activities she did not complain about gymnastics.

Janna's mother expected her to not be good at sports because she herself had not been interested in sports. It was my opinion that Janna's mother's lack of expectation and failure to instigate sport with her daughter resulted in a self-fulfilling prophecy in which Janna fulfilled her mother's expectations.

It was interesting that, in referring to social sport, Janna's mother indicated that sport allowed individuals to make friends. Janna's mother's comments supported my impression that competitive sports tended to be divisive whereas social sports were integrative. Janna's case was similar to Rose's.

Rose's mother told me that Rose no longer played sports and was, now, more interested in social activities. Rose's mother believed her daughter not to be 'sporty':

'A don't think she's ever really been sporty and she's had the problem with her knee, she used to do tap-dancing when she was younger but she just stopped going as it was boring. Also, she used to go swimming with her friends but these are the friends that have changed so they don't go any more. And it's the same with the skiing we offered to buy her the pass for Hillend again but she wasn't really interested. A think it's because she doesn't get on with the people who used to be in that group. (Athletics?) Well, she was good at it at primary school but she never wanted to join a club or anything and a think with her knees, she just drifted away from it, though she did run in the sports day and a think she did quite well. (What about PE?) Well, she doesn't like her teacher; a don't know if it's just a personality clash, or, if it's because she doesn't like PE anymore, or what, but she doesn't like her. A don't think they really cater much for girls, when Rose had her knee problems, a think it was Christmas come early for her to get off PE. Not like Grant who is sporty.'

Rose's mother's views, again, contradicted my impression of Rose as identified in my field notes:

'Ideas of pass and move are starting to come through in the basketball game, Rose is influential in her team, people on the bench get her to signal to them with her hand up, it is like they are mimicking things they have seen in basketball on TV. These signals acknowledge good play. Rose is really enjoying herself and is getting a lot of passes and attention from her friends, both these things appear to reinforce the fact that she is good at basketball.'

I often witnessed Rose enjoying herself at PE and prior to the interview with her mother I had watched her win a prize for running at the school's sports day. Rose's mother took no active role in Rose's sports involvement. At the same time Rose's mother differentiated between Rose and her brothers, as Janna's mother had done. Lack of expectation led to Rose's lack of involvement in sport. I had no doubt that different expectations by parents based on gender differences led to less opportunities for these girls to develop their sports interests.

By the time Rose's mother tried to stimulate her sports interest, by offering to buy her a ski pass, it was too late. The pattern of Rose's leisure interests were that they were stimulated by her friends. Her mother no longer had any influence.

A contrasting picture developed from my interview with Richard's parents. Richard had interested me because he had extremely low status in his PE class. His teacher said that the boys treated him as if he was one of the girls. His sports involvement and leisure interests were very similar to that of Janna. He played no social competitive sports outdoors and his out of home activities were almost always carried out in indoor controlled areas.

He himself drew attention to the fact that his existence was not normal because he did not have a lot of friends. I believed that his lack of experience of social competitive activities contributed to his poor status in the PE classroom. I also came to the conclusion that Richard was alienated because he had a high opinion of his own sporting ability which caused a conflict between him and his classmates.

When I interviewed him, I was surprised to learn that he was an extremely good runner and that he was one of the best in Scotland for his age. What I was interested to learn was how he got the strength to maintain his self view in contrast to his classmates.

Richard had developed his social interests since I had first interviewed him⁹:

(Does he do any social activities?) Yes, there's an age group local bible class and apart from meeting on the Sunday mornings they also have weekends when they get together and go up hill-walking, or do social activities. It might be a weekend away, or a games night or, some activity. That's just our church, there's this wider thing called city lights which happens once a month and just last week they had a ceilidh. There's the scripture union. That's right in the summer there's the scripture union holidays. They go to this centre near Aberfoil. He's in the school orchestra and he's also playing in a school band. Oh yes, he's playing the drums in a band which they got together at school, with friends, you know, just a couple of guitars and Richard on the drums, and a keyboard.

Richard had improved his social life through his involvement in 'the church' and school orchestra. This was an important issue. I believed that Richard had maintained his idea of himself, in contrast to the perception of his classmates, as a consequence of spending his leisure time with the church group. I had expected Richard's parents to be the sole source of his self-belief, but in fact, it was a combination of interacting in the church group and his parents' approach to him that helped Richard maintain his idea of himself.

⁹ Mother's comments in italics.

Richard's parents suggested that he was arrogant towards other children:

‘He has a wide age range of people he knows, the man he goes swimming with is in his late thirties and he knows him through the church. Robin enjoys taking Richard. It’s not like taking his wee girl, they can be friends together and train together. There’s a another church chap who’s into robotics. Sometimes a think he’s better with adults, he can be quite short-tempered when it comes to other children. A think he can be quite intolerant of other children.

Richard's intolerance was a factor of his alienation in the school situation. The potential for conflict, between Richard and his classmates, was stimulated by the fact that Richard’s view of himself contrasted with his class mates’ view of him.

This case illustrated that children could develop their confidence from factors outwith the school, even if this led to conflict inside school. This meant that just because a child was perceived by other children as poor at sport, or as having low status, it did not mean that this child had to accept this perception. This fact in itself allowed the potential for change within the status hierarchy of the PE class. If a child could gain confidence outwith the school he/she might eventually be able to change his group membership within the school.

However, the parents showed no awareness of what teachers were aiming to achieve in their PE classes. Most parents perceived PE to be an opportunity to practise and be trained at sports, not as an opportunity for teachers to educate their children about issues such as co-operation and personal development. Only the parents of children involved in competitive ball sports voiced opinions on PE. These parents wanted the school to provide their children with opportunities to hone their skills in specific sports:

Hazel's father: `(Do you have any views on the PE at the school?) Eh, well there's a lack of netball, there's also the way the schools cross-country's organised. Hazel seems to think that that's poorly run. You know, that's up to the school really . It's a shame there's no real link between what they do in primary and secondary, a mean if she wasn'y doing what she is she wouldn'y be gettin' enough from the school. Especially the athletics.'

This was an extremely illuminating point: I had asked Hazel's father about PE and he had responded by talking about what was provided for Hazel outside of PE at both primary and secondary school. Hazel's father made no differentiation between PE and Hazel's sports club interests. He believed the school should provide help for Hazel's club sports interests. This was in contrast to the teacher's stated aim which was not to teach like coaches. Richard's mother expressed similar feelings to this:

'A don't think the PE staff pick up, they didn't pick up Richard was good at athletics. Why hadn't Richard ever had a chance to do long jump before the school sports? Kirsty ended up getting racket sports and she's no good at that at all.

Richard's mother's views directly contradicted the teacher's aim to avoid making `stars' out of children and to educate them in all aspects of PE. Only individual coaching would have satisfied Richard's mother's wishes for her children.

This illustrated a large gap between PE teachers' expectations and parent's expectations of PE. I looked back through my notes to check how information was reported to parents about their children's involvement in PE:

The main argument put forward by teachers at all the schools I visited was that the children and their parents knew which children were good and bad at PE and that there was not much point in reinforcing this view as it would only put some children off PE. At primary schools, assessment of children in PE was extremely informal and it was carried out by the classroom teachers. Teachers were vague about what they assessed, some said they just looked for something positive to say about the children on their report cards. Others said they looked for a part of PE that the children had an aptitude for and put this on their report card. What this meant was that the teachers put a comment on the report card (for the parents) that reinforced a single or a few good things the children could achieve in PE. The report card did not involve a grade and all the teachers said they were against grading the children.

In the secondary schools, the children were assessed on their input into the class in terms of behaviour, their ability to get on with the teacher and other children and on their ability in specific activities. One of the secondary schools gave a grade as a part of reporting the assessment, the other gave a comment on the report card. Teachers at both primary and secondary schools were adamant that there was no real need to give children a grade for their performance in PE.

The reporting system did not provide the teachers with the opportunity to pass on information about what they were trying to achieve during PE classes. Little information was passed on other than: Jonny is good/average/poor at certain PE activities, and Jonny's behaviour is good/adequate/poor during PE activities. I concluded that teachers and parents could easily be working against each other with regards to the values they passed on to children. Moreover, there was little effort made to discover if this situation was the case by either parents or teachers.

Summary of Children's Idea of Self and Parents:

I had come to the understanding that a child's idea of him/herself could receive negative and positive input from their parents and other influences outside school. Within this context I had identified certain values held by parents which I had experienced in the PE setting:

- * Parents explained their children's failures in terms of factors independent of the child's own personality.
- * Parents expressed to their children the need to give something a try, which encouraged children to try new activities.
- * Parents expressed the idea that their children's sports involvement could be increased once they overcame bad experiences. That is, that once they learnt that when they got hurt they survived they were more likely to try new things.
- * Parents expressed the value that it was not normal for a child to keep trying at an activity they were not good at.
- * Parents expressed the belief that a child had to be good at a sport to take part in the club setting.
- * Parents differentiated between social and club sports suggesting that the former was in some way lesser than the latter.

It was not the case that the parents of 'sporty' children only stressed positive values towards sports. Children were confronted with a number of values concerning sport.

Whether they understood these values to relate to themselves in a positive manner depended on their idea of themselves. Within this context parental labelling and expectation was important.

Lack of parental expectation and parental labelling led to low involvement in sport unless a child received positive stimulus from their other sources or their own idea of themselves. This accounted for the observation that more males than females did sport because their parents liked them to do it (Hendry et al 1989), because it was found that girls who were only involved in social activities (Janna and Rose) had mothers who did not expect them to be sporty. Lack of expectation and labelling in the school setting could be overcome by a child who received positive stimulus from sources outwith the school.

It was too simple to argue that a child's idea of self was governed by socialisation from their parents. A negotiation occurred between the child's culture and the parent's culture. Though children picked up a number of values from their parents the parent culture did not always determine the child's culture with regard to participation in PE and sport. Children's capacity for agency allowed them to pick up values from agents other than their parents and to determine their own value system¹⁰. Hence, as had been the case in the PE setting, children's capacity to choose to take part in sport and leisure activities involved a dialectic between the child's capacity for choice (agency) and the values of the cultures of the individuals (parents, friends, neighbours, coaches) they interacted with.

¹⁰ This finding confirmed Hendry's (1989) idea that peer group membership was an important factor in children's sports and leisure patterns.

The influence of structural factors¹¹ could be overcome by cultural resources. In Bourdieu's (1986) terms, the habitus (the capacity to produce and appreciate practices) of children was just as important a factor as the structural location of the child¹² in determining a child's behaviour with regards to PE and sport. That is, cultural resources were just as important as visible resources such as money, time and facilities in influencing children's forms of PE and sports participation.

The cultural resources in the home setting which predisposed certain children to positive involvement in sport were identified as the same values¹³ which provided children with the confidence to compete in the PE setting. These values could be picked up from interaction with individuals in the home setting or in the school. Hence, it may be possible to encourage more children to take part in sport if policy makers identify ways in which teachers can employ the dialectic between their culture and the culture of the children they teach to reach an understanding of the individual and group needs of children. Moreover, policy makers by suggesting ways in which teachers could employ the potential of other individuals (both children and adults) in the school and home setting may be able to help teachers engender pro-PE and pro-sport values in children. This would require cultural interaction between teachers and children.

¹¹ Identified in last section as money, facilities, parental support in the form of money, time, role models and encouragement.

¹² As set out in the last section.

¹³ Set out in the PE setting in chapters four to six.

Moreover, this type of approach would require teachers to identify where children's lack of culture capital isolated them in the classroom and prevented them from making decisions about PE and sport. My impression was that when left to make their own choices about PE, without any support in the form of cultural and structural resources, it must be extremely hard for children to make positive choices in the classroom.

Therefore, rather than blaming, labelling, or ignoring children because of their cultural nuances teachers should find ways to provide these children with cultural capital in the PE setting. Specifically and on a simplistic level this means giving children in groups 3-5¹⁴ opportunities for success during PE. However, improved cultural interaction is made less likely by the lack of communication that occurs between PE teachers and parents.

The problem is that unless children are provided with opportunities to succeed during PE, a cyclical situation arises whereby children's lack of pro sport cultural and structural resources in the home is reinforced by experiences during primary school. The child either accepts the fact that he/she is void of cultural capital in the PE setting and does not play a full part in the process of PE or develops and reinforces anti-PE and sport values which exclude him/her from full participation in PE. This results, as these children grow older, in both types of children developing leisure interests which do not involve positive participation in sport (especially competitive sports). By the time these children are of secondary school age, their idea of themselves as not sporty is continually reinforced through their interaction with other children¹⁵ during PE.

¹⁴ Identified in chapter 6.

¹⁵ These children will have developed positive values about sport and PE, will have joined sports clubs and will have a higher level of proficiency during secondary school PE. These children will have their idea of themselves as sporty reinforced at home by their parents who

We can understand the present situation through Bourdieu's concept of social space. At present, the habitus of the actors in the PE setting results in the existence of distinct groups separated by social space. Each group is identifiable by its members' subscription to certain behaviour and the relationship between this behaviour and the structure within which it was embedded.

It is possible to conclude if ways were found to reduce this space between groups PE classrooms could become less divisive and elitist and more children could be encouraged to make positive choices during PE.

Within this context I was interested to understand how children's capacity to make choices was encouraged and controlled. As a result I discussed the issue of control with the children's parents during their interviews.

are supportive of their interests. This underlines the idea of Hendry et al (1989) that children who participated in sport regularly felt their parents were supportive of their efforts.

Parental Control and a Child's Ability to Make Choices:

I was interested to find out the level of control that Hazel's parents exerted over her leisure time. I asked her father if he had set times or rules about when Hazel could go out of the house.

Hazel's father; 'O yes aye, if she's going to the pictures, and that, we always make sure she's back by eleven and we'll go and pick her up. They've got to tell us where they're going and we'll go and pick them up. A don't really like them catching buses at night. (Do you have rules on what places Hazel can go to?) 'Eh, not really, they don't really go to discos, it's not that we say that's bad, a don't think we've said no you can't go there to Hazel. (Do you have rules on who they can do their leisure activities with?) Boy friends? (What, whoever?) No we don't really pick her friends, a mean if they're in the house, you know, we'll say 'who's that?'. Or, if someone looks a bit strange we'll say, whatever, but no, we know most of them and they're from the school, so no we huvney said any thing. It's generally left to her. We see most of her friends when we're giving them lifts here and back. Not just her school friends, her friends from the track as well, the people who she meets in that circle are different, it's a very sociable thing. A think that's maybe helped her, you know, running in teams, mixing with a lot of children.'

Hazel's father reinforced his view that Hazel was free to choose her own friends by stating he felt her involvement in a team sport had developed her personality and ability to socialise. In my mind, Hazel's parents had developed a level of trust in her judgement over who her friends were. They trusted her to make her own choices, they would have been willing to intervene if they had found it necessary.

Nicki's mother also exhibited this sort of trust:

'Am concerned about them, about coming home in the dark. I would always offer to meet them maybe with a friend, drop them both off, or I would ask them to be home at a certain time if she insisted on going on her own. But a think that that is common sense nowadays,. A think am fairly open about, you know, if they want to be out late then fine but as long as they don't mind me picking them up. But they are also very good about that and kids are nowadays very much aware of the chances of being attacked, or whatever. (Do you have rules on what places they can go to?) Eh, a don't think so a don't suppose it's ever come up really, she's fairly sensible.

Probably Jonathan would expect more of me, he would tend to say, 'Oh mum don't worry'. The only time a would say that is if a couldn't afford it and that doesn't happen very often. Or, if it clashes in time with something else. (What about who they can do their leisure activities with?) You mean am a choosy about their friends, eh, no but a suppose a would maybe make noises if a was concerned about somebody. I would maybe make remarks like who's that, or whatever.

There existed a notion of negotiation between parent and child. This negotiation allowed the child to develop mature decision-making, at the same time as allowing the parent to look after the welfare of the child. Nicki's mother only exerted control if she felt her children were in a dangerous, or would be put in a dangerous, situation.

Peter's parents were happy to allow their children to make decisions for themselves as long as they as parents were informed about any new situations that might arise.

'(Do you have set times, or rules, about where they can go out of the house?) They're not allowed to go to Finger's Sauna (we all laugh). They haven't asked us to go anywhere yet that we wouldn't agree to, so a mean.. A don't think, well we'll have to see what happens. A mean, both of them will say, 'can we go down the town'. And both of them have bus passes. And am perfectly happy to let them go, if a know where they are, if they're going with their pal, whatever. We're reaping the rewards, now, of the previous ground rules, as the area we live in is handy for what we do, we're near a bus stop, near areas we do sport and have a fairly safe environment around us so. '

They suggested they had been stricter when their children were younger and now this led to them being able to allow their children the maturity to make their own decisions within certain constraints.

Janna's mother stated:

'She's not at the age where she goes to discos, thank God, she's a bit young for that. She tried out the youth club but again she stopped going. But, she goes round to friends and they go down town. The friends things are OK, two of them are in this street and they have sleep-overs and things, although we're not in the catchment area so some of her school friends' houses are quite far away and then either my husband, or I, give her a lift. There is a lack of places she can go because of her age and that she is not sporty. It's mostly friends' houses, a mean she's only thirteen.

Em, a suppose I wouldn't have her going down to Cameron Toll (shopping centre) and wandering about. But, there again, she doesn't ask to. So it's very much a case of, on week days, she stays close to home and at the weekend sees her friends. We did have a problem after they came back from a German trip but all the parents got together and said well, you're not going to do that. Because we felt that we couldn't say to you can't do that unless the others did because if one gets to do it and the other doesn't then there's a problem. It was easier to make the rules without being the ugly parent, she knows she's not allowed out in the winter, this is the thing it's when it's dark now a days it's quite dangerous, em unless she's being taken to her friend's house, luckily she has the two friends here. (Do you have rules on what places she can go to?) Well she's just 13 and that's a bad age. Unless they've got this sporting activity what is there left for them to do apart from go to a friend's house, they want to go into town, eh go to Pizza Hut, well she's not allowed to go to these places after a certain time, it's more time than places, apart from go to discos which she isn't allowed to do. So, it's mainly going to peoples' houses, a sleep over as they call it.'

Whilst interacting within the PE classroom and as a result of carrying out an interview with her, I had received the impression that Janna was very home oriented with respect to her leisure activities. It was noticeable that apart from going down town shopping with these friends their activities were indoor based, where their parents could over look them. Not only did Janna's mother want to restrict what Janna could do, she employed Janna's friends' parents to support her. Whereas other parents attempt to develop mature choices with their children, Janna's parents restricted her choice. Because Janna was not involved in sports, Janna's mother was aware that the restrictions placed on Janna meant that she did not have many leisure options.

The key difference between Janna's mother's view and that of the other parents I had interviewed was that Janna's mother's discussions with Janna, over where and when she could go somewhere, were not a two way exchange. The other parent *asks* the child rather than, as in the case of Janna's mother, *telling* the child what was allowed. In Janna's case there was no debate, or exchange, possible.

My impression was that Janna lacked the decision-making ability and maturity to question where she could spend her leisure time because her parents had not helped to develop this side of her personality. Janna was happy not to pose any difficult questions both to her parents and of herself. She did not confront her mother's view. Hence, Janna had her leisure interests determined by the way her mother socialised her because she was restricted from making choices.

This more than anything else differentiated her from the previous children I have discussed. Her choice was not to make choices. Her choice was to accept her parents' rules and work within them. She had no ambition to push the boundaries of her parents' rules. At the same time, she had no ambition to push the boundaries of her mother's lack of expectation vis a vis sports interests.

There was a strong link between Janna's lack of sports involvement, her mother's lack of expectation and parental control in her household. I was interested to discover if a similar chain existed with respect to Rose:

`(Do you have set times, or rules, about when Rose can go out of the house?)
Well, we used to but now what a do is discuss with her where she's going and who's with her and she kind of chooses what to do. Eh, I have a good relationship with her, em so I don't want to ruin that by enforcing rules. Weekdays she pretty much comes in early but at weekends she stays out late. (What about rules on what places your child can go to?) Not really, she's sensible enough to make her own decisions about where to go and as long as we know who she's with and there's a group of say 5 or 6, then a feel there's safety in numbers (What about who they can do their leisure activities with?) Well, there are one or two people from the school who I have banned but that's as a result of Rose her self coming and telling me what they have done at school, so even that was more to do with her. Generally she makes her own choices about friends.`

Rose's mothers approach to Rose was completely different from that of Janna's mother. Rose's mother was at pains to allow Rose to make her own choices, so that they maintain their `relationship'. The benefit of this approach was that Rose was now 'coming and telling me' with her mother. They had built up a bond through exchanging views.

Interestingly, this ability to make choices did not involve Rose being different from her mother and taking more of an interest in sports. She had actively chosen to stop taking part in sport. Rose's mother offered reasons for this:

`She doesn't do skiing or swimming anymore, a think she's kind of moved onto social activities like going up town with her friends and the pictures and of course discos are the big thing nowadays. She's got a part time job now at the ice cream and yoghurt shop and so she's got the money to do what she wants and also a suppose once a month now she doesn't feel like playing sport, so a think the overall growing-up thing means that she's drifted away from sporting activities. She's in a lot during the week now or she's working but at the weekends they go out after school on a Friday and to a disco on a Saturday. (Is it under 18?) No, it's not, she just dresses up and they get in. Rose goes to the disco with Grant, which is why a let her go. A feel she's a bit safer then and they get a taxi back together. A think they're a lot closer than they used to be. With the work thing she can afford to go to discos and spend money on clothes and stuff and am happy for her to do that, you know, it's a good thing for her to do, you know be able to buy things for herself.'

This was the first time that menstruation had been mentioned as a factor for girls giving up sports. This statement fitted into Rose's mother's general perception which was that Rose was growing up and making her own decisions. Rose's mother welcomed her daughter's maturity. Rose's activities were now more socially oriented and related to her friends' and her brother's interests.

The full complex nature of children's involvement in PE and sport had emerged. Similar patterns of behaviour had different meanings, outcomes and sources. It appeared that when parents, did not provide a positive sports stimulus for their children and did not develop the decision-making abilities of their children, those children found it difficult to develop their own sports interests.

I was interested to investigate if Richard's isolation in his PE classroom related to parental control over his activities:

‘We do, eh, we are quite careful to know where he is and when he's going to come back, what arrangements are made. If he's staying late for band practice it has to be written in the diary. *If you haven't written it in the diary you're not allowed to go.* And how are they going to get there and how are they going to get back and making sure that if they haven't made any appropriate arrangements how do they get back? *They have phone cards and if it gets, or if they're going to be late, they know to phone.* They don't ask to be out late or whatever, a mean we wouldn't let them go out to Cameron Toll to look in shops or whatever, but they. *They don't ask to. Richard has an hour between school and orchestra. That's about it.*

Richard's parents had to be aware of where he was for all but an hour of his week. Interestingly, despite the fact that Richard's parents would not let him do certain things they believed that he was happy to carry out his leisure pursuits within the context of their rules. This reminded me of Janna's situation. In both children's cases their parents' rules restricted their opportunity to interact with children outdoors. In Richard's case, this increased his isolation from the boys in his class; his behaviour was more attuned to Janna's than the boys in his class. I believed that this was yet another reason why Richard did not have many friends when I interviewed him.

My perception was that Richard's parents had restricted his ability to interact with other boys in social and social sports situations. To some extent this was similar to Gavin's situation. Lack of stimulus in the home and rules preventing him socialising with groups of children outdoors had contributed to his leisure activities being so different from the boys in his class.

I wondered if there was any difference between the rules of the middle-class households and the working-class households I had visited. Dean's mother stated:

`Well, most o' his pals are in here aw the time. One o' his pals is ma nephew. He (Dean) goes along ti his sometimes. Here, this is like the half-way house, ken, they're aw in the rooms playin'. Em, a dinnae like him goin up toon he's been up twice and ave said a dinnae like him daein that, a'v said wait till yir older if yir wantin' ti go ti discos and that, 'cause he's a big laddie. He's six feet three, he could easily be taken fir somb'dy older an that and am tae feared wi drugs, an aw this caerry on and a'd rather he stayed aboot here. But he's got his pals and he's iyeways roond it his girl friends an goin ti the pictures and everythin so he doesny miss oot. A mean, his girl friend stays round the corner so he'll say, `am a way doon Liz's tonight can a stay till 11?' And a'll say, `fair enough as long as a ken where yi are'. As long as a ken where he is, a know he's OK, a mean he's sensible enough. The pals he's got are aw level-headed, aye a mean there no inti this, they wouldnae take drugs and am fir ivir it im, `don't you dare take drugs' and he's aw ways goin, `aw am no stupit yi dinae haf tae go on ' and they aw seem ti be roond aboot the same as him, there aw pretty level-headed'

Dean's mother discussed her concerns with Dean. Both Dean and his mother were aware that he was `sensible' and that his friends were `sensible'. This awareness meant that Dean made his own choices about his leisure time within the context of understanding his mother's concerns. It was my belief that his interaction with his parents had resulted in him being able to make his own choices about his leisure interests. These choices allowed him to develop his interests in sport despite the fact that his parents were not sporty.

It appeared that working-class parents did intervene in their children's processes of leisure and that Dean's mother's concerns and approaches to rules were very similar to those of the parent's of Hazel, Nicki and Peter.

It appeared that most of the children who were involved in sports clubs were perceived by their parents as being sensible and able to make their own choices. This appeared to be the case with Margaret, although I discovered that the process of allowing a child to make choices can sometimes be concerning for the parent:

`(Does Margaret muck about with the children up here?) Well `av got hur away fay them; am quite glad about that now like, but she's way eh Rosanne. Rosanne's sort o everythin', even at the school, wi' Margaret. So they're good pals outside o' school. (Do you have rules about who she can muck about with?) Well no' really, no 'cause a mean she's no one fir askin to go places a dinnae want. (What about the kids here?) They were all older see, the lassies that she wis muckin about wi before, 18 `n 19, 20. So they're all inti wantin' ti drink and a mean a wis, eh, the mair a said no, the mair she wis gettin closer ti them. A dunno whit it wis but she got in wi Rosanne and that sort ti broke it off, an a wis quite glad ken.'

This was an interesting situation. Margaret's mother wanted Margaret to make the decision not to muck about with these girls. I was made aware of the fact that there are boundaries where allowing one's child to make her own decision becomes risky. In the end Margaret's mother was quite happy that Margaret did make her own decision and found a new friend. Her patience was rewarded. Margaret made her own choices within her leisure time, yet it is noticeable that her mother stated, ` a mean she's no one fir askin to go places a dinnae want'. Margaret was happy to make choices within the parameters her mother set. Although in the above case it took a while for her to fall within these parameters.

Margaret's ability to make choices had developed her personality. I had watched her in PE classes and realised that she was not worried about having to try new activities. This view was confirmed by her mother when I asked her about PE:

`Nut, av no really seen much, as a say, av seen the PE teachers when a go ti parents night, that's about it. But aw they can say is really praise Margaret 'cause she'll participate in anything, any kind o' sport at all, she'll have a bash, ken what a mean. She's no really, `oh am no gonnae try that', she's right in. They're like aw, `all dae it, all huv a shot'. Ken, she's easy goin, she'll have a shot, if she doesn'y dae it she doesn'y dae it, ken but she's had a go o' it.'

This was fascinating: Margaret's mother was certain of the fact that Margaret would try anything during PE. It meant that Margaret could constantly have her idea of her self as a 'try any sport kind of person' reinforced in her home. Margaret's mother was working-class, however, she was extremely positive about Margaret's sports interests and her school life in general. She told me that if Margaret had any problems at school she would go to the school and discuss the issue with the relevant teacher. Therefore, it was not the case that working-class children did not receive positive input with regards to their school life and leisure interests.

So far, I had interviewed working-class parents of children who were members of clubs. I was interested to find out how my impressions related to children who were not involved in clubs.

Emma had told me during her interview that she had been in trouble with the police, her teacher had told me that she often got into trouble at school, I was interested to see if her non-conformist behaviour at school spread to her leisure interests.

On entering Emma's house, her mother told me that Emma did nothing in her free time anymore because she had been grounded. This fascinated me. Parental control, here, had led to Emma's non-involvement in sport and leisure activities.

`(She said she used to go to the Commy and Waterworld?) That's a load o' crap. That's just rubbish, wi her behaviour it swimmin pools she's no allowed ti go because her behaviour's too immature, a took hur and the life guard hud ti jump in an save hur, so that's hur seemingly no allowed ti go back. (Do you take her anywhere else?) Nut. She's never showed any interest in anny'hin 'cause a told hur for ti tell mi.

(What about youth club's?) Nut, a think she went ti some church thing fir about two weeks, a canny remember it wis too long ago. (Did she go wi pals?) Well, wi a lassie up the road. But, a think aefter two weeks her pal got flung oot fir ur cheek and then they niver went back.

Thus, like Lianne at Riverview and Michael at Hillside, Emma maintained her non-conformist behaviour during leisure situations. This occurred both with her mother and through association with her friends. My own perception used to be, why do these children do this? It's futile not to go by the rules. I had come to understand that for these children causing conflict was their leisure activity and the more conflict they were involved in, the more they were achieving.

Indeed every part of Emma's leisure time had become non-conformist prior to her being grounded:

(What did she do before yi grounded hur ?) She used ti go cycling quite a lot but the lassies winnae muck aboot wi hur. A think its 'cause o' hur behaviour it the school. She sneaked in ti a couple o' discos that a never knew, in the town. (Did she sneak ti them wi other people?) Aye, this one lassie, em, in particular that a didnae like hur mucking aboot wi that's why she hud ti sneak there. (Did yi do anything about who she was mucking about wi?) Definitely. (What were the reasons for that?) 'Cause the lassie's a pure troublemaker, she's a thief, she's a liar, she batters girls thit wanted ti play wi Emma, she would batter Emma if she didnae want ti play wi hur, she's like she'll no be any older when she's forty. (Is that why you grounded her?) Aye, a mean, if that lassie moved then Emma could go out aw the time. (Was it this girl that she mucked about wi that got hur inti trouble?) O' Emma can get hursel inti trouble, but this lassie wis definitely the main cause o' it. (Is it stealin up toon?) Aw no, she steals frae the hoose, fi other peoples hooses and up the toon. (Is that why gradually other kids won't muck aboot wi hur?) Well, if you let a kid in yur house and they steal somethin, a mean yir talkin aboot pictures off the wall an that, fur ti sell. But, this wis this lassie Dale, that Dale wis a'ways stealin' stuff. (So has she been in trouble wi the police as well?) Aye, just the once, 'cause she's been grounded since. They said she was gonny get inti a lot o trouble wi hur attitude They ended up keepin hur in the cells fir a couple o' hours because o' her attitude. That wis it Gayfield police station. Thur was actually gonny be more done aboot it but the polis men knew hur dad, so he had a good talk wi hur dad an he hud a good talk ti hur and he says, 'well seein as it wis hur first time' they wouldn't take it any further. (When will yi unbar her?) When she gets some decent pals.'

Thus, children's conflict and non-conformist patterns of behaviour isolated them from those children who do not see themselves as carrying out these patterns of behaviour. Emma's mother was aware of this and had taken extremely strict action to try to change the situation.

Emma had no other friends and she lived on her own with her mother. It was clear that it was a straight fight between Emma's mother and this girl as to who was going to influence Emma's free time. At the moment Emma's mother was winning, but to achieve this she had had to totally prevent Emma from going out of the house, apart from going to school.

It was noticeable that it was the same children who were involved in conflict with teachers and other pupils at school, who refused to conform to teachers' and other pupils' expected patterns of behaviour, who got chucked out of clubs for non-conformist behaviour and were involved in crime.

This reinforced my impression that non-conformist children chose to reject certain values and accept other values which got them into trouble. In the case of Michael, his non-conformist attitudes were reinforced by his YHT gang membership. These children chose to identify themselves as different from those children who conformed to school or parental expectations. Their values related to short-term goals which were expressed in the form of creating conflict, taking part in crime and getting into trouble in school.

Though these children were working-class, however, this was not a sufficient explanation for their behaviour. Their behaviour owed much to their capacity for agency and the influence of their peer culture. My perception was that, to counteract Michael and Emma's behaviour and to encourage them to take a fuller part in PE and sport, they would have to have the opportunity to succeed in these areas.

Summary of parental control:

Children developed the capacity of agency within the context that their parents provided them with the opportunity to make choices. Children with a high level of involvement in sports activities were found to have been allowed to develop this capacity to make choices. This, especially, occurred where children did not receive stimulus from agents of socialisation who were positively oriented towards sports participation. Where adult role models were not available to children they could still chose to participate in sport as long as they experienced a level of positive stimulation towards participation in sport. This stimulation could come from parents or other adults, friends, relatives, neighbours, or factors within the school.

Where children did not have the power of decision-making they were unable to overcome the influences of non-sporting parental role models or agents of socialisation. Specifically, a lack of parental expectation led these children to have low levels of involvement in sport. This situation was exaggerated where parental control restricted children's capacity to make choices about their leisure interests.

The confusion between Hendry's (1983) and Hendry and Simpson's (1977) idea of culture and Hendry's (1993) idea of socialisation¹⁶ could be addressed by the findings of the study. It was found that the availability of role models and positive parental influences were important factors in children's participation in sport, especially at primary school age.

¹⁶ Identified in chapter two.

It was concluded that where children had not developed decision making processes, socialisation into leisure activities by parents and others had an important bearing on children's sports activities (supporting Hendry (1993)). However, the research identified a point where children developed agency which allowed them to make their own decisions. These decisions could often, though did not have to, reinforce parental values. Where children had developed agency (especially where they developed anti-PE/sport values) cultural factors (patterns of behaviour, norms, values etc.) were identified as guiding children's participation in PE and sport. This finding supported the findings of Hendry (1983) and Hendry and Simpson (1977).

However, the capacity to exhibit agency did not always result in children making positive decisions with respect to sports participation. Children had low levels of involvement in sport where, their parents did not act as role models, they lacked resources in their home area which would stimulate sports participation and their peer group membership involved interaction with children who possessed negative ideas about sports participation. This was true of those children located in groups 3-5¹⁷. These children did not accept the criteria for success and failure set by the group 1 and 2 children¹⁸. which was identified with membership of competitive ball sports clubs or participation in social competitive ball sports.

¹⁷ Identified in chapter 6.

¹⁸ Identified in chapter 6.

I concluded that if these children (group 3-5) were to be encouraged to take a greater part in PE, sport and non-conflict leisure activities, they would have to believe that they had the opportunity to succeed in these areas¹⁹. That is, their anti-PE values of achievement would have to be challenged by providing them with the opportunity to succeed in other ways²⁰. The way to address this behaviour may be to provide these children with early socialisation into competitive sports activities; provide them with opportunities to achieve success in sport²¹ and provide facilities and opportunities in their home area for sports participation²².

However, unless children's different cultures were accounted for during the process of innovation, any policy change would be likely to reinforce one group of children's culture at the expense of another group of children's culture²³. Therefore, it was concluded all the policies and facilities which money could provide would not resolve the issue of these children's low participation rates in PE and sports if policy making in PE did not address children's culture and capacity for agency.

¹⁹ This conclusion supported the contention that all children needed the opportunity to find rewards through their participation in PE (Dodds 1993).

²⁰ These values were developed in primary schools, hence any attempt to address them should begin with primary school PE.

²¹ So that when they developed their own choice-making ability they would choose to be oriented to pro-PE and pro-sports values rather than non-conformist behaviour.

²² This conclusion did not advocate re-socialisation as a method to increase children's participation in PE and sport, rather, it advocated cultural negotiation between the values systems of those who plan policies for PE and sport, those that find success in PE and sport and those who do not find, or seek, success in PE and sport.

²³ This accounts for the finding that some policies alienate some youths (Hendry 1992) and that simply providing adequate facilities is not enough to encourage children's involvement in sport (Hendry and Marr 1985).

Therefore, the values children exhibited in relation to their orientation towards specific sport and leisure interests were identified with the conflicting ideas of cultural capital observed in the PE setting. That is, the culture children developed in the home setting predisposed them to produce and appreciate specific practices in terms of sports and leisure. In the home setting this led to the assertion of social distance between groups of children with different cultures and encouraged children to ally themselves with specific definitions of cultural capital. In turn, this led to interaction in PE which was characterised by the struggle of children to enforce their idea of cultural capital at the expense of other children.

Where parental control withheld the opportunity for a child to develop the capacity to make choices these children were observed to lack maturely developed idea of self (with regards to choosing sport/leisure pursuits) and the confidence to enforce their idea of cultural capital in the PE setting . Hence parental control which restricted children's capacity for agency also restricted children's involvement in PE.

In chapter 4 the ability to make decisions was recognised as crucial with respect to the level of confidence children exhibited during PE. Children who possessed mature decision-making abilities could answer the difficult questions that arose in the PE class such as, 'should I try this' and 'will this hurt'? Hence, policy makers or teachers who want to encourage children to participate more fully in sport and PE must recognise how children's capacity to make choices can be developed in the PE setting and make attempts to encourage parents to develop their children's ability to make choices. The help of parents in this process was perceived as crucial because they were identified as the first agents of socialisation and as the individuals who best developed their children's ability to make decisions.

In conclusion of this chapter:

Children's differential aptitude for PE was strongly identified with the structural and cultural factors which influenced their sport and leisure interests outside of school. The cultural capacity of children to make choices²⁴ developed in relation to parent's methods of controlling their children and the availability of resources in the home area²⁵ was found to govern the forms of sports participation which individual children were oriented towards. Children's participation in sport and leisure activities stemmed from a dialectic between structure (available resources) and agency (ability to choose what activities to take part in) and a dialectic between agency and the cultures in the home area. These cultures were understood to be the culture of their parents, friends, relatives and neighbours. The dialectic involved an interaction between a child's idea of self and the patterns of behaviour and values of the various cultures.

Hence, this chapter identifies the process through which children develop their predefined ideas of cultural capital which they bring to PE classrooms²⁶. As a result, it illustrates the 'whole' within which it is possible to locate children's patterns of behaviour in PE. It is concluded that teachers and policy makers who wish to increase children's involvement in PE and sport could achieve this aim by addressing how children's participation in these activities is influenced by this 'whole'.

²⁴ Related to Bourdieu's idea of habitus in the last section on parental influence and children's idea of self.

²⁵ Based on the structural distribution of capital.

²⁶ Discussed in chapters 4-6.

There exist a number of ways that children are turned on and turned off PE and sport in the context of schooling. The skill for policy makers, once factors external to the school are legislated for, is to develop a curriculum and stimulate teaching methods which allow teachers to recognise these causal factors in situ and enable teachers to act to help children overcome their problems.

It was found that the most practical way teachers could achieve this would be through dialogue with the children (by asking children about their feelings with regard to specific situations in PE classes). However, because children's responses may have many meanings it was concluded that those teaching methods which were open to interpreting the different cultures within PE classes would be best placed to allow teachers to elucidate meanings from children's responses and therefore, to implement courses of action that were specific to individual children's problems. That is, teaching methods which allow both children and teachers to reflect on each others' values during PE classes are best suited to resolving the problems which confront children during participation in PE. In chapter nine suggestions are put forward about how these methods may be developed.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION:

This thesis has demonstrated the valuable role which ethnography performs within the social sciences. The underlying factors which influence the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* have been identified by relating findings at the micro level to issues of policy making. Chapters four to eight have come to a number of conclusions concerning PE policy. These conclusions suggest that an efficacious and successful pupil-centred PE policy could be developed through teachers and policy makers comprehending the structural (resources in the home) and cultural influences (capacity to exhibit agency, peer group association) which underpin the individual and group behaviour of children in PE classrooms.

This chapter will discuss these influences within the context of policy initiatives in PE and sport in the context of schooling¹ and the role of sport and education in society². Specifically, this discussion will be located in three sections concerning Pupil-Centred PE Inside School, Pupil-Centred PE Outside School and Pupil-Centred PE, Politics, Sport and Society. These sections culminate in the conclusion that the understandings presented in this thesis could help to stimulate change in the process of the implementation of PE policy to schools in Scotland.

¹ The intermediate level

² The macro level

Pupil-Centred PE Inside School:

The elitist and divisive behaviour that exists in PE classes at present could be addressed by a PE policy which took account of the fact that children have different capabilities in PE. It has been suggested that the teacher could find solutions to the elitist tendencies of the children, by asking the children to create, or invent, conditions through which children with a low level of involvement in an activity could have their level of involvement increased. These solutions would be acceptable to children, precisely, because they were of the children's own making. By involving all of the class, or a group, in one child's problem, that child could be integrated into the class. The 'Creating and Designing' parts of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* could be developed to encourage this form of PE.

For example if we remember the plight of Richard described in chapter 6 page 199, Jim (his teacher) could have prevented the children alienating Richard by discussing why Richard was so often excluded from fully participating in the PE class. Some children would have argued that Richard was not 'good' at the activities he participated in during PE. Jim could have pointed out how Richard and Shirley had performed during the badminton class to convince the children that Richard should be given a chance and to promote the general idea that the role of PE was to develop the skills of each child rather than to merely play with those children who were perceived to be good at sport.

This type of approach would help to alleviate problems identified with co-educational and mixed ability teaching. By asking children what they thought each others' problems were and how these problems could be resolved, the stereotypical views of children and the labelling by some children of others with low skills would be brought into the domain of the teacher.

The problems that are created by some boys sexist behaviour towards girls and high-skilled children's behaviour towards low skilled children could be alleviated through a process of communication within the PE class³.

Cultural conflict based on the attempt by some children to monopolise definitions of cultural capital, could be reduced by a process of discussion. That is, the children could debate how their different views/values related to specific interactions during PE. This discussion could allow cultural negotiation to take the place of cultural conflict.

By asking the children in Richard's class to discuss such issues as 'Why do you take part in PE', 'What do you expect of your team mates' and 'Who would you not include in your team', the teacher (Jim) could bring each child's values in to a discussion which is manufactured to break down child/child cultural conflict and to foster understanding of different children's perspectives on PE. Jim could begin by asking Richard what he expected from his PE participation. He could develop Richard's response by asking the other children how to achieve Richard's wishes.

In relation to the situation during the badminton class, Jim could have instigated cultural negotiations between Richard and Shirley by asking Shirley why she did not want to play with Richard. If she said because he is 'crap'. Jim could have asked her what this meant in terms of badminton skills. If she said, 'He cant serve or smash', Jim could have responded 'why don't you help him to do this'. Jim could have followed this up by asking Richard what he might help Shirley with.

³ The issue of provision of a broad curriculum, to some extent, clouds the fact that children possess the ability to differentiate between themselves and reinforce issues of elitism, in any area of the curriculum. The issue that needs to be addressed is, how can teachers create a teaching atmosphere, that is less elitist and divisive than at present and within which children can use their bodies and apply skills without suffering stigmatisation? Simply providing a wide range of activities will not be enough to answer this question.

The *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* rhetoric concerning 'Co-operating, Sharing, Communicating and Compelling' provide scope for cultural negotiation to take place in the classroom. A PE policy that encouraged cultural negotiation would enable children to benefit from the communication and exchange of their different skills, knowledge, experiences and values. Negotiation could become the force which made for integrative experiences during PE.

This form of approach would go some way to addressing the observation of Evans and Davies (1993):

'If we reject the slippery interplay of competitive individualism and meritocracy in the ERA and address the important curricular, pedagogical and organisational questions of how and when children should be taught together or separately and why, we will need to bring principles to the surface as to how we can implement a form of practice capable of both bringing children (boys, girls, black, white, able, disabled) together towards a common culture and humanity, while at the same time respecting and educating them in all their diversity. We share Sawicki's view that all human differences are ambiguous and may be used either to divide or enrich our politics and daily lives. Perceiving 'difference' in this way, as a resource and a source of possibility, opportunity and creative change, rather than as a problem or barrier to be removed, is a necessary precondition to achieving equity and equality in PE. This would require, amongst other things a critical appraisal of the value assumptions about ability, 'race' and gender differences which we hold.' (Evans and Davies 1993 p21).

Therefore, the understanding of difference could be mobilised as the resource to promote equity in physical education⁴. This would not produce uniform children because teaching methods would employ children's differences as a positive resource.

⁴ This could address concerns that teaching methods that seek equality can lead to teaching to the lowest common denominator (Talbot 1993). That is, the creation of problem solving situations which developed both high and low skilled children's abilities and experiences in PE could stretch children of high ability by posing them problems which involve the solving/resolution/integration of issues concerning children whose abilities are different to them.

Each child's cultural background would be attributed value in the PE classroom. The very problems which a child had, which caused him/her to be attributed low status by the class, would be rectified by this form of PE⁵. It would provide children with access to the rewards of the social system within PE. Thus, all children could be provided with opportunities to succeed during PE.

Winning and losing would occur when the children succeeded or failed to resolve/incorporate the problems of their classmates during the process of PE. If this kind of approach was adopted by teachers, the 'goal posts' would have been moved so that success, in the eyes of children, was interwoven with ideas of integration, rather than the present situation where success is associated with divisive ideas⁶. The coping strategies identified, during this study, as being employed by teachers, and identified as being necessary to address issues of equality in PE, would form an important part of this approach. These strategies would be supplemented and supported by the ideas of the children.

The aim of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* programme of study: 'Co-operating, Sharing, Communicating and Compelling'⁷ complements this type of policy by encouraging teachers to develop pupil's understandings of each other's work and pupil's individual awareness of their own work during PE.

⁵ The argument that all children need access to the rewards of the social system within PE (Dodds 1993) would be addressed here.

⁶ This could allow PE teachers to make the hidden curriculum obvious and understand that teaching methods in PE are not culturally neutral, thus, satisfying the wishes of Brandt (1986).

⁷ Emphasis is put on the pupil understanding the variety of roles in physical activities (i.e. planner, player etc.) whilst being able to understand issues of tactics within physical activities and to communicate this understanding to other pupils and the teacher.

Moreover, the 'Observing, Reflecting, Describing, and Responding' area of the curriculum which encompasses: 372 between teachers and pupils and between pupils in the same class, team, or group could provide further encouragement for the pupil-centred culturally conscious approach to PE outlined above.

In this way, the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* could be employed to support this thesis' suggestion, developed in chapter six, that communication be used to bring out the fears, lack of confidence and feelings of alienation that many children associate with participation in PE. Once these feelings were out in the open, children could 'co-operate' in 'creating' the circumstances by which these problems could be addressed in the class situation.

This process of pupil-centred PE could alter the present situation in PE classrooms where many children are isolated and alienated; have little opportunity to express their feelings; have little opportunity to gain success and ultimately, are stigmatised by the other children. This finding relates to Figueroa's arguments concerning how to confront racism in PE classrooms:

'Individuals should also be given equally favourable treatment when membership of some category is a justifiable ground for different treatment. For instance, Muslim girls who have strong religious beliefs might be allowed to wear track suits instead of regulation shorts during physical education classes. It is crucial that the notion of equality should include equal respect and equitable treatment for *difference*. (Figueroa 1993: 91)

He argues, National Curriculum PE in England and Wales calls for this type of PE. That it attempts to foster respect for each other amongst the children by focusing on enabling and facilitating children's participation in PE.

Figuroa believes that this enables the National Curriculum to combat racism in PE through the promotion of the understanding of difference. Pupil-centred PE promoted through the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* allows for cultural communication. Therefore, the recommendations of this study can be employed to confront racism and to encourage children of different races to participate in PE⁸.

However, a shift to a more pupil-centred PE policy would require teachers to become culturally astute. If they could be stimulated into adopting reflexive approaches to teaching PE, they could find it easier to overcome processes of stigmatisation in PE classes. That is, they could become more aware of the cultural factors which lead children to fail to gain achievement during PE⁹ and be invited to find ways to legitimise all children's perceptions of PE.

Teachers would need to be encouraged to identify children not only in terms of their physical and mental ability in PE but also in terms of their ability which stems from social and cultural factors. PE classrooms will only become equitable places when teachers are able to understand the process of differentiation/elitism which occurs in their classrooms¹⁰. If a child in primary school has not been socialised into competitive sports, this issue will need to be identified and steps taken to ensure the child's lack of experience in this area does not lead to alienation in the PE classroom. Similarly, if a child exhibits non-conformist behaviour, or appears to be 'lazy', teachers should be encouraged to identify the roots of this behaviour and find ways to integrate that child into the process of PE¹¹.

⁸ This occurs despite the fact that the findings of this ethnography did not provide many instances of racism in the PE classroom (see chapters four and six).

⁹ This process would mean that teachers should resist the temptation to constantly identify with the children in their classrooms who possess the same values as themselves.

¹⁰ This should involve an understanding of the process through which differentiation brings about cultural conflict between individuals and groups in the classroom.

¹¹ This type of approach would reinforce the finding of this study that Primary school children should have the opportunity to overcome lack of previous experiences of PE activities and

This process could be sustained by developing systems of Learning Support. Therefore, the pupil-centred PE advocated throughout this thesis redefines the teacher's role to include becoming a cultural negotiator.

Though aspects of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* provide encouragement for the achievement of this redefinition of the teacher's role and for the adoption of the types of pupil-centred PE described above, the process of innovation is made problematic by a number of factors.

Teachers are asked to develop programmes of studies to meet targets, set out in the Guidelines, based on present good practices, current resources and characterised by a balance between activities of PE 'traditional' to individual schools¹². The problem exists, therefore, that if present good practice and resources are poor then, these failings will be carried on into the new curriculum.

There is no requirement that teachers should change their present teaching methods and the likelihood of this occurring is diminished by the fact that the Guidelines will not be supported by an increase in resources or a change in available activities.

Moreover, asking teachers to take account of issues such as equality, implies criticism of their current practices. For example, in primary schools the adoption of a pupil-centred approach will mean the confrontation of the use of simple activities (mostly competitive games) by non specialist teachers. There is no reason why these teachers should immediately accept this situation.

develop their skills during PE and teachers should support this opportunity by coming to terms with the factors that enable children to learn about PE and sport inside and out of school.

¹²This may account for the SCRE May 1995 report that teachers thought the minimum changes were required between the old and new curriculum.

Indeed this study has identified a gap in the knowledge of primary classroom teachers, with regards to PE. This gap is associated with the low level of PE training these teachers experience during their time as student teachers. This issue would need to be addressed if primary school teachers are to be able to understand the pupil-centred approach and the complex issues, discussed in the chapters of this thesis, that will affect the implementation of the 5-14 curriculum. That is, teacher training would need to support innovation if teacher's worries about change were to be overcome.

The issues that could obstruct the implementation of the 5-14 Guidelines on PE would require to be understood within the context of the problems that affect curriculum innovation in other areas of the education system. Thus, it would be necessary to pay attention to obstacles/barriers to innovation especially in the areas of teacher cultures, the relationship between innovations and present teaching methods, and teacher isolation in the classroom.

It has been suggested that those instigating curriculum innovations would need to avoid falling into the trap of blaming teachers. They should work to empower teachers within the understanding that they as individuals make every day choices during their physical education classes which ultimately decide the fate of the children within these classes.

The empowerment of teachers may not be that problematic when put into the context that they are not 'cultural dopes'¹³, nor are they always agents of reproduction and control. However, empowerment would be best supported by processes of teacher development. Hence, achieving pupil-centred innovation hinges on whether teachers can be made to feel a part of the process of innovation. This, in turn, hinged on resources being provided to support the innovation¹⁴.

Therefore, it was possible to conclude that the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* could encourage the development of a pupil-centred integrative PE curriculum within schools where the process of implementation was supported by teachers and smoothed by the provision of resources. This eventuality would allow for the achievement of the principal aim of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* which is to provide all children with meaningful experiences of PE.

However, this thesis has shown that a lack of 'proper encouragement' could lead to the failure of both the pupil-centred approach to PE advocated in this thesis and the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*. 'Proper encouragement' could be identified as an increase in resources, training, or benefits for teachers who promote the new curriculum¹⁵.

¹³ Evans (1990).

¹⁴ The ideas of the above three paragraphs are drawn from the researcher's experiences during the ethnographic fieldwork stage of the thesis and are an extension of basic theories concerning curriculum change in primary and secondary education expressed by a number of authors (Bain 1990, Gatherer 1989, Hargreaves 1989, Lawton 1989, Ball 1981).

¹⁵ This requirement is not encouraged by the finding, outlined in chapter two, that teachers perceive a lack of support to help them implement change in the areas of maths and language. The greatest obstacles to innovations were viewed by primary school teachers as a need for more resources (human and financial), a lack of print based materials, and a need for more in service courses (SCRE May 1995).

Further, it was feasible to assume that merely stimulating change in the school and PE classroom was not sufficient to achieve a pupil-centred curriculum innovation. That is, this study found that children's behaviour in PE classes was influenced by but also influenced cultures and structures outside of the school. The suggestions and conclusions discussed above have to be understood within the context of these factors which are external to the school¹⁶. In the next section curriculum innovation is discussed in terms of how it could account for the influence of non-school factors on children's behaviour in PE classrooms.

¹⁶ See those identified in chapters 7 and 8.

Pupil-Centred PE: Outside School:

The *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* express the need for schools to be aware of and employ resources from beyond the school. This suggestion indicates that schools should create links between parents and the community through which the expertise of parents and professionals can be brought into the school to help provide children with the opportunity to increase their understanding of a variety of expressive arts.

As such, this part of the guidelines reinforces the finding of this study that a pupil-centred PE policy should involve parents in the education of their children.

With parents, teachers could work out strategies to be implemented in the home. These strategies would aim to overcome children's problems identified at the classroom level. Short, ten to fifteen minute projects to be carried out between parents and their children could overcome children's cultural resistance to classroom teaching techniques. Parents could be involved in work shops in the school to increase their understanding of what the aims of teachers were, with regards to PE¹⁷.

¹⁷ This approach has already been recommended and employed in other areas of the curriculum (Fullan 1991, Epstein 1986).

Parents could be invited into the school to work with their children on a voluntary basis and to work as teacher helpers¹⁸. Their role would be to aid the process of innovation. At the same time this would stimulate the integration of the parents into the aims of the school. Parental ignorance of the curriculum could be broken down through this process. This would mean that when children discussed PE at home, their parent/s would be able to discuss the development of their children's education in meaningful ways¹⁹.

By using techniques that involve parents in their children's education the problems of pupils' cultural resistance to the aims of teachers and the school could be overcome. Moreover, this approach would address the contention that there may be conflict between the requirements of PE and the culture of local groups which can only be overcome by inviting parents into schools.

If we relate this to the case of Ormond (chapter 7 p 268), His parents lack of encouragement towards his involvement in PE could have been addressed by contacting his parents and discussing with them the benefits of the integrative pupil-centred approach discussed in the previous section. It might have been possible to convince them that Ormond would not suffer alienation during PE and they might have been encouraged to stimulate Ormond's involvement in PE. If they said, 'But he's no good at PE', the teachers would be able to devise a homework strategy involving Ormond's parents. This could help to develop Ormond's skills through the use of short skills practices in the home.

¹⁸ This is covered in great detail by Kessling (1980).

¹⁹ This approach was advocated for all parts of the curriculum by Fullan (1991). Parental involvement in the 5-14 innovation would have to be promoted by the school and the Region. At one of the schools visited in the study there exists an outreach programme which had contacted every first and second year parent. This type of approach has been identified as aiding curriculum innovation (Epstein 1986). The role of this on going programme was to stimulate positive notions of education in the home setting and to break down barriers between parents and the school. This approach could be built upon to include information on how parents could help with their children's PE.

Ormond's parents could be advised on how his brothers might help in this process. Again, discussions between Ormond, his parents and the teachers could be employed to understand his problems, allow him to air his grievances and to act to support his involvement in PE. This process of communication would allow his teacher to gauge the cultural and structural resources which required to be developed to stimulate Ormond's interest in PE and sport.

The findings of this study, that there exists no one uniform 'child' and no single cultural group of pupils within PE classes, means that no one policy change at the school level can bring about a change in the cultural patterns of behaviour of all the pupils. Pupils cultural resistance to PE can only be overcome if innovation involves parents. Parents at present are an untapped resource with regard to PE. If pupil centred PE is to be successful it will require the support of parents. This support will require a greater communication between teachers and parents than exists at present. It is possible to conclude that pupil-centred PE or the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*, will fail to deliver a curriculum which has relevance for all children if it does not include parents within its bounds.

Greater teacher-parent communication could be encouraged through innovation of assessment and reporting procedures in PE.

It can be concluded that a responsible method of assessment, based on the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*, would report back to the parents/children on:

- * The improvements the children were making in the class.
- * How the children were developing with regards to the specific strands.
- * How the children were working with regard to processes of pupil-centred evaluation which were aimed to help integrate children into the PE class.

This method of reporting could be supported by the use of the attainment targets in the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*. Teachers could employ the targets to help them make comments on the six strands outlined in the guidelines. Thus, a report would take the form of:

'Jonny/Jenny has a firm understanding, experience and knowledge of body use, applying skills and creating and designing in PE. He/she co-operates well, although he/she could interact better with his/her classmates in competitive situations. He/she responds to the class work in a positive manner, showing the ability to critically reflect on as well as describe his/her work in PE. However, in the course of the next term we will have to develop his/her respect for the needs of the other children in the class with regards to PE.'

The terminology of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* would have to be communicated to parents for this type of report to make any sense. Once this was achieved the parent would receive a meaningful report without the child being labelled by a grade such as A to E.

In the case of the above example, policies that involve parents in the process of education would allow the teacher to employ strategies in conjunction with the parents to meet the aim of developing this child's ability to interact with his/her classmates.

The *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* allow for this form of reporting and for the form of pupil-centred evaluation which has been recommended. These two areas of the Guidelines are crucial if pupil's cultural patterns, which at present have a negative affect on children's involvement in PE, are to be addressed by the 5-14 Expressive Arts innovation.

The positive aspect of 5-14 Assessment is that it should involve the children in the process of assessment so that they know why and how they are being assessed²⁰. This would appear to be extremely helpful to the avoidance of performance oriented PE.

However, this thesis has argued that the process of assessment of children during PE classes is not an assessment of like with like. Children come to PE classes with different previous experiences of the activities that take place there. Assessment should not reinforce the status of those children²¹ who are already perceived as 'good' at sport by their class mates. If assessment does reinforce these children's status then the assessment procedure will solely be judging children's previous socialisation and cultural patterns within sport, rather than their involvement in the process of PE.

What is required is an integrated process of assessment. That is, this thesis concludes that assessment should go further than the award of grades for physical achievement during PE. Teachers should assess the PE ability (skill level, knowledge of PE, co-ordination), cultural ability (ability to make decisions, cultural resources in the home) and structural ability (PE and sport resources in the home, previous experiences of sport) of the children.

²⁰ This has had some success in other areas of the 5-14 curriculum see chapter two.

²¹ Usually with high-motor skills Thomas 1991.

This assessment should form the basis upon which programmes of study are planned for the children. It should involve the identification of gaps in children's ability levels which go beyond discussions of children's skill, co-ordination or mental ability at PE. Where these gaps have been identified teachers should communicate to parents not only what these gaps are but how they can be overcome in the school and home²².

The above suggestions should be understood within the context that teachers and senior staff will not necessarily welcome change. Their resistance may be based on the fact that teachers may fear change and are unsympathetic to innovations that are aimed to bring about equality in PE classrooms because their teaching methods traditionally focus on the elite within their classes²³.

What is necessary is a culture shift by both parents and teachers which brings them closer in the pursuit of the solution of children's problems in PE. However, as was argued in the last section, parents and teachers should feel that they are part of the process of change and that aiding the process of innovation will bring them rewards²⁴. It is the conclusion of this study that research should be commissioned, prior to the full implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*, to establish the criteria by which both teachers and parents can be encouraged to make this cultural shift²⁵.

²² The likelihood of this occurring is increased by the finding that teachers have increased the number of areas they assess in other parts of the 5-14 curriculum, see chapter two.

²³ For explanations of how these factors generally affect PE classrooms see (Dodds 1993, Sparks 1986, Pratt 1985)

²⁴ It is unclear as yet if this is occurring with respect to other areas of the 5-14 Curriculum, see chapter two.

²⁵ These might fall within the remit of the evaluation programme described in chapter 2.

Again, this type of interaction between pupils teachers and parents could confront the racism discussed in chapter two. Where there is a problem with a child because the child or his/her family do not approve of the clothes the child wears for PE, the activities the child participates in (especially at certain times of the year), or showering arrangements, these issues can be overcome through discussions between the child, the parents and the teachers²⁶. This suggests pupil and parent-centred approaches to PE through confronting differentiation in PE classes can be employed to overcome a number of divisive issues which arise during PE classes. As Carroll and Hollinshead (1993) state:

‘It appears that gender and sexist issues, and race and racist issues have developed separately and have their different histories based in the context of their development (Gerwitz 1991). However, their central concerns over inequalities in society and equality of opportunity would suggest they have similarities in approach to policies. The inevitable interrelationship between sex and race is bound to have repercussions at the general policy and practical levels which cannot be ignored. The research presented in this chapter supports this, and the need to combine the two at the practitioner’s level (p154).’

The work in this thesis supports the above observation. Furthermore, it is possible to advance this belief to argue that issues of gender, race, class, culture and sub-culture can be addressed through pupil and parent-centred approaches to PE.

The final factor which needs to be addressed if the form of pupil-centred 5-14 PE envisaged above is to be implemented, is the link between Pupil-Centred PE: Politics, Sport and Society.

²⁶ This approach must be understood within the context of the arguments of Figueroa (1993) that racism can only be overcome, once the policies are in place, if teachers are committed to multicultural teaching.

Pupil-Centred PE: Politics, Sport and Society:

New physical education policies have often been criticised for threatening ideas of meritocracy and of leading to a decline in national sporting prestige²⁷. For some, the role of PE is identified as to provide the breeding ground for future national champions²⁸ and therefore, to provide PE on the basis of competitive individualism. The consequences of competitive individualism have been identified, during this study, as divisive and leading to children choosing not to participate in certain sports activities.

It was concluded that the process of alienation, which these children experienced, began at primary school age and was interrelated with the previous experiences children had of competitive ball sports²⁹. It was argued that children should be provided, through PE, with the opportunity to make up for their lack of experience of these activities. That is, it was concluded that these children should have the opportunity to learn how to compete. This conclusion did not suggest that children should be encouraged to develop ideas on the basis of competitive individualism.

The contrast between learning about competition and learning about competitive individualism, is that the former (as set out above in terms of a pupil-centred approach) can involve a collective pupil-centred experience, whereas, the latter involves the success of one pupil at the expense of other pupils. Given that the aim of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* is to 'provide all pupils with opportunities' in PE, competitive individualism should be alien to the requirements of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*.

²⁷ Thomas (1991).

²⁸ Hargreaves J (1986).

²⁹ This was related to the cultural and structural resources available in the home.

The widely held assumption is that the greater the number of people participating in a sport, the more chances there are that world class performers will be produced in that sport. This assumption suggests that national sporting prestige will be better served by methods which encourage and keep children playing sport rather than methods which lead to the exclusion of children.

Any decisions about curriculum change in physical education will need to address this issue and, no doubt, find common ground between the perspectives of equality and perspectives concerning sports prestige.

The pupil-centred approach identified in this chapter, could lead to more thoughtful and less divisive experiences of competition for children. However, the most recent policy document published by the Scottish Office, 'Scotland's Sporting Future: A New Start' (SOED 1995), incorporates ideas and messages about sport which may not be compatible with this approach.

This document encourages co-operation between a number of organisations and initiatives. It announced that the sports council will be setting up criteria by which individual school's provision of sports could be judged and recognised by an award and will be looking at ways to encourage links between clubs and schools. The idea is that any lack of opportunity for extra-curricular activities in schools can be overcome by using the school as a 'pathway' to clubs. This development could be extremely helpful if teachers are encouraged to send children who have little other opportunities for involvement in sport down this 'pathway'. However, if only the high-skilled children are encouraged to join clubs, or, the low-skilled children are not encouraged to join clubs, then elitism will be encouraged.

The document claims, '*Scotland can be very proud of the very close match between the qualification of our teachers and the tuition they deliver in schools.*' (SOED 1995 p9). However, this claim is only related to PE specialists. Little mention is given of the problems surrounding non specialist PE teachers in the primary school setting. New training developments are outlined for secondary school PE specialists but no recognition is given to the need for training of teachers in primary schools.

Though the document indicates that staff development materials will be available as the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* are implemented (over the next 2-3 years), the lack of training that primary school classroom teachers receive, whilst student teachers, has not been addressed. This failure will make the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* a slower process and more likely to be characterised by the failures of the forms of PE that precede its implementation.

Moreover, when understood in the context of the aims of the Department of National Heritage document, 'Sport: Raising The Game' to set up an academy of sport, 'Scotland's Sporting Future' begins to look extremely elitist. The academy of sport will involve regional institutes. These institutes will aim to develop 'talented competitors' into top class sports men and women.

The problem exists, that the process of linking schools to clubs and putting talented children into regional institutes, may reinforce the perception of children that sport is for the 'talented' and 'winners'. This situation would reinforce already existing elitist messages in sport and PE and therefore, counter act the benefits of pupil-centred developments in PE.

Teachers might find it more difficult to encourage children to develop integrative approaches to PE. The children might say, 'But you've got to beat other people if your going to be the best.' Parents might argue, 'why spend so much time with those children who are not good at sport when you can make my Jonnie/Jenny a star.' The importance of competitive individualism would be reinforced. Elitist and divisive approaches might be preferred to those which promote equality. Teachers might be less likely to want to spend time on children like Ormond (chapter 7 p268).

Parents might attempt to stop resources being spent on out-reach approaches, thus reducing communication between teachers and parents. Parents could attempt to influence PE policy, for example by demanding the introduction of streaming in PE classes. This would result in the decline of mixed ability teaching which this thesis describes as allowing certain children to learn from those children who possess greater skill levels than themselves. Parents might encourage the school to concentrate on developing elite school teams at the expense of the majority of children's involvement in PE. If this were to occur children like Ormond would not be provided with the resources (teacher time etc.) which could develop their involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling. Thus, Ormond's present low status in the PE setting would not be challenged, equal opportunities would not exist in PE classrooms, rather Ormond would be relegated to the status of second class citizen receiving a disproportionately low amount of teaching time during PE

The contradiction between providing opportunities for elite performers and encouraging more children to take part in sport is carried in the words of the Rt. Hon Michael Forsyth MP, Secretary of State for Scotland, in the press release that accompanied the publication of the 'Scotland's Sporting Future: A New Start' document:

'I want to give more young people a chance to take part more fully in sport in schools, and I also want them to be able to realise their potential in any area where they show promise. The announcement today of plans for a British Academy of Sport completes our new sports package by providing for the further development of our elite performers.' (SOED 14/7/95)

There is no obvious understanding of the contradiction in this statement given in the remainder of the press release. The apparent failure of the Secretary of State to understand that providing opportunities for elite performers is likely to reinforce elitist tendencies in sport³⁰, encourages concerns as to how pupil-centred approaches to PE might be interpreted. This relates to the issue of how policy addresses issues both inside and out of schools.

It was noted in chapter two that differentiation in PE, sport and education has been perceived as reinforcing the structure of capitalist society³¹ and is based on the unequal distribution of resources. It was also argued that any attempt to change children's behaviour at the local level would have wider societal consequences.

At the school level it would appear egalitarianism in PE could only be effective if it corresponded with the process of education in other areas of the curriculum. At the linked micro-macro³² level politicians might block such changes because they do not fit in with their ideology on education. At the society level it may not be possible to maintain changes in children's behaviour in PE classes in the face of the divisive structure of society?

³⁰ Which can be identified as 'turning off' children from sports participation

³¹ See Bourdieu (1978, 1986) and Willis 1977.

³² See Hargreaves A 1985.

In the first case the 5-14 guidelines on PE are part of a package of curriculum changes that affect all the parts of the primary school curriculum. Therefore, if efforts were made to consolidate the pupil-centred approaches outlined above with other subjects and to develop innovations, such as increasing parents' involvement in the education process, an overall integrated 'package' could be adopted.

This package would not only address issues of differentiation and elitism in PE but would confront problems associated with the education of children in all curriculum areas. Though this package may receive criticism from politicians and fail to meet their ideological requirements, the bond which exists at present between parents and schools (which some argue is critical of Conservative government interference in the Scottish education system) may be stimulated to confront political opposition to change.

At present the government is handing over the monitoring of the curriculum to various independent bodies³³. In Scotland they have outlined the 5-14 documents as curriculum guidelines which it is the role of regional local education authorities and schools to interpret and work from³⁴. This is an important issue. Within the development of new structures of local government in Scotland a focal point could be developed where parents, teachers and regional advisors could meet to promote the type of curriculum development suggested above³⁵.

³³ Gatherer (1989) describes this process.

³⁴ This issue was reinforced for me by an HMI in The Scottish Office involved in the development of the PE parts of the 5-14 document 'Expressive Arts'. When I asked him to discuss with me his interpretation of the document, he stated that it was the role of the regional advisors and the schools to interpret the document and act upon it as a guideline to base upon and develop their present practices towards PE. Teachers, PE departments, schools and regional committees could be mobilised to develop a pupil-centred approach to 5-14 PE which the government would find difficult to obstruct. The traditional consensus on the benefits of the Scottish education system could act to reinforce this alliance.

³⁵ It is not conceived that all areas of 5-14 should be in place until the end of session 1998-99 (SOED 1994 a). Presently curriculum development of 5-14 PE is at a standstill whilst other aspects of curriculum reform are addressed.

This would allow the new pupil-centred curriculum to be supported at the linked-macro level. However, it is unclear if the new councils will be in a position to stimulate this sort of forum³⁶.

The finding that a dialectic exists between the structural and cultural influences on children's behaviour during PE has consequences for developing support for the new curriculum at the societal/macro level. This thesis argues that the differential distribution of structural resources on children's involvement in PE and sport in the context of schooling can be overcome by teachers, with the aid of parents, employing pupil centred approaches to PE. This suggests that structural influences can be overcome by developing new forms of agency at the micro level. It is the conclusion of this thesis, therefore, that any new approach to the teaching of PE will only be able to influence all groups of children's participation in PE if it is associated with a similar cultural shift at the school, home and neighbourhood.

The variety of influences which have a bearing on curriculum innovation in PE have been illustrated in an attempt to promote positive changes in PE³⁷. These influences are represented in the text in the form of snap shots of daily interactions which occurred between adults, children and the ethnographer during this study. That is, this thesis discusses the structural and cultural pressures which constrain children's involvement in PE classes in terms of how they manifest themselves during the process of young people's social interaction. The clash between structural and cultural pressures and children's ability to exhibit agency in PE classrooms is employed to demonstrate the fluid nature of children's involvement in PE.

³⁶ Unfortunately, with £80 million having been wiped off education budgets in Scotland this year (Reporting Scotland 12/3/96) and the old regional advisory services being divided up across the new council areas, the likelihood of a clear cut concerted approach concerning 5-14 PE looks ever more reduced.

³⁷ The work carried out during the writing of this thesis has generated two reports for the SOED Research and Intelligence Unit and the now defunct Lothian Region Advisory Services for PE

This achievement sets this work apart from other works in the field which are depicted³⁸ as being characterised by static cause and effect explanations of children's participation in PE and sport in the context of schooling. The originality of this thesis is based both on its ability to represent children's behaviour during PE as fluid and its capacity to demonstrate how policy makers might intervene in this fluid process to make PE classrooms more equitable places. That is, this work breaks new ground by demonstrating how the aspirations of policy makers in PE can be achieved by building a recognition of the cultural and structural requirements of school children into such policy developments as the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*. It is too early to tell how the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* will develop. What is true is that if they are not supported by proper resources which allow teachers and parents to take on board the pupil-centred approach identified in this thesis, they will do little more than reinforce the status quo. It remains to be seen whether a cultural, social, institutional review of the role and development of the teaching of PE in Scotland will have an impact on the implementation of the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE*. Perhaps only time will tell.

³⁸ In chapter two

Appendices
&
Bibliography

Appendix A: The CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE:

The aims, specific to physical education, set out in the rationale of the Expressive Arts Guidelines state:

‘Physical education should provide all pupils with opportunities

to engage in purposeful and enjoyable physical activities;

to develop physical skills, knowledge and understanding of the concepts involved and the ability to apply these to various contexts;

to develop self awareness, confidence and co-operative relationships with others and the ability to meet challenges presented in a variety of physical settings;

to develop life long positive attitudes to health and fitness;

to develop critical appreciation of their own performance and those of others’
(SOED June 1992 p3).

These aims are developed within the Guidelines into practical attainment strands which teachers should relate their teaching to. The aims appear to be egalitarian, whilst concentrating on issues of skill, health and understanding. The specific aims of 5-14 physical education are outlined on page 55 of the Guidelines. The Guidelines state:

‘In Physical education, it is within the context of engaging in physical activities that pupils develop creative responses, critical appreciation and interpersonal skills. They also experience and gain knowledge and understanding of the role of exercise in good health; and develop a positive attitude to an active life style and a concern for physical well being’ (SOED June 1992 p55)

This is the philosophical aim of the Guidelines. It states that the children, in carrying out PE, must gain an understanding of its relationship to health matters, creativity, interpersonal skills and critical understanding.

The Guidelines' practical aims are set out in targets;

'The targets which follow are presented as open statements so that they can be attained by experiencing any combination of physical activities, such as games, team sports, dance, gymnastics, athletics, swimming and outdoor education. Decisions regarding the development of appropriate programmes of study should be guided by current good practice, resources and the notion of a balanced curriculum.' (SOED June 1992 p55).

Thus, to achieve the philosophical aims of the Guidelines, teachers are asked to develop programmes of studies to meet targets, set out in the Guidelines, based on present good practices and resources. At the same time, it is expected that teachers will develop 'programmes of study' which will be characterised by a balance between the various activities of physical education. The problem exists, that if present good practice and resources are poor then, these failings will be carried on into the new curriculum.

In terms of the balance of the curriculum, the Guidelines states:

'An important part of the teacher's role will be to plan programmes which include an appropriate variety of form of physical activity for all pupils. The different forms of physical activity which are valued in the cultural heritage of pupils in Scottish schools will provide the many contexts for learning' (SOED June 1992 p55)

Thus, the schools and teachers will be expected to provide a wide range of activities in relation to the traditional context of sport within the school. Teachers will not have to develop new activities for the 5-14 curriculum if they believe that their present breadth of activities is sufficient.

There is no requirement that teachers should change their present teaching methods . That is, the Guidelines require that teachers develop a strategy based on present practice, present resources and the traditional sports activities specific to individual schools.

Attainment Targets:

The Guidelines set out attainment targets that progress in their complexity from level A to level E. These 'targets' relate to six 'strands' which, in turn, are part of three 'outcomes'. The three outcomes are: 'using material skills, techniques and media', 'expressing feelings, ideas, thoughts and solutions' and 'evaluating and appreciating'.

Using materials skills techniques and media has three strands: 'investigating and developing fitness', 'using the body' and 'applying skills'. Expressing feelings, ideas, thoughts and solutions has two strands: 'creating and designing' and 'co-operating, sharing, communicating and competing'. Evaluating and appreciating has one strand: 'observing, reflecting, describing, and responding'.

The principles upon which the attainment targets are founded are described in the 5-14 Document:

'The progression of attainment targets for each strand and in programmes of study is based on the following principles:

the development of the pupil;

the move from the simple to complex;

the shift towards greater independence in learning;

the increase in knowledge, understanding and skill in each of the four expressive arts subjects.

Teachers are urged to use the targets in a flexible way. They should be used as a guide to identifying important markers of pupils' progress; to inform the development of programmes for learning and teaching; and as an aid to differentiation in learning and teaching' (SOED June 1992 p9).

The five attainment targets A - E develop from the simple to the complex. For example, if we compare level A and level E for the creating and designing strand, attainment target A expects children to be able to:

‘Express own ideas in movement: select and organise appropriate responses to simple given tasks; show simple structuring in starting and finishing’ (SOED June 1992 p58)

Thus, a teacher may ask a child to choose three different coloured bean bags from a box of bean bags and transport them to three similar coloured hoops, beginning in one part of the gym and finishing in another part of the gym.

Level E of this strand requires the child to be able to;

‘Use repertoire of movement skills to create personal and group responses and to devise more complex and extended solutions to problems or tasks, including those identified by pupils themselves’ (SOED June 1992 p59)

To meet this target, in a gymnastics lesson, a teacher could address the ‘personal responses’ issue by asking a child to develop a routine to begin at one end of a series of apparatus and finish at the other end, and to include a number of different skills, balances and roles. In this case, the level E child has a number of complex issues to deal with in terms of their ability to create and design.

The attainment targets set out in the 5-14 expressive arts Guidelines cover a wide range of issues and would appear not to fall into the trap of stressing issues of performance above other issues in physical education. This fact is reinforced through the Guidelines' emphasis of the importance of independent learning by children and learning for knowledge and understanding, rather than purely learning skills within expressive arts subjects. 5-14 Expressive Arts PE, therefore, unlike 5-16 National Curriculum PE (Thomas 1993), cannot be criticised for concentrating on skills acquisition and performance .

What this means is that the stressing of skills and performance in PE classes that leads to differentiation and elitism amongst school children (identified during this research and other studies (Dodds 1993, Thomas 1993, Bain 1990)), need not necessarily become a fundamental part of 5-14 PE.

The 5-14 Guidelines go on to describe and define each strand and attainment target, in greater detail, through 'programmes of study'. The purpose of this is to ensure that teachers know what their programmes of study and lesson plans should cover. The teachers have to devise a programme where the attainment targets pertaining to each individual strand can be achieved in the classroom situation.

Programmes of Study in 5-14 Physical Education:

The programmes of study outline ways of delivering the expressive arts curriculum. They concentrate on the progression of children's attainment within and balance of children's experience across, the individual strands outlined in the Guidelines. If we look at how level E is defined in the programmes of study for each strand, we can discuss the implication of each strand of the 5-14 curriculum.

Investigating and Developing fitness:

Level E: 'Pupils should be encouraged to maintain and extend personal fitness and to become informed about the body changes at puberty. They should also be encouraged to evaluate their own lifestyles and to distinguish between exercise for the enhancement of performance and exercise for health and well being. The opportunity to make decisions regarding what, how and why to exercise should be given. They might also find it interesting to construct a personal profile with regard to height, weight, limb length, muscular performance, flexibility, speed and to monitor changes to these factors over a school year. Looking after self should, if possible now include the opportunity to shower after physical education.....' (SOED June 1992 p61)

This programme of study, at first glance, would appear to set a positive, healthy agenda for children's involvement in PE. However, whether this approach is to have positive or negative implications depends on how it is implemented.

The issue here is whether this section of the curriculum is to be prescriptive, or, informative (Evans 1990)¹. If it is to be prescriptive it will expect children to conform to 'healthy' life styles and allow children to differentiate between each other on the grounds of their '*height, weight, limb length, muscular performance, flexibility, speed*'. By asking children to measure their capabilities in these areas, teachers will be providing children with criteria by which they can differentiate between each other. An informative approach would provide children with information about health matters, rather than information about their physical appearance and capabilities.

The 5-14 Guidelines will encourage prescriptive approaches to health and fitness if teachers concentrate on the measuring and comparison of children's physical information at the expense of educating the children about health issues which are common to all of them. The potential exists for elitist ideas to be encouraged² if children, as a result of these Guidelines, come to view 'the body' as an object to be trained and manipulated in order to gain status.

Using The Body & Applying Skills:

Level E: Using The Body: 'Pupils are likely to experience changes in height and weight linked with puberty. Work should, therefore, focus on co-ordination, control and balance to re-establish skills previously learned and assist the building of confidence. Time should be given for pupils to clarify and consolidate skill application, e.g. kicking the ball while in the air; inverting on hands; feeling the correct alignment in dance. Pupils should be engaged in a wider range of activities, using a broader range of equipment. They should be able to deal with increased numbers and groupings. Safety factors related to new areas of work should be understood and applied' (SOED June 1992 p63).

¹ This criticism has been directed at new ideas in PE such as Health Related Fitness (Evans 1990).. It has been argued HRF, through a preoccupation with testing and measuring individual children's health, provides children with knowledge about their suitability for future health sports and leisure careers. This approach has been identified as potentially divisive. The suggestion has been made that, rather than provide children with information about each other's abilities, it would be better to provide children with information about health issues (J Evans 1990).

² It has been argued that this perception of 'the body', whilst encouraging elitism, links the philosophy of competitive sport to children's experiences in PE (Thomas 1993, Bain 1990).

Level E: Applying Skills: 'Opportunities to practice known skills in familiar contexts should continue to be provided with increasing attention to specific aspects of skills and their application. In developing performance teachers should encourage greater control, accuracy and precision timing. Pupils should be offered a wide ranging and balanced programme with opportunities to try new activities, individual games and outdoor pursuits. Sufficient time to experience and practice new skills or to work in unfamiliar contexts is necessary to build confidence and independence and to develop knowledge and understanding. It is, therefore, important that pupils participate in a variety of activities, e.g.. play co-operative and competitive games, perform dances, perform gymnastic sequences, participate in a number of outdoor activities efficiently and safely, simulate water rescue, compete in an athletic event' (SOED June 1992 p65)

These two strands can be discussed together because they concentrate on skills repetition to enhance performance. They have consequences for those pupils who do not enjoy skill repetition within physical education. However, the recommendation to use skills repetition in a variety of situations may act to overcome this problem.

The emphasis placed on performance of skills raises concerns for the reinforcement of inequalities within physical education³. The recommendation for a breadth of activities and the opportunity to work in unfamiliar settings, in the 5-14 Guidelines for PE, should go some way to overcoming this concern. However, the resources necessary for a breadth of activities need to be made available to schools. This issue of resources is troublesome because, as has already discussed, the rhetoric of the 5-14 Guidelines imply that the resources required for a broad curriculum may not be forthcoming⁴.

³ It has been argued, with regard to the 5-16 National Curriculum PE, that the likelihood that the curriculum will be competitive sports oriented means that it will be characterised by inequalities and elitism (S Thomas 1993).

⁴ As Thomas (1993) points out, where resources are not available for a breadth of activities in physical education the curriculum content usually reverts to traditional competitive games. These activities, more than any other area of the physical education curriculum, serve to reinforce inequalities in physical education.

Creating and Designing:

Level E: 'Tasks should continue to require pupils to be more imaginative in their responses, e.g. creating a dance from an idea; inventing and practising longer sequences which use skills in more challenging combinations. Pupils should also be challenged to investigate more than one solution to a task. Responses should now indicate knowledge and practical understanding of structure and form appropriate to a range of physical activity, e.g. being asked to plan simple strategic moves for a game; create simple motifs in dance; plan a simple and safe exercise programme' (SOED June 1992 p67).

This section of the programmes of study reinforces the cognitive aspects of physical education⁵. The emphasis in the 5-14 Guidelines is placed on pupils' understandings of physical activities and their ability to predict outcomes and create and design responses to tasks set by teachers. The importance of this area of the curriculum is that it reinforces the view that PE should not be solely concerned with competition.

Co-operating, Sharing, Communicating and Compelling:

Level E: 'Pupils should be encouraged to share their ideas, plans and proposed tactics with each other. This may take the form of co-operatively working in groups and/ or explaining ideas to the rest of the class. Showing of work should also now extend beyond the classroom, so that pupils are given the opportunity to practice and perform in a range of activities, competitions, galas and adventures. Tasks should be set so that they demand greater collaboration and a range of skills to contribute to a joint solution. Individual pupils may contribute different aspects of the response. tasks should also call for pupils to take on different roles to reach solutions, e.g. planner, player, umpire, scorer, leader, performer, spectator. Opportunities should continue to be given for pupils to develop independence, self-esteem and confidence. they should be able to identify strengths and development needs and to work on these. They should also be prepared to give and accept criticism and to show fairness and tolerance to others. Where possible opportunities should allow pupils to experience residentially based work, e.g. 4/5 days engaged in outdoor activities.....' (SOED June 1992).

The requirements stated here should encourage teachers to develop pupil's understandings of each other's work within physical education and pupil's individual awareness of their own work in physical education.

⁵ It should act as a challenge to performance-oriented approaches to physical education and therefore, overcome some of the problems that have been identified with the 5-16 National Curriculum PE (Thomas 1993).

Emphasis is placed on the pupil understanding the variety of roles in physical activities (i.e. planner, player etc.) whilst being able to understand issues of tactics within physical activities and to communicate this understanding to other pupils and the teacher⁶. However, the selection of children to demonstrate their work in galas and competitions, especially if that selection is divisive, is likely to reinforce the ability levels of certain children⁷.

Observing, Reflecting, Describing, and Responding:

Level E : 'The opportunity to view live and video recordings of performances by professionals is an important experience. In such circumstances identifying one or two key aspects previously discussed is appropriate, e.g. discussing the performance of gymnasts in competition; watching a professional dance company and drawing conclusions. Pupils should continue to evaluate their responses to tasks; and with knowledge and understanding of desirable performance, should be able to recognise their own strength and weaknesses. They should be able to say when movement patterns work correctly or incorrectly in context. Awareness of the key aspects of good performance should be encouraged in pupils by the way content and tasks are set. From this awareness pupils should be able to observe an individual or group performing and to identify good performance' (SOED June 1992 p71)

By asking pupils to recognise their own strengths and weaknesses, teachers may be reinforcing already-existing patterns of differentiation in PE classes. At the same time, teachers will have to be aware of the values that videos of professional performers bring into the classroom, if the issues of elitism in sport are not to be reinforced during these classes.

⁶ No indication is provided for teachers on how to develop programmes of study where children do not show 'fairness and tolerance' to each other. In this way the Guidelines proposes good practice but gives no advise on what to do when good practice is confronted by pupil's behaviour patterns which result in the teacher's lesson plan 'going out the window' for the benefit of his/her survival in the classroom. That is no guidance is offered for teachers of how to counteract cultural conflict, the struggle to enforce ideas of cultural capital, within their classrooms.

⁷ In England, the development of the situation where schools compete to attract pupils (identified as a consequence of the 1988 Education Reform Act (Gipps 1989)), has been recognised as likely to lead to selection and differential allocation of resources in PE and extra curricular provision (Thomas (1991, 1993), Penny and Evans (1991)). Thomas (1991) argued that schools may alter their PE practices to emphasise their ability to produce winning teams. The problem exists, therefore, that galas and competitions may only act to reinforce elitism in schools and PE.

Issues of describing and responding will involve verbal communication between teachers and pupils and between pupils in the same class, team, or group. It is important that assertions about an individual pupil's work should not lead to the alienation of certain pupils and the attribution of status to other pupils .

Pupil Centred PE:

An approach which takes account of the needs of individual pupil is supported by the Guidelines' rhetoric. The Guidelines state:

'Bearing in mind the needs of each individual classroom, cultural education in the expressive arts should strive to promote the following outcomes. It should:

encourage pupils to foster an understanding of and an interest in each pupils own culture;

help pupils through observation, analysis and evaluation to appreciate and respect cultural differences;

encourage pupils, through participation, to share and compare their own cultural values with those of others and to learn from these....

...Through the experiences provided within expressive arts, pupils will learn about, share and respond to and understand other forms of cultural expression and extend their understanding of their own and other societies. All regional and national cultures should be regarded from the outset as being worthy of attention and respect' (SOED June 1992 p74)

The Guidelines tend to define culture in terms of 'art-culture' and geographically (i.e. Asian culture, Chinese culture and Scottish culture). This approach allows for teachers in schools to '*explore the unique characteristics of its people and their culture*' (SOED June 1992 p75).

Though it may not be the aim of the Guidelines, leeway can be found for issues of gender, race, social class and sub-cultural representations in schools, to be addressed by teachers⁸. Where the desire is present in schools, this will allow for teachers to address the social and cultural issues affecting PE classes.

⁸ This contrasts the 5-14 PE Guidelines with the 5-16 PE Curriculum. It has been criticised for not addressing the social and cultural issues affecting PE classes (Thomas 1993)

The Guidelines express the need for schools to be aware of and employ resources from beyond the school. This should take the form of creating links between parents and the community through which the expertise of parents and professionals can be brought into the school to help provide children with the opportunity to increase their understanding of a variety of expressive arts. This may also allow for pupils cultural patterns to be addressed in PE classrooms.

Assessment and Reporting:

The 5-14 Guidelines stress that assessment should be based on the attainment targets; involve observation of on-going work and ways of working; involve observation of or listening to completed work; involve discussion of their work and responses with pupils and involve assessment of pupils' responses to special assignments or tasks.

The Guidelines state:

'In this area of the curriculum it is not only the product which is assessed, but also the process of working. Preparation and selection of tasks, the pupil's attitude, perseverance and the ability to generate ideas should all be considered, as well as the quality and characteristics of any final product. Much of the evidence for assessment will therefore be in the form of teachers' notes and informal diaries from systematic and focused observation of pupil's work. Discussion with and among pupils will provide much of the evidence for the outcome, evaluating and appreciating and again, evidence of attainment may be in the form of teachers' note and checklists from observations... ..Pupils should always be involved in the process of assessment and know why and how they are being assessed by teachers. Carefully used, self- and peer-assessment can also be valuable ways of fostering independent learning and critical skill' (SOED June 1992 p77)

There is a clear indication that performance should not be the only area assessed in 5-14 PE and that evaluation and appreciation should reflect this fact. Assessment is to be carried out in relation to attainment targets⁹.

⁹ It had been argued that assessment within the 5-16 National Curriculum PE will most likely concentrate on the assessment of performance because the attainment targets for this curriculum are performance oriented (Thomas 1993). This problem should not affect the 5-14 PE because the attainment targets and programmes of study of this curriculum are not predominantly performance oriented.

Teachers' ability to relate their assessment procedures to the strands and attainment levels within the Guidelines should not be problematic. Teachers will have already related the attainment targets to their lesson plans. The major problem would be the introduction of the attainment levels on report cards. By placing a grade A to E on a pupil's report card, messages of failure and success would be communicated to children.

These messages would perpetuate the process through which the children differentiate between each other. This perpetuation would act to reinforce pupil hierarchies, with the outcome that children would be labelled from an early age in the eyes of themselves, their parents and other children.

The positive aspect of 5-14 assessment is that it should involve the children in the process of assessment so that they know why and how they are being assessed. This would appear to be extremely helpful to the avoidance of performance oriented PE. However, it has been argued that the process of assessment of children during PE classes is not an assessment of like with like (Thomas 1991). Children come to PE classes with different previous experiences of the activities that take place there. Assessment should not reinforce the status of those children (Usually with high motor skills Thomas 1991) who are already perceived as 'good' at sport by their class mates. If assessment does reinforce these children's status then the assessment procedure will solely be judging children's previous socialisation and cultural patterns within sport, rather than their involvement in the process of PE.

Overall each area of the new curriculum has the potential to deliver improvements to the process of PE in Scotland. However, an efficacious innovation process is dependant on the *CAS 5-14 Guidelines for PE* overcoming the problems of the present system as set out in chapters four to eight of this thesis.

Appendix B: Schedule for pupil's interviews. Round One

Views on PE:

- Q1 Which of the activities offered by the school have you done so far.
- Q2 How do you view the other pupils in your class, in terms of PE.
- Q3 Do you receive a grade for PE on your report card.
- Q4 How do you view your PE teacher/Class teacher (primary).
- Q5 Will you take any of the options in PE, such as Standard grade, in the future (secondary only).

Family Involvement:

- Q1 Where and who do you usually stay with.
- Q2 What do the people who stay there do.
- Q3 What do they feel about PE at school
- Q4 Do they help out in any sports or clubs you are involved in.(school or non school based)
- Q5 Are there any kinds of play or activities which they disapprove of.

Perception of sports:

- Q1 What activities do you do after school(who with and how often, would you like to do other ones).
- Q2 Do you have a favourite activity(could be sport, TV etc.)
- Q3 What do you think of children who don't like these activities.
- Q4 What do you do in your Break times.
- Q5 Are there any activities(clubs, teams or sports) which you have been involved in and have since stopped.(e.g. when at primary school)
- Q6 Do you use any facilities which we have not talked about(i.e. Swimming pool)

Extra-school Information:

- Q1 How old are you
- Q2 What primary school did you go to (Secondary only)
- Q3 Do you enjoy school.(subjects, homework, skiving etc.)

Q4 Where do you go and who with if you leave the house in the evenings.(Do you have after school job. How late can you stay out and are those you meet from the same area, school or class as you)

Q5 What do you do if you stay in.

Q6 What do you think of the other people in your class.(are there distinct groups)

Appendix C: Schedule for Secondary pupil's interviews. Round 2

Extra-school Information:

Q1 How old are you

Q2 What primary school did you go to

Q3 Where do you stay.(i.e. House/flat, area)

a Who else stays there/What do they do.

Q4 Do you enjoy school.

a What subjects do you like/dislike.

b Do you skive school at all. (If yes, where do you go)

Views on PE:

Q5 Which of the activities offered by the school have you done so far.

(If second year have you had to miss any activities in 1st or 2nd year PE.)

a Which did you like(why).

b Which did you dislike (why)

Q6 Do you receive a grade for PE on your report card.

Q7 How do you view your PE teacher(What do you like/dislike about him/her)

Q8 How does the teacher tell you if you are doing something well/not well.

Q9 Will you take any of the options in PE, such as Standard grade, in the future.

Perception of sports:

Q10 What do you do after school.

a Immediately after, to get home(Do you travel home with some one)

b If you stay in.(If TV, how often, what programmes, sport? If music what kind)

Q11 What do you do if you go out.(Who with/How do you get there)

a Go to a friend's house.(Who, what do you do)

b If with friends out side, what do you do.

Q12 Are these friends in your class/from your primary/at other schools/same area/same age/same sex(boys/girls).

Q13 What sports activities do you do after school.

a When and how often.

b Where and how do you get there.

c Who with and how did you get involved in this

Q14 Do you ever spectate sports.(Where, who with, how often and how do you get there)

Q15 Do you have a favourite activity(could be sport, TV etc.)

Q16 Do the other people in the class do the same things as you.

a Do they go to the same clubs/sports.

b Do they like the same things as you do.

c What about the girls/boys in the class.

Q17 What do you do in your Break times.(What is good about this).

Family Involvement:

Q18 Are the other people in your family active in sport.

Q19 What do they feel about PE at school. (If Bro/Sis are they taking S-Grade.)

Q20 Do they help out in any sports or clubs you are involved in.(school or non school based)

Q21 Are there any kinds of play or activities which they disapprove of.

Q22 How do you get the money to pay for your activities(Do you have a job)

Past Activities:

Q23 What PE activities did you do at primary

Q24 Are there any activities(clubs, teams or sports) which you have been involved in and have since stopped.(E.g. when at primary school)

a Clubs/teams/sports

b How did you get involved in these.

c What made you stop.

Q25 Are there any activities which you do at different times of the year.

Q26 Do you use any facilities which we have not talked about.

a Sports facilities.(Commonwealth, Meadowbank, Jack Kane, Ski Slope)
(Who do you go with, How do you get there)

b Social facilities.(Youth Cubs, etc.)
(Who do you go with, How do you get there and What does it involve.)

c Parks or Play areas.

Appendix D: Schedule for Primary pupil's interviews. Round 2

Extra-school Information:

Q1 How old are you

Q2 Where do you stay.(i.e. House/flat, what area)

a Who else stays there/What do they do.

Q3 Do you enjoy school.

a What do you like/dislike about school.(Skiving?)

Views on PE:

Q4 When do you get PE.

Q5 Do you get a different teacher for PE.

(If no specialist ask what they think of teacher's approach to PE)

a What sort of things do you do with him/her.(Which do you like/dislike)

b What do you think of him/her.(Like/dislike)

Q6 Do you ever get your normal teacher for PE.

a What sort of things do you do with him/her.(Like/dislike)

b What do you think of your normal teacher, at PE.(Like/dislike)

Q7 How does the specialist compare to your normal teacher

Q8 Do you get a grade on your report card for PE.

Q9 How do the teachers tell you if you are doing something well/not well.

Perception of sports:

Q10 What do you do after school.

a Immediately after, to get home(Do you travel home with some one)

b If you stay in.(If TV, how often, what programmes, sport?. If Music what kind?)

Q11 What do you do if you go out.(Who with. How do you get there).

a Go to a friend's house.(What do you do)

b If with friends out side, what do you do.

Q12 Are these friends in your class/from your primary school/ at other schools/same area/same age/same sex(Boys/girls)

Q13 What sports activities do you do after school.

a When and how often.

b Where and how do you get there.

c Who with and how did you get involved in this

Q14 Do you ever spectate sports.(Where, who with, how often and how do you get there)

Q15 Do you have a favourite activity(could be sport, TV etc.)

Q16 Do the other people in the class do the same things as you.

a Do they go to the same clubs/sports.

b Do they like the same things as you do.

c What about the girls/boys in the class

Q17 What do you do in your Break times.(What is good about doing this)

Family Involvement:

Q18 Are the other people in your family active in sport.

Q19 What do they feel about PE at school. (If Bro/Sis are they taking S-Grade.)

Q20 Do they help out in any sports or clubs you are involved in.(school or non school based)

Q21 Are there any kinds of play or activities which they disapprove of.

Q22 How do you get money to pay for your activities.(Do you have a Job)

Past Activities:

Q23 Are there any activities(clubs, teams or sports or games) which you have been involved in and have since stopped.

a Clubs/teams/sports/games

b How did you get involved in these.

c What made you stop.

Q24 Are there any activities which you do at different times of the year.

Q25 Do you use any facilities which we have not talked about.

a Sports facilities.(Commonwealth, Medowbank, Jack Kane, Ski Slope,)
(Who do you go with, How do you get there)

b Social facilities.(Youth Clubs, etc.)
(Who do you go with, How do you get there and What does it involve.)

c Parks or Play areas.

Appendix E: Schedule for Secondary pupil's interviews Round 3.

Extra-school Information:

- Q1 How old are you
- Q2 What primary school did you go to
- Q3 a Where do you stay.(i.e. House/flat, area)
- b Who else stays there/What do they do.
- Q4 Do you enjoy school.
- a What subjects do you like/dislike.
- b Do you skive school at all. (If yes, where do you go)

Views on PE:

- Q5 Which of the activities offered by the school have you done so far.
(If second year have you had to miss any activities in 1st or 2nd year PE.)
- a Which did you like/dislike(why).
- b Do you always try at these activities.(what about in competitive/non competitive games, if you are winning/ loosing by a lot, if its hard/difficult,)
- c What about the other children.(Do you try as hard as the other children)

Choosing a partner or group.

- Q6 a When you get the chance to choose the apparatus you are going to use, how do you do this.(relate to basketballs, badminton rackets, volleyballs)
- b During PE when given the choice by your teacher, who do you choose for a partner. (Why?)
- c Would you ever choose a Girl/boy as a partner. (why?)
- d If you had to choose a group of four or five, who would you choose, if given the choice. (why)
- e How would you feel if the teacher put you in another group. (relate to specific people)
- Q7 a Are you ever left out of an activity. (Do you ever not get passed to in a game or not picked for a team. Does any one else)
- b do you ever sit out your self.

- Q8 What about when you are sitting out and other teams are playing a game(e.g. basketball, V'ball) Do you shout any one on.

The people you play with.

- Q9 When you are playing games at PE how do you decide who to pass to. (Is there any one you wouldn't pass to or would want to pass to more often to, what about out of school)
- Q10 What would you do if someone shoved you out of the way to get a ball, or you were on a piece of apparatus at gymnastics and they went on when it was your turn.
- Q11 Do some children get more passes or more of the ball than other children

Q12 a How would you estimate your ability at PE compared to the other children in the class.

b How would you compare the boys and the girls in the class.

Q13 a Do you always play to the rules of the game(PE or at home)

b What about the other children in the class.(or at home)

Q14 I have noticed that if you are playing badminton or with a ball and you are doing practices, sometimes if the ball goes into some one else's area where they are practising they kick it or throw it away. Why is that.

Q15 a How do you view your PE teacher(What do you like/dislike about him/her)

b Do you always do the practices the way he/she tells you to.

c Do you think he /she is fair(nippy)

d Does he she treat the boys and girls the same.

e How does the he she tell you if you are doing something well/not well.

Q16 Will you take any of the options in PE, such as Standard grade, in the future.

Perception of sports:

Q17 What do you do after school.

a Immediately after, to get home(Do you travel home with some one)

b If you stay in.(If TV, how often, what programmes, sport? If music what kind)

Q18 What do you do if you go out.(Who with/How do you get there)

a Go to a friend's house.(Who, what do you do)

b If with friends out side, what do you do.

c Are these friends in your class/from your primary/at other schools/same area/same age/same sex(boys/girls).

Q19 What sports activities do you do after school.

a When and how often.

b Where and how do you get there.

c Who with and how did you get involved in this

d Do you ever spectate sports.(Where, who with, how often and how do you get there)

Q20 Do you have a favourite activity(could be sport, TV etc.)

Q21 What do you do in your Break times.(What is good about this).

Family Involvement:

Q22 a Are the other people in your family active in sport.

b What do they feel about PE at school. (If Bro/Sis are they taking S-Grade.)

c Do they help out in any sports or clubs you are involved in.(school or non school based)

Q23 Are there any kinds of play or activities which they disapprove of.

Q24 How do you get the money to pay for your activities(Do you have a job)

Past Activities:

Q25 What PE activities did you do at primary

Q26 Are there any activities(clubs, teams or sports) which you have been involved in and have since stopped.(E.g. when at primary school)

- a Clubs/teams/sports
- b How did you get involved in these.
- c What made you stop.

Q28 Are there any activities which you do at different times of the year.

Q29 Do you use any facilities which we have not talked about.

- a Sports facilities.(Commonwealth, Meadowbank, Jack Kane, Ski Slope)
(Who do you go with, How do you get there)
- b Social facilities.(Youth Cubs, etc.)
(Who do you go with, How do you get there and What does it involve.)
- c Parks or Play areas.

Appendix F: Schedule for Primary pupil's interviews Round 3.

Extra-school Information:

Q1 How old are you

Q2 Where do you stay.(i.e. House/flat, area)

Q3 Who else stays there/What do they do.

Q4 Do you enjoy school.

a What do you like/dislike about school.(Skiving?)

Views on PE:

Q5 Do the activities you do with the specialist teacher differ from those you do with your class teacher for PE.(compare)

a Which did you like/dislike(why).

b Do you always try at these activities.(what about in competitive/non competitive games, if you are winning/ loosing by a lot, if its hard/difficult,)

c What about the other children.(Do you try as hard as the other children)

Choosing a partner or group.

Q6 a When you get the chance to choose the apparatus you are going to use, how do you do this.(relate to basketballs, badminton rackets, volleyballs)

b During PE when given the choice by your teacher, who do you choose for a partner. (Why?)

c Would you ever choose a Girl/boy as a partner. (why?)

d If you had to choose a group of four or five, who would you choose, if given the choice. (why)

e How would you feel if the teacher put you in another group. (relate to specific people)

Q7 Are you ever left out of an activity. (Do you ever not get passed to in a game or not picked for a team. Does any one else)

Q8 What about when you are sitting out and other teams are playing a game(e.g. Basketball, V'ball) Do you shout any one on.

The people you play with.

Q9 When you are playing games at PE how do you decide who to pass to. (Is there any one you wouldn't pass to or would want to pass to more often to, what about out of school)

Q10 What would you do if someone shoved you out of the way to get a ball, or you were on a piece of apparatus at gymnastics and they went on when it was your turn.

Q11 Do some children get more passes or more of the ball than other children

Q12 a How would you estimate your ability at PE compared to the other children in the class.

b How would you compare the boys and the girls in the class.

- Q13 a Do you always play to the rules of the game(PE or at home)
b What about the other children in the class.(or at home)

Q14 I have noticed that if you are playing badminton or with a ball and you are doing practices, sometimes if the ball goes into some one else's area where they are practising they kick it or throw it away. Why is that.

- Q15 a How do you view your class teacher/specialist teacher(What do you like/dislike about him/her, how do they compare)
b Do you always do the practices the way he/she tells you to.(class/specialist)
c Do you think he /she is fair(nippy)(class/specialist)
d Does he/she treat the boys and girls the same.(Class/specialist)
e How does he/she tell you if you are doing something well/not well.(class/specialist)

Perception of sports:

Q16 What do you do after school.

- a Immediately after, to get home(Do you travel home with some one)
b If you stay in.(If TV, how often, what programmes, sport? If music what kind)

Q17 What do you do if you go out.(Who with/How do you get there)

- a Go to a friend's house.(Who, what do you do)
b If with friends out side, what do you do.
c Are these friends in your class/from your primary/at other schools/same area/same age/same sex(boys/girls).

Q18 What sports activities do you do after school.

- a When and how often.
b Where and how do you get there.
c Who with and how did you get involved in this
d Do you ever spectate sports.(Where, who with, how often and how do you get there)

Q19 Do you have a favourite activity(could be sport, TV etc.)

Q20 What do you do in your Break times.(What is good about this).

Family Involvement:

Q21 a Are the other people in your family active in sport.

- b What do they feel about PE at school. (If Bro/Sis are they taking S-Grade.)
c Do they help out in any sports or clubs you are involved in.(school or non school based)

Q22 Are there any kinds of play or activities which they disapprove of.

Q23 How do you get the money to pay for your activities(Do you have a job)

Past Activities:

Q24 Are there any activities(clubs, teams or sports) which you have been involved in and have since stopped.(E.g. when at primary school)

- a Clubs/teams/sports
b How did you get involved in these.
c What made you stop.

Q25 Are there any activities which you do at different times of the year.

Q26 Do you use any facilities which we have not talked about.

a Sports facilities.(Commonwealth, Meadowbank, Jack Kane, Ski Slope)

(Who do you go with, How do you get there)

b Social facilities.(Youth Cubs, etc.)

(Who do you go with, How do you get there and What does it involve.)

c Parks or Play areas.

Appendix G: Questionnaire Outline for Secondary Teachers' interviews

Section A, PE Policy:

- Q1. Do you have written policies on PE.
- Q2. How have they been developed.(e.g. do they relate to regional policies or regional advisers.)
- Q3. What are the main aims of these policies.
- Q4. Have you discussed these aims and policies with, e.g. In-Set

Section B, Lessons, Planning And Evaluation.

- Q5. What sort of lessons do you use to introduce or get across ideas of;
1. Space.
 2. Rhythm and Co-ordination.
 3. Interaction.
 4. Co-operation.
 5. Competition.
 6. That foster creativity.
 8. Ideas of Scottish culture.
- Q6. How do you decide when to use these lessons
- Q7. Do you recognise distinct stages of development of pupils.(does this relate to age and gender differently.)
- Q8. Do you use programmes of study relating to these stages.
- Q9. How do you assess children at PE.
- Q10. Do you feel it is important to grade children in PE.
- Q11. How do you give credit to the children.(e.g. verbal praise,stars,marks.)

Section C, PE As A Part Of The Curriculum.

- Q12. What do you see as the role of PE.
- Q13. How does this view relate to the practicalities of every day teaching.
- Q14. What is PE's share of the curriculum in terms of time.
- Q15. How is the PE department structured.(e.g. in terms of resource allocation, class allocation, senior posts and so forth.)
- Q16. How does this fit in to the structure of the school.
- Q17. What range of opportunities for PE are available, to the PE department, inside and out of school. (How is this affected by the resources that are available.)
- Q18. Do the available resources allow you to carry out the PE policy in full.

Q19. Do they allow you to provide pupils with an adequate range of options.

Q20. What do you view as the controversial issues, if any, of PE.

Section D: Teachers' perceptions Of Pupils.

Q21. How do the following factors relate to a child's involvement in PE:

1. Family background.
2. Age.
3. Gender.
4. Academic Ability.
5. Brother / sister previous involvement.
6. Special Educational Needs.

Q22. Do you think that pupils use any of these in differentiating between each other.

Q23. Are you involved in the running of extra-school clubs for the pupils.

Q24. What kinds of pupils are involved in these clubs(I.e. gender, age).

Q25. Have the pupils in these clubs had previous contact with the sport.(i.e. through parents/primary school)

Q26. Are you involved in any clubs your self.

Q27. How do you view the marketing strategies associated with sport and sports goods in relation to school children.

Q28. Is there any area you feel has not been covered by these questions.

Appendix H: Questionnaire Outline for Primary Teachers' interviews

Section A, PE Policy:

- Q1. Do you have written policies on PE.
- Q2. How have they been developed.(e.g. do they relate to regional policies or regional advisers.)
- Q3. What are the main aims of these policies.
- Q4. Have you discussed these aims and policies with, (e.g. In-Set, other teachers).

Section B, Lessons, Planning And Evaluation.

- Q5. How would you introduce ideas of ;(prompt card)
1. Space.
 2. Rhythm and Co-ordination.
 3. Interaction.
 4. Co-operation.
 5. Competition.
 6. That foster creativity.
 8. Ideas of Scottish culture.
- Q6. How do you decide when to do this.
- Q7. Do you recognise distinct stages of development of pupils.(does this relate to age and gender differently.)
- Q8. Do you use programmes of study relating to these stages.
- Q9. How do you assess children at PE.
- Q10. Do you feel it is important to grade children in PE.
- Q11. How do you give credit to the children.(e.g. verbal praise,stars,marks.)

Section C, PE As A Part Of The Curriculum.

- Q12. What do you see as the role of PE.
- Q13. How does this view relate to the practicalities of every day teaching.
- Q14. What is PE's share of the curriculum in terms of time.
- Q15. How is the PE structured.(e.g. in terms of deciding when to use the facilities and what facilities are involved.)
- Q16. How does this fit in to the structure of the school.(In terms of other subjects, other users of the facilities)
- Q17. Do the available resources(Time, space, kinds of facilities) allow you to carry out the PE policy in full.
- Q18. Do they allow you to provide pupils with an adequate range of activities.

Q19. What do you view as the controversial issues, if any, of PE.

Section D: Teachers' Perceptions Of Pupils.

Q20. Do any of the following factors, in your opinion, relate to a child's involvement in:

a PE b Sport

1 Family background.

2 Age.

3 Gender.

4 Academic Ability.

5 Brother / sister previous involvement.

6 Special Educational Needs.

Q21. Do you think that pupils use any of these in differentiating between each other.

Q22. Are you involved in the running of extra-school clubs for the pupils.

Q23. What kinds of pupils are involved in extra school clubs(i.e. gender, age).

Q24. Have the pupils in these clubs had previous contact with the sport.(i.e. through parents/outside clubs)

Q25. Are you involved in any clubs your self.(Do you tell the pupils this.)

Q26. How do you view the marketing strategies associated with sport and sports goods in relation to school children.(Does it affect the children here and what about the mass media in general.)

Q27. Is there any area you feel has not been covered by these questions.

Q28. How long have you been teaching(Here and in general).

Appendix I: Questionnaire Outline for Primary Teachers' interviews.

Section A, PE Policy:

- Q1. Do you have written policies on PE.
- Q2. How have they been developed.(e.g. do they relate to regional policies or regional advisers.)
- Q3. What are the main aims of these policies.
- Q4. Have you discussed these aims and policies with, (e.g.In-Set, other teachers).

Section B, Lessons, Planning And Evaluation.

- Q5. How would you introduce ideas of ;(prompt card)
1. Space.
 2. Rhythm and Co-ordination.
 3. Interaction.
 4. Co-operation.
 5. Competition.
 6. That foster creativity.
 8. Ideas of Scottish culture.
- Q6. How do you decide when to do this.
- Q7. Do you recognise distinct stages of development of pupils.(does this relate to age and gender differently.)
- Q8. Do you use programmes of study relating to these stages.
- Q9. How do you assess children at PE.
- Q10. Do you feel it is important to grade children in PE.
- Q11. How do you give credit to the children.(e.g. verbal praise,stars,marks.)

Section C, PE As A Part Of The Curriculum.

- Q13. Are your aims as regards PE affected by any practicalities of every day teaching.
- Q14. What is PE's share of the curriculum in terms of time.
- Q15. How is the PE structured.(e.g. in terms of deciding when to use the facilities and what facilities are involved.)
- Q16. How does this fit in to the structure of the school.(In terms of other subjects, other users of the facilities)
- Q17. Do the available resources(Time, space, kinds of facilities) allow you to carry out the your aims or the PE policy in full.
- Q18. Do they allow you to provide pupils with an adequate range of activities.

Q19. What do you view as the controversial issues, if any, of PE.

Section D: Teachers' Perceptions Of Pupils.

Q20. Do any of the following factors, in your opinion, relate to a child's involvement in:

a PE b Sport

1 Family background.

2 Age.

3 Gender.

4 Academic Ability.

5 Brother / sister previous involvement.

6 Special Educational Needs.

Q21. Do you think that pupils use any of these in differentiating between each other.

Q22. Are you involved in the running of extra-school clubs for the pupils.

Q23. What kinds of pupils are involved in extra school clubs(i.e. gender, age).

Q24. Have the pupils in these clubs had previous contact with the sport.(i.e. through parents/outside clubs)

Q25. Are you involved in any clubs your self.(Do you tell the pupils this.)

Q26. How do you view the marketing strategies associated with sport and sports goods in relation to school children.(Does it affect the children here and what about the mass media in general.)

Q27. Is there any area you feel has not been covered by these questions.

Q28. How long have you been teaching(Here and in general).

Appendix J: Parent's interview schedules.

Section 1 - Leisure Interests:

- Q1 Is your child involved in sporting activities(school/non-school)?
- Q2 Is your child interested in Social activities(non-sport, e.g. discos, social clubs)?
- Q3 Are the leisure activities he/she is involved in, within your neighbourhood(If no ask where)?
- Q4 Does he/she muck about with other children in the area(what sort of things do they do)?
- Q5 Do the things he/she does during the week differ from the activities he/she does at the weekend?
- Q6 Who are your son/daughter's friends. (age, sex, area, school/non-school, primary/non-primary, same class)?
- Q7 What activities has your son/daughter been involved in the past, that he/she doesn't take part in now?
- Q8 What would you say was your son/daughter's favourite interest?

Section 2 - View of School:

- Q9 In general how do you view the school your child attends?
- Q10 Do you have any views on the teachers at the school?
- Q11 Do you have any views on the PE at the school?
- Q12 How does your child get on at school?
- Q13 Does your child have any problems at school?

Section 3 - Parental Control:

- Q14 Do you have set times or rules about when your child can go out of the house?
- Q15 Do you have rules on what places your child can go to(or things they can do)?
- Q16 Do you have rules on who they can do their leisure activities with?
- Q17 Does your child have to do chores round the house?
- Q18 How will (or was) the decision be made on the s-grades your child chooses to take in 3rd year?

Section 4 - Resources:

- Q19 Do the adults in your family take part in leisure activities with your child?
- Q20 Does your child take part in leisure activities with brothers or sisters?
- Q30 Does your child take part in leisure activities with other members of your family i.e. uncles, aunts and grandparents?
- Q31 Does your child take part in activities involving friends, parents, neighbours or that are run by adults in your community?
- Q32 Have you ever taken your child along to a new activity, (which one and if not you who did)?
- Q33 How does your child get money for his/her leisure activities(how do you decide this)?
- Q34 Are there activities which you feel are too expensive for your child to do?
- Q35 Do you encourage your child in his/her leisure activities(what form does this take - lifts, money, watching him/her, solely verbal at home encouragement)?

Section 5 - Parental Information:

- Q36 What leisure activities are the adults in the family interested in?
- Q37 a) Are you working at the moment, (full-time, part-time, looking for work, retired, housewife/ full time home work, unable to work/disabled, other full-time activity/college/uni/ET, self employed.)?
- b) In what type of business(e.g. shop school)?
- c) What is the name of the job?
- d) How would you, briefly, describe the job?
- e) If unemployed have you previously worked?
- Q38 Are the other adults in the family in work(as a, b, c, d, e above)?
- Q39 How old were the adults in the household when they left school?
- Q40 Have (are) the adults in the household taken any further education qualification since leaving school(city & guilds - HND - Bsc)?
- Q41 Do the work commitments (if unemployed, lack of work) of the adults in the family affect the leisure opportunities of the children in the family?

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