Chapter 5

The Games Ethic, Mass Secondary Schooling, and the Invention of Traditional Physical Education

Competitive team games and sports had been part of the cultural fabric of British life for almost a century by the end of the second world war, although the actual activities played had from the beginning been strongly flavoured by the gender and social class of the participants. Team games also occupied a central role in the education of wealthy males from the mid 1800s, though later this practice was taken up by upper class women and other less wealthy members of the bourgeois class. However, while participating in and spectating at competitive sports contests was a popular leisure-time pursuit across the social class spectrum in Britain, games and sports did not form a substantial or significant part of physical education programmes in the state sector until the introduction of mass secondary schooling in the late 1940s. In a very short space of time, competitive team sports had become the core of physical education and the largest part of the programme. In the process, the meaning of school physical education was itself reconstructed. Within a decade and a half, a version of physical education that had until the 1950s only been 'traditional' to the private schools in Britain became 'traditional physical education' for everyone, for the masses as well as the wealthy.

This spectacular rise to prominence of competitive games and sports in secondary school physical education was sponsored most enthusiastically by the newly arrived male physical educators, whose numbers relative to the female members of the profession increased dramatically after the war. Their appropriation of games playing and a version of the public school games ethic was an important means of enhancing their status, in relation both to their mainly middle class female colleagues and other teachers. In this, the male physical educators were given considerable ideological support by the educational press and other ruling class interests, who viewed games playing as a vehicle for the dissolution of a range of social ills. At the same time, the public school games ethic had to be sanitized and reconstructed for use in the mass secondary school system, and reconstructed in a form that could enlist the identification and support of working class pupils.

This was because the games ethic was strongly flavoured by the circumstances in which it first arose, in the education of ruling class males, and later

took on a life of its own so that it achieved a mythical status long after the 'cult of athleticism' which had supported it in the public schools had lost much of its initial fervour. The myth about games playing and the educational qualities to-be gained from participation were taken up and propogated vigorously by the bourgeois class (males almost exclusively) and in the process came to embody and symbolize their cherished ideals — success, dynamism, vigor, competitiveness, individualism and fair play. Part of the success of competitive team games among the bourgeoisie was their symbolic value as a mark of social superiority, through which they could simultaneously emulate their social superiors and distance themselves from their inferiors. In addition, the mythology surrounding the educational value of games playing was used as a political tool as early as the first world war as a means of fostering national identity. By the 1940s and 1950s, the myth had persuaded politicians and other ruling class agents, themselves descendants of the original myth-makers, that games were a cure for such social ills as teenage crime and delinquency. By extending the logic of games as a means of fostering national identity, games playing also came to be seen in the 1950s as a 'common denominator' for children from different social class and later ethnic groups, as mass secondary schooling expanded and school physical education programmes expanded in turn. As we saw in Chapter 3, the 1950s marked the dawning of mass consumerism, and this also manifested itself in the expansion and increasing professionalization, commercialization, and commodification of competitive sport.

This chapter is an account of the reconstruction of the public school games ethic for use in the mass secondary school after the second world war, and the invention of 'traditional physical education' built on this reconstructed myth of the educational value of games playing. It briefly traces the roots of the public school games ethic and outlines the social and political conditions of its origin and development in the schools of the bourgeois class, before examining the extent to which competitive games and sports became part of mass secondary school physical education programmes through the 1950s. It then locates the invention of 'traditional physical education' in a nexus of social forces in postwar Britain, highlighting in particular the growth of state intervention in popular physical recreation after the war, attempts to use games to build national identity, and the discourse of games playing as a means of combatting delinquency among working class youth.

The Evolution of the Games Ethic and Bourgeois Class Identity

The 'cult of athleticism' and its accompanying 'games ethic' were born in the public schools of the male bourgeois classes in Victorian Britain, and formed a powerful educational ideology that was to become influential well beyond the boundaries of space, time and social class. The playing of the competitive team games and sports which constituted the cult — football, rowing, cricket, racquets and fives — rose to prominence between 1850 to reach a peak in the schools themselves around 1914.[1] As it was formulated and formalized during this period, the cult of athleticism was very much in tune with the needs of its creators at this time.[2] The civil and political unrest which had marked the first three decades of the nineteenth century gave way to a new prosperity and significant

changes in the social structure in train with developments in industrial capitalism.[3] It was at this time, towards the mid 1850s, that a new, many layered and diversely constituted class emerged, formed in part by an 'industrial aristocracy',[4] a new middle class of managers and other professionals, and a range of other occupational groups centered on manufacturing. Together, these groups formed the bourgeoisie. During this period, the English public school was resurrected from a less than illustrious past, and the cult of athleticism and games playing were at the centre of its reformation.[5]

The public schools served a number of apparently contradictory purposes for the bourgeois males, not the least of which was as a vehicle for social sponsorship and limited mobility on the one hand, and the preservation of exclusiveness and privilege on the other. The merchant classes had been continuously invading and replenishing the English aristocracy from the sixteenth century onwards.[6] However, the advent of industrial capitalism brought profound changes to the structure of society, including massive shifts in population from rural to urban areas, the development of the factory system, and the creation of wealth. The new, powerful upper levels of the bourgeoisie which emerged from this upheaval set about consolidating their places in the social hierarchy at levels which reflected members' material wealth. The reformed public school was one of the institutions invented to fulfill this project, and the cult of athleticism was central to its success. Besides satisfying a demand for leisure complementary to work, games provided a way of disciplining and 'normalizing' the male youth of the ruling group to take their place in the social order, and produced a sense of class identity and cohesion among the ruling class groups of which they were members. More than this, the ethos surrounding games playing came to constitute and symbolize the central values of these groups, and later, as we will see, came to be seen by them as a way of uniting an increasingly divided nation. The games ethic came to express 'the quintessential bourgeois English qualities that were felt to make the English superior to foreigners',[7] involving a 'subscription to the belief that important expressive and instrumental qualities can be promoted through team games (in particular loyalty, self-control, perseverance, fairness and courage, both moral and physical)'.[8] At its height, games playing was celebrated ardently as 'a magnificent preparation for life',[9] and spawned a clutch of cliches such as 'play the game' and 'it's not cricket' which were later to become by-words of the British way. Not everyone agreed with these sentiments, and games playing was also vilified for the excesses and anti-intellectualism it induced and 'the licence permitted public school boys under the cover of a wide-flung cloak of moral texture',[10] but these criticisms did little to halt the spread and influence of the cult of athleticism in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

The games ethic infused the physical education of bourgeois girls' schools in much the same way as it had done for boys, although the activities played were different and the same excesses did not always apply. Games such as netball[11] and lacrosse were introduced into girls' schools by the 1880s and 1890s,[12] and these emphasized the cooperative and therapeutic aspects of play rather than the physically vigorous and competitive character of the male games. While in the wider societal context sport was part of the emancipatory movement for upper class women, challenging notions of the delicate female constitution and other mores concerning clothing and display of the body, games playing in the girls' schools was still framed within patriarchal notions of womanhood and motherhood.[13]

Women were not expected to become leaders in politics, the military or business, and so the characteristics and values that marked the male ethos were seen to be unnecessary for females.[14] And while women's participation in sport lead to greater freedoms for some, old ideas nevertheless died hard. McIntosh tells us of a letter, from one Miss Conroy a high school headmistress, published in *The Lancet* in 1922 which stated that

> eighty per cent of gymnastics teachers had breakdowns, that playing strenuous games developed a flat figure with underdeveloped breasts, that athletic women suffered from nerves, heart trouble, rheumatism, suppressed menstruation and displacements, that they decried marriage, that their confinements were always difficult, that their children were often inferior, and that most athletic women seemed to have stifled what is finest in women — love, sympathy, tact and intuitive understanding.[15]

This sort of pernicious nonsense was enough to make games playing, at least, less popular among girls than boys. In addition, there were as we saw in the previous chapter, other factors unique to female physical education which forged the particular form that characterized physical education programmes in the elite schools for girls. Notably, it was not the ethos which surrounded female games playing that had the most significant influence outside the public schools, but the male ethos, though the female version did survive to make an impact on the games playing of lower middle and working class girls in the 1950s.

Before long, the cult of athleticism began to be imitated by other social groups at the lower end of the bourgeois class. Excellence in games had become by the 1870s both a mark of the distinctiveness of public school education and a measure of the school's quality. Since these schools were the training grounds of the upper classes for leadership in all of the major political, economic, military and legislative institutions in society, and games were considered by many of their advocates to be the ultimate testing ground of the qualities a member of the ruling classes had to possess, they became a prominent feature in the curricula of the schools in those sections of the bourgeois class that existed outside the 'industrial aristocracy' and had aspirations to improve their social status. Indeed, Mangan has argued that the grammar schools of the Victorian and Edwardian eras evolved with concerns for social status and prestige uppermost, and they therefore modelled themselves on their social superiors, the public schools. More than this, they also sought to simultaneously distance themselves from their social inferiors, and games played a key role in this process.

> The evolution of the grammar schools involved in large measure, imitation of its upper class superiors and segregation from its working class inferiors. In an accurate reflection of public school priorities, games and games fields were the expensive symbols of emulation, distancing, ambition and success. The reason is not hard to find. Technological competance in an industrial era was less valued than an image of gentility in a strongly hierarchical social system. The deferential absorption of the athletic mores of the public schools reveals a significant cultural hegemonic process at work.[16]

Mangan develops this case through detailed reference to various grammar schools and their respective fortunes. His message is clear: where schools rose in status and were successful according to such criteria as admission of its Head to the Headmasters' Conference, they invariably included organized games, interhouse sports competitions, sports days and the awarding of school colours as central features of their curricula. Where schools were less successful, Mangan claims that lack of organized games almost always played a key role in their demise. So pervasive was the games ethic throughout the private schools system that by the early twentieth century games 'were no longer attractive, valuable adjuncts of the system; they were sine qua non of institutional existence'.[17]

Mangan proposed three reasons for the widespread acceptance of games and the games ethic in both public and grammar schools. One reason, he claims, was that protagonists believed games actually worked as an instrument of social control within the schools; they saw games as effective and practical instruments for creating enthusiasm, fostering team spirit and letting off steam. A second reason he suggests was that games provided these schools with a visible and highly dynamic medium for the development of 'Englishness', of 'fair play' and 'the British way' which was unmatched by other curriculum activities. And a third, that games playing, or at least the paraphenalia required to play games such as playing fields and other facilities, were prominent symbols of superiority.

> Playing fields were part of the social and cultural capital to be acquired in the struggle to maintain social position. In this process they served as a means of demonstrating image. They were at one and the same time emblems of similarity and separateness. But above all they were symbols of superiority — not merely social but moral. Schools without them were suspect. They were either inferior institutions of narrow vocationalism or anachronistic institutions of dangerous intellectualism.[18]

This use of playing fields as highly visible symbols of social superiority, and the use of games playing in a process of emulation and distancing provides a clear indication of the hierarchical nature of British society during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. It also reveals something of the transitory nature of this hierarchy, however, since games playing and the schools themselves were a necessary means of obtaining the moral and other cultural credentials for entry into the upper echelons of society. The spilling of the games ethic and games playing over into the schools at the lower levels of the bourgeois classes can be seen as merely an extension of the original function of the games ethic in the public schools themselves. The consolidation of this ethic in the grammar schools, many of which achieved the status of 'public school' during the Victorian and Edwardian period, did much to cherish and perpetuate its key values in a living form within the upper strata of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, by the 1870s, the games ethic began to be viewed by elements of the ruling groups as an expression not just of class, but of national identity;

> with the advance in rivalry between the great powers and the extension of the franchise, dominant groups and the political parties found it convenient to tap the widespread suspicion of foreigners and outsiders and to identify their own interests with the 'national interest'; and so

> appeals in terms of the national good, often mixed with chauvinism, became an increasingly important element in the emergent pattern of hegemony; and sporting imagery and symbolism played a certain part in this kind of appeal.[19]

How are we to understand the emergence of this games playing tradition and the ethos that surrounded it, and its subsequent adoption by consecutive waves of aspiring bourgeois males? Mangan has suggested that the acceptance of the games ethic by the grammar schools is evidence of a 'significant cultural hegemonic process at work'. Implicit in the notion of cultural hegemony, as we saw in Chapter 2, is the idea of control by negotiation, consent and permissible opposition. As Gramsci had conceived it, hegemony attempted to explain how domination was possible without coercive force being used. He recognized that this control was achieved through a willing acceptance by factions of the dominated classes of the naturalness of their domination, a willingness that was tempered by the apparent permissibleness and legitimacy of alternative, oppositional and dissenting values. By emphasizing the cultural dimensions of this process, Gramsci sought to draw attention to the taken-for-grantedness of hierarchies of power and their saturation of everyday life to the extent that the operation of social control is co-extensive with culture. Indeed, the crux of the notion of hegemony is that the nature of control and domination is hidden or masked by its very acceptance by the dominated group as everyday and ordinary and so unquestioned and unquestionable.[20]

To what extent can it be argued that the diffusion of the games ethic from the upper levels of the social hierarchy down through the bourgeoisie is a process of domination by negotiation and consent? On the one hand, as Mangan has argued, the bourgeois males were involved in a process of deferential absorption of the values of the upper sections of their class. But it would seem that in this process, the upper classes had more to lose than their middle level counterparts, since the wherewithal of games playing supplied them with the symbols of social and cultural legitimacy necessary for their entry into a higher strata of society. Indeed, we know on the basis of Mangan's evidence that games were a crucial aspect of the curriculum of any grammar school that wished to elevate its status to public school, and were therefore a prime instrument in allowing the upper classes to be invaded from below and so their exclusiveness placed at risk. On the other hand, this invasion was also a replenishment, not (at least to begin with) a process of dramatic transformation. In order to gain entry to the exclusive upper levels of the bourgeois class, only particular social and cultural values were acceptable, and these were defined by the upper class males themselves. In this sense, the process is indeed one of domination by consent, since it is the values of the upper classes that define the rules of entry to their level in the social hierarchy. At the same time, this continual infiltration of the ruling groups could not avoid affecting these values, and throughout the cycles of invasion and replenishment, traditional values would have been continually recast and remade in order to meet the challenges of new situations and circumstances and to fulfill the projects of the invaders.

The circumstances in which the public schools arose are the key to understanding the ways in which the games ethic worked to the advantage of upper level bourgeois males, and any subsequent transformations of the values em-

bodied in games playing within other social and temporal contexts. I suggested at the beginning of this section that the creators of the ethos surrounding games playing in the public schools considered that games met particular needs, as they perceived them, at this time. The 1830s and 1840s represented a period of consolidation of collective self-consciousness in Britain after more than fifty years of social unrest. The working classes emerged for the first time as a more or less unified group whose cohesion was not so much due to shared material circumstances or spiritual characteristics as a recognition that their interests were defined against those of the bourgeois classes, the owners of industry and others closely associated with the management and control of the manufacturing process. The emergence of this force in British politics lead in turn to an alliance of landed and industrial wealth and to an awareness of the need to create a highly visible identity befitting members the ruling groups.[21] The public schools came to be seen by sections of the upper classes as a vehicle for creating this identity and projecting it in dramatic fashion through the cult of athleticism.

There are direct analogies between this perception of the uses of games playing among factions of the bourgeoisie and what Foucault has called the encitement to discourse on sexuality and the body among these same, evolving bourgeois groups. Foucault argues that, contrary to the received opinion that the Victorian bourgeois classes repressed sexuality, their near obsession with the body and sexuality was a central aspect of the formation of their class identity and the insulation and preservation of this identity from other social groups. He has suggested that we should not

> picture the bourgeoisie symbolically castrating itself the better to refuse others the right to have a sex and make use of it as they please. This class must be seen rather as being occupied, from the mid-eighteenth century on, with creating its own sexuality and forming a specific body based on it, a 'class' body with its health, hygiene, descent, and race.[22]

Just as the aristocracy had marked off its exclusiveness on the basis of blood, so the bourgeoisie built the boundaries of its exclusiveness on the basis of 'its progeny and the health of its organism'. Games playing was part of this discourse on sexuality since it too invoked an intensification of attention to the body, and in particular the moral virtues surrounding athletic displays.[23] In this context, the games ethic was not so much an instrument of domination, but a means of self-affirmation among ruling class groups, a highly visible, dramatic and dynamic medium for the display of their exclusiveness. Indeed, it might be argued that games playing, as an aspect of the bourgeois discourse on sexuality, was one of the (few) media in which public display of the male body and physical prowess could be gazed upon, adulated and celebrated. Consequently, the symbolic significance of the body among the bourgeoisie should not, as Foucault goes on to suggest, be underestimated.

> It seems in fact that what was involved was not an asceticism, in any case not a renunciation of pleasure or a disqualification of the flesh, but on the contrary an intensification of the body, a problematization of health and its operational terms: it was a question of techniques for maximising life. The primary concern was not repression of the sex of

> the classes to be exploited, but rather the body, vigor, longevity, progeniture, and descent of the classes that 'ruled'. This was the purpose for which the deployment of sexuality was first established, as a new distribution of pleasures, discourses, truths, and powers; it has to be seen as the self-affirmation of one class rather than the enslavement of another: a defence, a protection, a strengthening, and an exaltation that were eventually extended to others — at the cost of different transformations — as a means of social control and political subjugation.[24]

As an element in the development and sustenance of class consciousness and a dramatic medium of self-affirmation, games playing was the literal embodiment of the sacred values of the bourgeois class. Foucault's comment concerning the different transformations of this discourse is a matter of particular interest, given the class-specific benefits its creators considered it provided for them, when we consider its relocation within the lives of lower middle and working class people whose material and social needs and circumstances demanded different responses. Indeed, if games playing formed a crucial part of the bourgeois school curriculum because it served the functions of fostering class indentity and simultaneously distancing the bourgeoisie from their perceived social inferiors, what role did it play in the schools of the lower middle and working classes?

Mangan has suggested that until 1900 games were denied by State officials to the elementary schools and thereafter not greatly encouraged by them.[25] There had been advocacies for children who attended the state-run elementary schools to play games from before the turn of the century, and a view of physical education incorporating games was introduced into official discourse by 1906 in a set of regulations issued by the Board of Education.[26] These regulations suggested that provision be made for state school pupils to play sports and field games as part of their physical education. This idea rested uneasily within the frame of the therapeutic view of physical education which contained it, even though it is given greater and greater prominence in the 1919 and 1933 syllabuses. But other factors helped this emergent view along. The Fisher Education Act of 1918 had instructed local education authorities to provide playing fields for sport, and there was also the influence of the playground movement in the USA and the setting up in 1925 of the National Playing Fields Association. The extension of compulsory schooling to age fourteen in the 1920s lead to the realization that the young adolescent required a different form of physical education than that outlined in the 1919 Syllabus, and the 1933 Syllabus represented a marked expansion in the kind of programme that could, potentially, be offered to the state school pupil. The 1933 Syllabus devoted an entire chapter to 'The Organization and Coaching of Games' and recognised 'the value of Organized Games, as an adjunct to physical training in promoting health, moulding the character and developing team spirit in general'.[27] Nevertheless, the 1920s and 1930s were the years of the Depression, and few of these ideas would have become reality for most state school pupils until after the second world war and the beginning of mass secondary education.[28]

The practical difficulties in providing the facilities for games playing in the elementary and post-elementary schools were not merely administrative or economic problems alone. Given the function of competitive games and sports in consolidating bourgeois class identity, there had been resistance to the lower

middle and working classes gaining entry to particular sports, and substantial barriers were erected by many sports associations and clubs in the late 1800s to exclude the lower orders.[29] Running somewhat contrary to this exclusionary policy, there was a widespread belief among the bourgeois classes during the last decades of the Victorian era that competitive games and sports could transcend class divisions and conflicts. However, as Hargreaves[30] has noted, the pressures for the consolidation of class identity were the stronger in this period, and it is not until the 1920s and in the aftermath of the first world war that this elaboration and extension of the games ethic became more prominent in the public sphere. An example of this is McIntosh's description of a scheme aimed at overcoming class antagonism during the Depression.

> Games were encouraged not only for their physical and moral value but as instruments of social policy in the hope that they would break down class barriers and mitigate the bitterness of industrial strife... The most notable attempt to achieve this was the Duke of York's camp started in 1921 and held annually; 400 boys were invited, 200 boys from public schools and 200 working in industry. The common denominator was found in games.[31]

This example reveals the widespread manifestation in public discourse, by the early 1920s, of the completion of the process of transformation of the games ethic from an element of bourgeois class indentity to an element of national culture, as an aspect of life common to all classes. Even when the hierarchical structure of games and sports are themselves taken into account, organized around the pivotal amateur/professional distinction, this notion represents a clear departure from the use of games as a medium for demonstrating class superiority. At the same time, we need to be aware of the political function of this transformation. Clearly, the rhetoric of a national culture is consciously and deliberately conciliatory and unitary, an essential and desirable ideology during any period of class conflict and political unrest. In contrast to this rhetoric, though, is the practical reality of what lower middle and working class children actually did in school physical education at this time. The evidence suggests that they were unlikely in large numbers to have been playing games like football, cricket, racquets and so on for the simple reason that the facilities were not available for them to do so. This gap between the rhetoric of games as a 'common denominator' and the reality of lack of provision for the masses was to remain an enduring problem up to and beyond the 1950s.

After the first world war, the cult of athleticism began a long and gradual decline in influence within the male public schools. It was assailed on many sides, by those critics from within who felt the value placed on games to be excessive, and by pressures that affected the public school system as a whole; 'new political principles, creeping embourgeoisment, declining national prosperity and a reformulation of educational ideals'.[32] Nevertheless, such was the strength of the idealism it had generated, the ethos of games playing continued to exert a powerful influence within the schools over the next fifty years leading up to the mid-twentieth century. For instance, describing the attitudes of Birmingham University students to physical activity at a conference in the 1950s, David Munrow remarked

> Not only did the public schoolboys bring with them the games of their schooldays, but they brought also the climate of opinion and the traditions of behaviour in which these games were played. Briefly these were a tacit acceptance that some sort of exercise was good for you, but that it did not much matter what it was, that the moral effects of playing were more important than the physical, and that winning was pleasant but by no means essential. There was also a sturdy tradition of complete independence and self-government in the administration of the games by the students and undergraduates themselves. As a corollary there was relatively little interest in rules — provided somebody was in charge — even less in technique and, although physical virtuosity was admired (sometimes excessively), it was still a 'good thing' to play games, even for rabbits... For many (students) it provided some opportunity for strenuous activity and a habit of mind which accepted games playing as a natural feature of youth and manhood.[33]

Between the beginning of the decline of the cult of athleticism in the public schools and the advent of mass secondary schooling, a period of approximately thirty years, the mythology and symbolism associated with the games ethic as an educational ideology continued to infiltrate the rhetoric of social reform and the education of the working classes. This is in some respects entirely unsurprising, since many of the policy makers were beneficiaries of a public school education, and whether they themselves were athletes or 'rabbits', they could not have avoided being touched by what by the 1950s was a one hundred year old tradition of athleticism.

Mass Secondary Schooling and the Expansion of Physical Education

The rise and subsequent decline of the cult of athleticism in the male public schools occurred without the influence of a professional body of physical education teachers. Games had formed a part of the curriculum of the female Swedish gymnasts from the first appearance of their training courses in the 1880s, and indeed the Ling Association adapted the rules of basketball to create netball in the late 1890s and administered the game, publishing rule books and instructional booklets, until the formation of the All England Netball Association in 1926.[34] But, as we saw in the previous chapter, gymnastics formed the core of the professional physical educator's art until the end of the second world war. It was at this time, and as a result of two inter-related factors, that gymnastics forfeited this pre-eminent role and by the end of the 1950s, competitive games and sports became firmly established in its place. These two factors were the introduction of secondary schooling for all through the Butler Education Act in 1944 which among other things involved raising the school leaving age to fifteen in 1947, and the influx of males into the physical education profession in the postwar period.

It had been conceded as early as the 1919 Syllabus that it was desirable for older elementary and post-elementary pupils to participate in an expanded range of activities beyond gymnastics and drill. Pupils who attended the selective

government run or aided secondaries and grammar schools had played competitive sports and games in the private school tradition since the turn of the century. But these schools catered for only a small number of pupils and even then facilities were in short supply.[35] So the introduction of secondary education for all and the raising of the school leaving age presented the Ministry of Education with a considerable challenge in terms of supplying the school buildings, specialized facilities within the schools like science labs and playing fields, and the staff that were required to fulfill the terms of the legislation. For physical educators, the challenge was how to adapt the existing forms of physical education within the limitations set by lack of facilities and teachers to the needs of large numbers of older pupils who, unlike their grammar school peers, encompassed a wide range of academic and physical abilities. A survey of physical education in girls' secondary schools reported in 1946 showed that gymnastics and games dominated the curriculum, with little time provided for dancing, swimming or athletics.[36] In the boys' secondary programmes apparatus and some free standing (Swedish) gymnastics vied for time with major games like cricket and football and other activities like boxing.[37] In the elementary schools, physical training in the form of Swedish gymnastics and drill were, as we saw in Chapter 4, giving way to less formal methods and modified exercises. This was the situation that faced the physical education profession at the end of the war, and their discussions in the years immediately following the implementation of the Butler Act were taken up with the problem of how to cater for the older pupils.[38] The unanimous response was to provide older pupils with more freedom of choice of activities, and while this notion was proposed with much qualification,[39] it was to have far reaching consequences for physical education, since choice was predicated on the existence of a range of activities from which to choose. In this response to the challenge of mass secondary schooling, the influence of the progressive movement within the physical education profession and some other sections of the secondary school community can be seen,[40] in addition to the coming force of the popular recreation movement which was in its beginning stages in the immediate postwar period but, as we will see shortly, was to have a substantial influence on physical education by the late 1950s.

While competitive sports and games had formed a part of the female tradition since its establishment, it was the males who were largely responsible for their rise to dominance in schools after the war. The Ling Association had followed a consistent policy of opposition to over-competitiveness from the late 1800s up to the 1940s, displaying on the one hand open anatagonism towards the excesses of the male public school tradition and on the other appreciation and support for a distinctive upper class feminine approach to games and sports. At their annual conference in 1925 'professionalism in women's games and participation for children in Junior County Teams was deprecated', the latter point being restated forcefully at the 1932 gathering. The 1928 conference focused on the introduction of 'Competitive Athletics for Schoolgirls', and while this innovation received a generally favourable response, the discussion centred entirely on concerns over whether lavatory and dressing room facilities would be suitable for the schoolgirl athletes.[41] As late as 1948, the Editorial in *The Leaflet* took a dim view of competitive gymnastics at the London Olympics held in that year, and antagonism towards competition continued among the educational gymnasts throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

The men, on the other hand, were from the beginning of their specialist courses strong advocates of competitive games and sports. While in the 1930s and 1940s Swedish gymnastics complemented games in their college curricula, this sharing of time did not last for long. At the 1949 Lingiad held in Stockholm, the bastion of Scandinavian gymnastics, the male physical education students from Loughborough and Carnegie colleges performed work that 'splendidly contrasted in type and presentation' with the activities of the host nation, and left the Scandinavians 'not knowing what next to expect from the British'.

> The Carnegie programme opened with quickening and strengthening activities all conducted competitively. It then gave four series of games skill practices and competitions. The games taken were cricket, basketball, soccer and rugger. Each series showed the separate skills of the game being practised and then applied the skills in a competitive phase. Twenty-five activities were packed into fifteen minutes and the work was a good test of stamina as well as a fine demonstration of speed and skill. Cricket greatly intrigued the audience and Rugby Touch brought them to their feet.[42]

During the late 1940s and early 1950s competitive sports and games quickly became the staple of the male specialist college curriculum.[43] At the Scottish School of Physical Education based at Jordanhill College in Glasgow, this enthusiasm for games extended beyond the curriculum, and the college had first claim on all students in their chosen sport, exemptions being granted to professional footballers only. Students were also required to attend a Friday afternoon prematch briefing whether they were in college on that day or in schools on teaching practice, non-attendance incurring disciplinary action.[44] This system was established under Hugh Brown, Director of the SSPE between 1958 to 1974, who was an ardent advocate of games.

> The curriculum in the Colleges of PE is ever-widening. This is something that I rejoice to be able to report, and my only comment is 'high time, too!'. We are British people — for which I can find no cause for apology — and we are a games-playing nation. It has always puzzled me, for instance, that gymnastics should be regarded as being synonymous with Physical Education. Gymnastics is a part — a very valuable part — of a vast subject, and in some countries it may have been looked on as being the main fraction of the whole. No longer is that so here. However good a system may be, the folly of adopting it in its entirety and foisting it upon people, unadapted to peculiar needs, is at last recognized. What may delight the Germans or the Danes, and what suits their national characteristics, does not necessarily make a similar appeal here. Now we are recognizing this![45]

Brown's statement is strongly flavoured by the notion that games playing is part of the national culture of the British, and in this he was expressing a point of view that had gained considerable and widespread legitimacy by the 1950s. This enthusiasm for games playing among the male physical educators and the nationalistic justification for expanding physical education programmes to

accomodate this enthusiasm can be explained in two ways. The first is to see this appropriation of games as an extension of the male domination of competitive sport and games in general.[46] The second is to view the promotion of this new expanded version of physical education as a means of enhancing the status of male physical educators. We saw in the previous chapter that while the female physical educators were with few exceptions from the bourgeois classes, male physical educators tended to be drawn from the lower end of the social class spectrum and their social and professional status in the 1940s and 1950s was certainly inferior to that of women. By adopting and championing competitive team sports in contrast to non-competitive gymnastics, the males were, consciously or not, emulating the public school tradition of athleticism, a move which conceivably could be seen to offer enormous benefits to the male physical educators by virtue of association with this bourgeois tradition alone. The other side of the males' push for status was the application of the new scientific knowledge derived from the fields of exercise physiology, biomechanics and skill acquisition to their teaching, and competitive games and sports provided a more appropriate medium than Swedish and educational gymnastics for the use of this new knowledge.[47] Not only did the association with team games provide the newly arrived male physical educators with a ready-made 'tradition' that was at least a century old and had been an intrinsic part of the education of the upper classes, it also supplied them with a medium for the application of the new knowledge that was rapidly being incorporated into their specialist courses.

By the end of the 1950s, team games formed the core of an expanded physical education curriculum that included a wide range of indoor games and other activities like swimming and in some places, outdoor activities like hill-walking and canoeing.[48] The role of games in the existing grammar and other selective secondary schools was consolidated through the late 1940s and early 1950s,[49] and was very quickly becoming established in the new secondary modern and comprehensive schools.[50] In an article which appeared in *The Leaflet*[51] in July 1961, Vivien Jacobs outlined the planning and organization of physical education in Holland Park School, a London comprehensive opened in September 1958 with an initial intake of 1700 pupils. The school had extensive facilities for swimming, gymnastics and indoor games, outdoor court games such as basketball, netball, tennis, and space for jumping and throwing. While these facilities allowed the school to offer a wide range of activities on-site, games and games-related activities formed the major part of the programme, and pupils were bused to London County Council playing fields twenty minutes from the school to play major team games such as soccer, rugby, hockey, netball, and cricket, and minor activities like tennis, rounders and athletics, to Wimbledon Common for cross-country, and to Putney Reach for rowing. Given the large numbers of pupils involved in any one games session (up to five hundred), Jacobs not surprisingly expressed concern in her article over matters of control, order, discipline and organization. Despite these problems though, the viability of this option of bussing pupils to various venues for their physical education lessons was not questioned. One of the reasons for this was a practical one; the on-site facilities at the school could not accomodate the large numbers of pupils allocated to the physical education department at any one time. But the large amounts of time spent on games[52] were justified on a different basis than practicality.

> We are a Comprehensive School, and naturally we believe in the comprehensive system. In the Physical Education Department we felt that games was one subject, at least, in which we could carry out the system completely and beneficially... We were convinced that there would be an all-round improvement, and that lower intelligence groups would not debase the standards, the view held, unfortunately, by so many people.[53]

Here, in the new comprehensive schools that were supposed to exemplify the egalitarian spirit of social reconstruction in postwar Britain, pupils were allocated to Grammar, Secondary Modern and Remedial streams during their first three years, and for those who stayed on past the compulsory leaving age, to Academic, Technical, Commercial and General streams.[54] If the egalitarian principle could not be applied in practice to what Jacobs describes as the academic work of the school, then perhaps games could provide the common denominator that would allow expression of this ideal. Clearly, though, as we can see from Jacobs' comment, this was not an uncontested idea. And while games were now available to all pupils, even the allegedly 'less intelligent', the issue of segregation begs the question of the function these games were to serve for the different streams of pupils. Jacobs' suggested that third and fourth year pupils in the Secondary Modern and Remedial streams were 'extremely difficult to manage' and that they were consequently gaining little from playing games. She noted, however, that these 'problem pupils' participated more readily when streams were mixed, implying that this mixing had a civilizing effect on them. The disaffection of the pupils in the lower streams and their hostility to the school in general, the effects of streaming itself, and the imposition of cultural values that were foreign to the pupils who were assumed to need exposure to them, were not raised by Jacobs. The notion emerges, however, that these more probable sources of 'the problem', which were implicit in the school's broader structure and function, could be ameliorated by the benign influence of games playing since it possessed properties that were somehow common to all students, regardless of their social class or intelligence. Significantly, at Holland Park School, it was the physical educators who supported this common denominator view of games and claimed for themselves the role of integrating the various social class groupings among the pupils.

A survey of secondary modern schools conducted by the CCPR in the Eastern Counties of England in the summer of 1960 reveals that the Holland Park curriculum was not uncommon. On the basis of responses from just under five thousand pupils surveyed, tennis (male and female), soccer (male), swimming (male and female), cricket (male), netball (female), athletics (male and female) and hockey (female) emerged in that order as the pupils' most popular activities and played most regularly at school. Gymnastics rated a mention, but was popular only among a very small number of pupils. However, while the opportunity to play games seemed to be available to pupils in these parts of the country by the end of the 1950s, and were accepted as the major part of school physical education, few of these secondary modern pupils wished to continue with their favourite sports after leaving school.[55] This apparent lack of willingness on the part of the secondary modern and comprehensive school pupils to take advantage of the range of activities now available to them was a cause for considerable and

continuing concern in some quarters as we will see later in this chapter, but it did not arrest the rate of growth of competitive games and sports in physical education programmes, and the 1960s saw the consolidation of games at the centre of the curriculum. Whitehead's[56] end of decade surveys of boys' and girls' physical education in a range of types of secondary schools mainly in the North of England shows the dominance of the national games of soccer, rugby and cricket for boys, and hockey and netball for girls and athletics for both. He also made a number of interesting observations. The first was that the so-called major, traditional, national games were clearly the main priorities of physical education teachers, particularly males, and that there was little attention being paid to the popular physical activity leisure time pursuits of adults.[57] This observation is interesting for the reason that it contradicts the accepted opinion of the previous three decades that team games could fulfill this leisure-time function, an issue that we will explore in greater detail below. His second observation was that while games had rapidly become the mainstay of school physical education in the postwar period, they were more often taught by non-specialist teachers. Paradoxically, only specialists were permitted by local authority inspectors to teach indoor lessons, particularly those involving gymnastic equipment. So while the gymnasium had continued to remain the specialists' preserve, the core of the physical education programme was often taught by non-specialists. This suggests that in terms of propriety, the development of games skills in the gym were seen to be the physical educator's main responsibility, while games playing, significantly, was not under their sole ownership and control but was the property of a wider section of the school community. As for Whitehead's view, he applauded the efforts and enthusiasm of the non-specialists, and while he was prepared to concede that 'the *coaching* could be good' among non-specialist teachers, he suggested that 'educational principles are not applied to the extent that they might be'.[58] This paradox raises the question again of the function of games in the expanded secondary system and the use that the schools, and the physical education teachers within them, made of competitive team games. In order to understand this, we need to look outside the schools at what was happening in sport and recreation in the postwar period, and through this to consider the legacy of the games ethic of the public schools and its transformations in the era of social reconstruction and mass secondary schooling.

Sport, Recreation and the Consolidation of Traditional Physical Education

An Editorial in one of the January 1951 issues of the *Times Educational Supplement*[59] discussed what the editor called the 'two traditions' in English education, with the 'haves' on one side and the 'have nots' on the other. In the next issue, a response appeared in the form of a letter from Peter McIntosh, then a lecturer in the Department of Physical Education at Birmingham University, in which he suggested that the 'two traditions' were most sharply defined in physical education, the 'haves' being represented by team games and the 'have nots' by drill and gymnastics. He argued that:

> There was almost no mingling of the two traditions before the twentieth century. Indeed, there has often been antagonism between them: the public schools have looked down on physical training as mere pedantry, while the protagonists of physical training have decried games because they are neither systematic nor primarily designed to promote health. In spite of considerable intermingling of recent years the fusion is still far from complete. There will only be a single national tradition of physical education when the State's schools can provide adequate playing fields and facilities for all children and when the public schools realize and appreciate the value of scientific and systematic physical training. Apparently a deficiency of insight is as difficult to make good as are deficiencies of space and money.[60]

From McIntosh's perspective in 1951, the key obstacles to creating a national system of physical education that was not differentiated on the basis of wealth and class were a wilfulness on the part of the public schools to concede that physical exercise properly conducted had a role to play in maintaining physical fitness and health, and a lack of money and space to provide the playing fields on which the 'have nots' could play the major team games. With the benefit of hindsight, we can now see that in the immediate pre- and postwar years it was this latter obstacle which received most attention in discourse on physical education and mass participation in sport, while McIntosh's challenge to the public schools fell on deaf ears. The feeling of the time was not that the public schools should change, but on the contrary that their version of physical education should be emulated.

Hargreaves,[61] also with the benefit of hindsight in the mid 1980s, identified a number of forces at work in the immediate postwar period in relation to sport and recreation in the community which I suggest were instrumental in bringing about the rise to prominence of games in the State secondary schools. The first of these was increasing State intervention in sport and physical recreation outside the school system, which Hargreaves claims was an important part of increasing government intervention in civil society generally.[62] While this intervention was at first relatively uncoordinated, it began after the second world war to draw school and community physical education and recreation into the State's sphere of influence and the service of 'the national interest'. A second and closely related factor which has already been discussed had been in place since the end of the 1800s, and this was the view that competitive games and sports were a unifying force and a means of promoting national identity. By the end of the 1930s, Hargreaves argues sport had become

> more firmly perceived in commonsense terms as a unifying activity to which all sections of society could relate, and as nothing to do with power and conflict...Sport more than any other aspect of popular culture, and possibly even of national culture, had come to serve as a common reference point for different social classes and other social categories, which on other grounds were opposed.[63]

This view of sport a common denominator and a unifying medium in society was entirely consistent with the consensual politics of the day, and indeed had much to do with creating the notion that sport was above and beyond politics. On the basis of this view, the new secondary schools began during the 1950s to

be given the role of bolstering Britain's sagging international prestige by providing what politicians argued was a huge pool of untapped talent, including sporting talent. Moreover, as a result of the work of sports lobbyists, the idea that international success in sport was predicated on government funding gained ground in ruling circles through the 1950s and early 1960s, as did the realization that success in international sport could compensate for declining influence in the world economic, political and military spheres. And a third factor which boosted the fortunes of competitive sports and games in schools was the apparently widespread public concern for social order, fuelled by the intensification of consumer culture, affluence and materialism and the emergence in train with these of youth subcultures, particularly in relation to working class youth and their use of leisure time. The 'leisure problem' was to be solved through participation in wholesome, harmless and morally beneficial activities like games. Echoing the sentiments of the Victorian public school Headmasters, games not only provided an outlet for youthful energy, but kept potential troublemakers in public view for at least some of the time. These three forces combined to form a powerful undercurrent that swept through the late 1940s and with growing momentum through the 1950s and on into the 1960s, to install competitive sports and games at the heart of school physical education. They operated at different levels of society and so together played an important role in forming popular opinion and commonsense attitudes to games and sports and their 'educative' potential. These forces did not work in isolation, but were instead different sides of a self-conscious movement in British society towards postwar social reconstruction in an era of declining influence as an international power. Given the significance of these three inter-related forces, each merits a little more detailed attention.

Popular Recreation and State Intervention

We need to dispel the idea from the beginning that the British ruling class and more specifically the government, intentionally and cynically intruded in community recreation and sport for the purposes of promoting their own interests or controlling the masses. What happened instead was a much more complex and gradual process of intervention, intensifying from the mid 1920s onwards. Along the way, successive British governments actually resisted becoming directly involved in funding and organizing sport, much to the frustration of some sports lobbyists.[64] Despite this initial reticence though, their involvement steadily increased after the second world war and by the 1960s had lead to an explicit harnessing of competitive games and sports in schools and the community to the power structure and to the projects of ruling class interests. None of this was straightforward and obvious, especially to the people actually involved at the time. On the other hand, as Hargreaves[65] rightly stresses, none of this involvement was uncontested either but, as we will see, was the outcome of a range of diverse pressures, interests and forces. The two major avenues for State involvement besides government funded schooling were the provision of playing fields and the work of the National Playing Fields Association (NPFA), and the promotion of mass participation in recreational physical activity and the work of the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR).

The NPFA was formed during the Depression years of the 1920s as a direct response to philanthropic concern for the plight of the unemployed and the civilizing effect of games and sports.[66] A voluntary organization, the Association from the beginning was under the patronage of Royalty and was financed by public subscriptions and charitable donations. By 1935, it had funded 908 projects at a cost of just under three million pounds.[67] Nevertheless, the provision of playing fields and other sports facilities continued to be in short supply in the postwar period. In an address to the NPFA in 1951, the Honorary Secretary of the Amateur Athletic Association reported that of the sixty-six cinder tracks that existed in England and Wales, thirty-seven were privately owned and another twenty-one were owned by the London County Council, the latter figure highlighting the disproportionate distribution of facilities around the country. Scotland had seven tracks and there were none Northern Ireland.[68] The availability of facilities varied between sports and regions, but the situation in athletics was reflective of the general state of affairs. The 1949 annual report of the NPFA, delivered by its President the Duke of Edinburgh, bemoaned the acute shortage of playing fields, and this was to be a consistent message in subsequent annual reports throughout the 1950s.[69] Funding had been and remained the key problem. Despite a highly successful £250,000 fund raising campaign in 1951 as part of the Association's silver jubilee, including £115,000 from a 'cinema appeal' and £15,000 raised at Butlin's Holiday Camps,[70] the government came under increasing pressure during the late 1940s and 1950s to provide funds for playing fields.[71] The 1944 Education Act created the precedent for this pressure by allocating the functions of the defunct National Fitness Council's Grants Committee, which operated under the terms of the 1937 Physical Training and Recreation Act to the Ministry of Education, 'thus involving the government more intimately than ever with the leisure pursuits of the community at large'.[72]

A decade after the establishment of the NPFA, the National Association of Organizers and Lecturers in Physical Education cooperated with the Ling Association to form the Central Council for Recreative Physical Training in 1935. Community recreative physical training had reached the proportions of a 'movement' by the mid 1930s and the function of the CCRPT was to coordinate the various and diverse community physical recreation groups which had been growing steadily in number from the 1920s. Like the NPFA, the CCRPT was under Royal patronage from the beginning; indeed, as Hargreaves has noted 'the membership of the Council read like a roll-call of the Establishment'.[73] The use of physical training in the title of the Council was testimony to its origins in the Keep Fit movement and other forms of physical exercise, but in 1944 it changed its name to the Central Council for Physical Recreation to reflect a change of focus away from physical exercise to incorporate a wider range of physical pastimes including outdoor activities and competitive sports and games.[74] The CCPR's responsibilities included coordinating the activities of its affiliated associations, clubs and groups, but its immediate concern in the postwar period was the provision of courses for recreation leaders and participants. In order to do this, the Council employed a number of officers and regionally-based 'technical representatives', and set up facilities to house their activities. Its first national test for leaders of physical recreation was in place by 1940, with over one thousand men and women qualifying,[75] and its first national recreation centre opened in 1946 at Bisham Abbey.

In his Presidential Address to the CCPR AGM in September 1949, Lord Hampden claimed that as the Local Education Authorities began to meet their responsibilites to provide facilities for physical recreation under the terms of the 1944 Education Act, the CCPR's role would shift from local to national level, and this pattern began to emerge as predicted over the following decade. At the same meeting, a National Sports Development Fund[76] was approved that was to help extend the influence of the CCPR and to set up recreation centres around the country.[77] Bisham Abbey offered 'training holidays' in its first year to males and females in the sixteen to twenty-five age range.[78] Two new national centres quickly followed, Glenmore Lodge, an outdoor activities centre in 1949 and Lillieshall Hall in 1951, the latter funded by a £120,000 gift from the South African government, and opened by Princess Elizabeth in the presence of sports star Roger Bannister and administrator Stanley Rous.[79] These additional facilities allowed the CCPR to extend its services, and by the end of the 1947–48 financial year, it had run 750 training courses, 1450 lectures and demonstration classes, enrolled 19,000 students, and organized summer-time rallies at sea-side resorts.[80] Over the next few years, it created a network of personnel and facilities that laid the ground for its continuing expansion through the 1950s and into the 1960s.[81]

Both the NPFA and the CCPR operated outwith the direct control of the government, and according to McIntosh 'were in the mid-20th century pursuing an ideal of sport for all which broke down or took no notice of social and educational distinctions which had been such a feature of physical education and recreation fifty years earlier'.[82] In one sense, McIntosh was correct. There can be no question that in the immediate postwar period, the opportunities available to lower middle and working class people to participate in recreational physical activity improved greatly, and sports and games which had previously been restricted to the wealthy and privileged were opened up to a wider cross-section of the population.[83] But there was a cost to pay for increased opportunity, and this was a higher level of formalization and regulation of the recreational and leisure time pursuits of this section of the population.[84] Even though at this stage the State's entry into this sphere of life is relatively uncoordinated, the patronage of the aristocracy and the provision of indirect funding and other material assistance drew popular physical recreation into the State's sphere of influence and drafted it into the service of 'the national interest'.[85] The association with prominent sports performers such as Bannister and administrators like Rous was not insignificant either. From the early 1950s onwards, the case for extending the provision of playing fields and other sports facilities to promote the national interest began to be more frequently heard in the public sphere, proponents arguing typically that 'improved facilities should result in improved standards of performance. Good facilities provided for secondary school, together with expert and enthusiastic teaching will provide the means of improving standards of performance in our national games and athletics'.[86]

National Identity, the National Interest and the Invention of Tradition

The games ethic of the public schools may have been in decline from the end of the first world war, but its power as an educational ideology outside the public schools had become stronger by the end of the second. The resilience of this

ideology and its continuing influence within educational discourse was in no small part due to the dynamic, physical and competitive features of games themselves and the symbolic values attached to these features, displaying the 'basic themes of social life — success and failure, good and bad behaviour, ambition and achievement, discipline and effort'.[87] Since sport encapsulated these key themes, it was an easy step to view competitive matches against rival schools and other groups as symbolic struggles, comparing not just the skills of the opposing players but also the worth of the institutions they represented. This use of competitive games and sports was a feature of life at all social levels, and from local to international arenas, with community pride and self-worth linked closely to the outcome of a match. And while a view of competitive sport as a means of fostering community, class and national identity had from the mid 1800s been an intrinsic part of games playing, it was only with the provision of playing fields and other sports facilities on a mass scale that the possibility of achieving a consolidation of national identity through sport emerged. Besides the need to promote mass participation in sport to meet this end, however, the male public school version of games playing had to be simultaneously recast as the 'traditional' form of physical education and the birthright not merely of the bourgeois class, but of everyone. It was in the new secondary schools in the 1950s that this recasting of the games ethic began to take place, and it was at this point that this 'games playing tradition' was invented.[88]

The games ethic of the male public schools was almost a century old by the mid 1950s, but this does not mean that it occupied an inert role; on the contrary, this tradition fulfilled an active role in creating the possibility of using games and sports as an element of national culture. As we saw earlier, games were considered by factions of male bourgeoisie to be a key medium for the purposes of promoting and maintaining class identity. In order for the ethic to be generalized to become the property of all classes and extended beyond class affiliations to foster a popular national identity, certain features of this public school version of games playing had to be omitted and others retained and emphasized. In this respect, the games ethic in its extended form in the 1950s was a selective version of its former self. Raymond Williams has highlighted the key features of this invention of tradition more generally as:

> an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of cultural definition and identification...from a whole possible area of past and present, in a particular culture, certain meanings and practices are selected for emphasis and certain other meanings and practices are neglected or excluded. Yet, within a particular hegemony, and as one of its decisive processes, this selection is presented and usually successfully passed off as 'the tradition', '*the* significant past'.[89]

In this process of reconstructing *a* traditional form of physical education as *the* tradition, the interests of the ruling group were selectively chosen and established as the interests of the nation. None of this denies that games and sports had been played by people at all levels of the social system for well over one hundred years. The point is that it was a sanitized version of the bourgeois males' games ethic that formed the value structure on which competitive sports and games in

the mass secondary schools in the 1950s were based and justified, not the many other alternative approaches to games playing, some of which were organic to the working classes, their material circumstances and cultural values. And it was through this selective device of 'tradition' that success in international sports competitions could come to represent the state of the nation, its corporate health, and its future wellbeing.

In the process of recasting the public schools' games playing ethic as 'traditional physical education', a number of commentaries relating to the development of national culture and national identity were prominent in physical education and sport discourse in the postwar period. There was a widespread idea that Britain was a nation of sports spectators and not active participants. An early expression of this notion came from Sir Ernest Baker who was quoted as saying in an Address to a NPFA Conference in 1947 that 'the NPFA existed as an expression of a universally felt want for open spaces. Team games were one of Britain's chief contributions to the world, and active participation in them needed encouragement at a time when we were fast becoming a nation of game watchers, football-pool fillers, and radio listeners'.[90] There was also frequent expression of disgust at the use of sport as 'a political tool', particularly by 'totalitarian' regimes.[91] Eminent figures like Harold Abrahams openly deplored the 'West-East war in sports' represented by the Olympic Games medal tallies,[92] while others vilified the 'Iron Curtain teams (who) have shut themselves up in ideological seclusion'.[93] Many comments of this kind appeared during the cold-war era, and were used as much as a means of promoting a favoured 'British' perspective on competitive sport as they were a renunciation of the alleged misuse of sport by countries governed according to alternative political ideologies. One example of this was the *TES*'s reporting of incidents of player violence in Yugoslavian football matches, followed by scarcely concealed sarcasm in the comment that 'the bourgeois rules of conduct favoured in our own schools and universities perhaps deserve another trial this year, even at the risk of appearing a bit reactionary'.[94]

Indeed, the *Times Educational Supplement* was an important force in the reconstruction of the public schools' games ethic at this time and was an unashamed proponent of the ruling class position.[95] Photographs and commentaries on sport, particularly male public school and elite sport, appeared frequently in the pages of the *TES* throughout the entire postwar period, while virtually no space was given to the version of physical education favoured by the female physical educators. A photograph on the front page of a March 1950 issue showed children on a cross-country run leaping a ditch accompanied by a caption which claimed the photograph showed 'modern physical education in striking contrast to earlier methods'.[96] In another issue that year, the *TES* reported on an MCC inquiry into youth coaching, and printed on the same page a photograph of Field-Marshall Sir Claude Auchenleck, President of the London Federation of Boys' Clubs, opening new playing fields at New Eltham in London.[97] In a 1951 issue, it reported on the AAA Schools Consultative Committee's recomendations on equipment regulations for school competition[98] and on the MCC's youth cricket coaching scheme again in a 1952 edition.[99] The *TES* also reported regularly on CCPR and NPFA conferences, courses and other events, on the Olympic Games, and many aspects of school sport throughout the 1950s. Not all sports were treated with equanimity however, as a report from a 1950 edition of

the *TES* illustrates. A brief comment appeared on the front page on an incident that had come to the attention of the Birmingham Education Committee concerning the alleged 'victimization' of a grammar school boy who wanted to play soccer (not rugby) and to become a professional player. The boy's peers had apparently been giving him 'a thin time', and the school Headmaster was reportedly 'appalled' that the boy should complete a grammar school education only to become a professional footballer.[100] The mere fact that this incident and all of the other sports related activity reported regularly in the *TES* were considered newsworthy is in itself an indication of the positioning of this educational newspaper within the power structure.[101]

Not only did the *TES* report and highlight a selection of episodes and events relating to physical activity and sport, but it consistently under-represented what physical education actually consisted of for most teachers and pupils of the subject at that time.[102] Many of the key themes in the discourse of this era, reflecting the selection of particular aspects of sport and physical activity as worthy of serious concern, are graphically illustrated in this editorial comment that appeared in the *TES* in June 1951.

> Sport in England remains under a cloud. The South Africans beat us at cricket; a United States golfer is Amateur Champion; an Australian tennis player is supreme at Wimbledon. The tide may be about to turn in athletics, but it does not seem to have done so yet. In spite of a tradition and a comparatively large population to choose from, the record remains one of failure and defeat. Nor is this low standard of skill and prowess the only criticism. It is said that the British have become a nation of spectators, not sportsmen. Gambling is needed to stir enthusiasm. Bodily exercise and vigorous physical activities have long been succeeded by the sedentary enjoyment of expert entertainment. Professionalism has ousted the sportsman and made nonsense of the Englishman's love of games. 'Bodily exercise profiteth for a little time,' said St. Paul, possibly having in mind some of the muscle-bound athletes with enlarged hearts and fibrositis who do most to extol the animal aspect of games...But the need today is not so much physical fitness as the development of sound character and healthy interest — the war has shown that severe military training can turn the flabbiest civilian into a commando, if necessary. And if, incidently, a certain sporting patriotism enters in, what of it?...In England, every instinct would be against State intervention in sport, but private bodies have done and are doing much...with such bodies as the National Playing Fields Association, the CCPR is doing practical work to combat the evil of the passive circus-goer. And in the course of encouraging more young people to play sport instead of watching it, it may well, one day, enable England to win some international events.[103]

This statement embodies all of the key elements of the ruling class perspective on 'traditional physical education' and reveals that the selective process had already reached an advanced stage by the early 1950s. Its dramatic listing of the evidence of 'failure and defeat' conveys the impression that the natural order of things has somehow been upset, and hints, with the passing references to spectatorship and

gambling, that the malaise in sport is indicative of deeper problems in society. The loss of a glorious past (that never in fact existed) is nostalgically mourned ('bodily exercises and vigorous physical activities have long since been succeeded'), while the baser features of modern sport are vilified and scorned ('muscle-bound athletes with enlarged hearts and fibrositis who do most to extol the animal aspect of games'). Only six years after the war, there is still some symbolic mileage to be gained in recalling military success, contrasting 'severe' military training with 'flabby' civilians, and patriotism is mentioned in the same breath. There is also an inescapable moral tone in the support given to groups such as the NPFA and the CCPR for their work in 'combatting the evil of the passive circus-goer'. The final statement that as a result of their efforts 'England ...may win some international events' is deliberately understated, suggesting that it is not winning alone but winning with apparent effortlessness that reveals the superiority of the English. The entire editorial is also blatently chauvinist, with no suggestion that women's sport may be worthy of consideration, an omission that was not missed by one female reader who wrote to the Editor the following week that England's female hockey team 'is still regarded as the greatest exponent of the game'.[104]

While the *TES* was an important producer, legitimator and communicator of 'traditional physical education', it was not the only active agent in promoting the patriotic and socially cohesive functions of competitive games and sports. Even the Ling Association's *Leaflet* considered the educational value of games and athletics in 1946, with the Editor arguing that games could be useful as a medium for physical, mental, moral and social training, but then characteristically qualifying this by suggesting 'over-keen' competition had no place in physical education.[105] Other commentators took a more positive if idealistic view. Lord Aberdare, a member of the International Olympic Committee Executive and Organizing Committee for the 1948 London Olympics, eulogized that 'the gathering together of young amateurs (i)s one of the best ways to enable the different classes in a country, as well as the units of different civilizations, to become well acquainted with each other and thus to promote a better understanding between nations',[106] while Phillip Noel-Baker suggested that the Olympics were not, as the Cambridge University Union had once moved, a 'faked antique' but corresponded 'to something eternal in the human heart'.[107] At a more practical level, this common denominator view of games and sport was displayed in another form in a report on the resumption of the Duke of York's camp following its abandonment during the war, claiming that the camp for seventy-seven boys from industry and their thirty-three fee-paying school guests and incorporating games as a key element, had been an 'undoubted success'.[108]

The issue of the State's role in promoting participation in games and sports in schools and the community was beginning to be much more closely linked to notions of national identity and culture by the mid 1950s. In August 1954, the House of Commons debated the issue of government funding for sport after a Labour MP Mr Ellis Smith claimed 'the country had had some severe shocks in the international football games at Wembley, Berne and Balse'. He argued that the Ministry of Education was 'responsible for British football' since 'our boys' were being coached at the Ministry's expense (through school physical education programmes), and that with greater financial outlay, Britain could turn out more Bannisters, Chataways and Matthews. Mr Pickthorn, the Minister of Education,

refused to accept responsibility for the defeat of British football teams, and was quoted as saying that

> 'the Ministry's first responsibility was to the schools, and what could be done by central direction to see that games were properly organized would be done. Commenting on the quotation that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, he observed that the games then were wholly unorganized, and that the boys did the whole thing and made their own rules, so it was not a good argument to use either way'.[109]

Good argument or not, the symbolism of the playing fields of Eton and the Battle of Waterloo remained a powerful force among sections of the sports lobby, who argued that Britain's approach to organizing competitive games and sports, from schools through to elite international levels, were drastically out of date. In 1956, UNESCO published a report on 'The Place of Sport in Education', which the British government did not contribute to because, according to McIntosh, they considered that the exercise was not 'practical or worthwhile enough'. McIntosh quoted Mr Lloyd the Minister of Education as saying

> I have read the report and while it is interesting, I must point out that the English idea of sport is such that the English do not like professional professorial discourses on sport. At the same time, I can see that there is some rather interesting information, perhaps, for some countries which are backward in education matters.[110]

Notwithstanding the condescension and ambivalence his comment reveals, events began to overtake the Conservative government in the latter half of the 1950s. The staff of the Physical Education Department at Birmingham University, of which Peter McIntosh was a member, produced a survey and analysis of British sport in a booklet 'Britain in the World of Sport', which attracted widespread interest[111] and which was an important factor in the establishment of the Wolfenden Committee in 1957. McIntosh also published an open letter to the Minister of Education in *The Leaflet* early in 1958, deploring the British government's recalcitrance on the issue of its role in organizing and funding sport, and requesting a change of policy.

> As an Old Harrovian you will be familiar with the great tradition of sport in our public schools. You will know too that games and sports which were first refined and organized by the boys and old boys of those schools have now spread to the far corners of the world. They provide common ground upon which men and women of different languages, races, religions and political creeds can meet and they reflect credit upon us. However, the world has changed since our export of games began and what could once be achieved by individual enterprise now needs government support. For lack of such support even in our own Commonwealth the influence of Britain upon sport is waning, while that of other great powers is waxing. We still have a unique and valuable contribution to make to sport in the world and to sport in the education of the world's citizens.[112]

At the heart of McIntosh's argument was the trinity of the public school tradition, the common denominator thesis, and the pride of the nation, and this letter suggests that these three themes were in the process of being closely linked towards the late 1950s in relation to competitive games and sports. Whether or not this particular letter was written in this way to have the biggest possible impact on its intended target, the Minister of Education, McIntosh and his Birmingham colleague David Munrow were two of the most articulate and prolific speakers and writers among the sports lobbyists during the 1950s and early 1960s. Both had championed the cause of internationalism within physical education, with Munrow particularly involved in various international study groups and conferences on physical education and sport.[113] Munrow and McIntosh held similar views on the importance of competitive games and sports as an element of popular national culture. It was Munrow's deep conviction that 'the part played by sport in our own culture pattern is under rated by many sociologists, politicians and educationists,'[114] while McIntosh argued that 'sport is now a prominent and important feature of culture' and that moreover 'the world's most popular sports came from Britain'.[115] In addition, both believed that something was amiss in the world of sport, and that urgent action was required to tackle the problem. McIntosh suggested that while the world's most popular sports came from Britain 'it has proved easier to export the sports than the spirit of the sport. Today this spirit is in danger of being lost both abroad and at home and teachers are concerned as never before to see that sport is harnessed to education and not education to sport'. Despite these dangers however, 'sport offers tremendous opportunities for self-discipline as for self-expression, it provides a common ground on which humble members of every race and nation may meet, it could even provide a link between grammar, technical and modern schools in Britain, and perhaps even between different streams in a comprehensive school!'.[116]

Beneath the nationalistic rhetoric, this notion of competitive games and sports being harnessed to educational ends and employed as a means of bringing a divided society together, not of celebrating the divisions as the bourgeois version of games playing had done, was a prime motivating factor for those members of the sports lobby like McIntosh and Munrow who saw themselves first and foremost as physical educationists. In this, the physical educationists within the sports lobby played an important role in inventing 'traditional physical education'. But their's was not the only voice among the calls for a more organized approach to competitive games and sports, and not everyone shared this concern for the educational values of sport. By the mid 1950s, some members of the sports lobby saw a more organized and centralized approach to British sport as a major factor in determining success in international competition, and some argued strongly that a combination of the new scientific knowledge derived from studies of skill acquisition and work physiology applied to physical education in the new secondary schools was the key to providing world class performers. The phenomenal success of the Australian swimmers at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics raised the question of whether Britain should copy the Australian's 'whole-sale preparation'.[117] Some commentators were in no doubt about the answer to this question. In an article that appeared originally in the *Sunday Times* and later in *The Leaflet*, Alexander Nicol claimed the 'we have

ceased to be world beaters at football' and blamed the lack of 'high pressure training' of players which could be traced back to schools.

> If our footballers are to hold their own, our men will have to train harder and faster, and start doing it when younger. Their insufficiencies go back to schooldays. Our boys are said by critical observers to be less strong, especially in the arm, than the boys of many continental countries. They are not taught to develop their strength.[118]

Nicol went on to damn Swedish gymnastics as mere 'physical jerks' which 'do nothing to make the boys stronger', and to report on experiments in strength training at Leeds University using scientific methods and built on the principle of progressive overload. A response from I J MacQueen, an Anatomist at the University of Sheffield, strongly endorsed Nicol's remarks, suggesting it was 'British apathy' that lead to such a 'poor showing at the Olympic games and other international sporting events'. He agreed that schools were a major source of blame.

> A study of any school timetable shows that out of a working week of about thirty-five hours, only one or perhaps two hours are designated to 'gym'. Again 'gym' at most schools means the uninspiring armwaggings that do next to nothing to make the boys stronger... Who wants powerful muscles anyway? is the cry. The answer is — any athlete who hopes to stand any chance at all in modern international competition.[119]

These views of Nicol and MacQueen shared the concern for Britain's national prestige in sport with other sports lobbyists within the Establishment, the CCPR, and the Birmingham group, but their blatant exhortion to athletes to train harder and their view of the prime purpose of school physical education to supply the international sports arena with star performers would clearly have been repugnant to some of these other lobbyists. This does not mean that others would not have been sympathetic to the views of Nicol and MacQueen, but we need to note that there were tensions and contradictions within the discourses of the various parties who were proponents of competitive games and sports at this time.[120]

Another issue which reveals similar tensions and contradictions, and which has continued to greatly vex sports organizations and governments since, was the relationship between sport and politics. Some of the sports lobbiests like Phillip Noel-Baker argued that sport, as 'something eternal in the human heart', was above politics, while others saw the politicization of sport as something done by less than respectable 'totalitarian' regimes. And some, like Peter McIntosh, more realistically argued that sport and politics were inseparable and always had been. He suggested however that sport *could* transcend class, race and national barriers to become a 'cohesive agent', but recognized the potential of too much politics to destroy what he called the unreality of sport. He described himself as a supporter of the view of sport as an end in itself and an outlet for personal and international competitiveness in a 'non-harmful' way, a view which was to become something of an orthodoxy in physical education circles in the following two decades. 'The

final conclusion' he suggested 'is a paradox; sport, if performed as an end in itself, may bring benefits to man (sic) which will elude his grasp if he treats it as little more than a clinical, a social or a political instrument to fashion those very beliefs'.[121] On the grander social stage, the relationship between sport and politics may have been easier to discern (though no less difficult to resolve), but the use of competitive games and sports for less obvious social and political purposes, such as maintaining social class identity, ruling class hegemony, and social control, were less yielding to critique by those involved in the action at the time. It was the use of competitive games and sports for this latter purpose that by the end of the 1950s had become consolidated within the collective wisdom of educationists, politicians and some social commentators to represent a third force at work in the promotion of games and sports in physical education.

Delinquency, Social Control and Games

Concerns over a perceived increase in juvenile crime during the first world war lead to the setting up of Juvenile Delinquency Committees (JDCs) and the publication of a Juvenile Delinquency Report by a Standing Committee of the Home Secretary, which suggested that boys and girls who became members of youth organizations on leaving school were less likely to be involved in crime. The work of the JDCs was transferred in 1937 to the short-lived National Fitness Council (1937–1939), establishing a direct and formal association between physical activity and the control of delinquency. The National Youth Committee (1939–1942) and the Youth Advisory Council continued this work through the war years, the term 'juvenile' being dropped because it had by this time come to be associated with delinquency, the courts and crime. By the end of 1941, all 16–18 year olds were required to register with a youth organization, the main purpose being 'to reach those who had left school and were no longer under educational supervision and discipline',[122] and within the organizational framework of the youth services, the Board of Education issued a series of circulars on youth organizations during the war, with physical recreation awarded a key role within them.[123] In all of this activity in relation to youth organizations, which was sustained through the war years and the 1950s to receive fresh impetus and direction from the Albemarle Committee whose report was published in 1960, there was a concern to maintain supervision and control over working class youth[124] during the period of leaving school and becoming established in 'regular' employment.

While the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen in 1947 relocated the 'problem' of working class youth in the new secondary modern schools, much was made of the effects of the new affluence of the postwar period on young adults who, it was claimed, had greater spending power and more leisure time to fill than ever before.[125] Cinema going,[126] gambling, and other elements of popular leisure culture such as the emerging rock 'n' roll music, were seen to be symbolic of a more egalitarian and materialist spirit among subordinate groups,[127] in some cases, as we saw in Chapter 3, as definitely antisocial. One philanthropic upper class commentator claimed that working class youth 'are getting completely the wrong idea of the purpose of life; making as much money as they do, they have got it into their heads that the things in life which are worth having can be bought'.[128] Schools, it was claimed, could do much to

counteract this philosophy of 'I want: I see: I take',[129] and the idea that physical activity could be used as a means of regulating and supervising the activity of working class youth had become well established in ruling class circles by the end of the 1940s.

The *TES* was once again to the fore in reporting examples of the socially therapeutic power of games, citing an instance in Harmondsworth, London where 'hooliganism, which reared its ugly head last summer, was eliminated by employing two games supervisors after play centre hours to organize cricket, in which local boys' clubs have also taken part...particular attention was paid to Saturday morning activities by which it is hoped to break the cinema habit'.[130] From the point of view of members of the Establishment, delinquency was a relatively straightforward question of keeping working class youth occupied. The Duke of Wellington, reporting in his capacity as President to the AGM of the London and Greater London Playing Fields Association, suggested that there was an urgent need for playing fields to combat juvenile delinquency and that 'many juveniles became delinquent because of sheer idleness'.[131] In a House of Commons debate on juvenile delinquency in 1950, a similar comment was made by a Miss E Burton, who was reported to have said that

> unless something vigorous and attractive was done for our young people we had no right to complain if they went into activities of which we did not approve. While more playing fields were not the whole answer to juvenile delinquency they were part. Young people had nothing to do at night or on Sundays.[132]

While much of this discourse was concerned either explicitly or implicitly with social control, part of it, as John Hargreaves[133] has rightly pointed out, was an extension of the logic of the welfare state in which the masses were to be provided for by a benign and caring government. Saturating this discourse was a commonsense, patriarchal conservatism which scoffed at trendy progressive ideas,[134] and drew on certain knowledge of human nature to assert with confidence what was good for working class youth. In containing working class delinquency, the countervailing qualities to be gained from 'team games well played...loyalty, dependability, unselfishness, and above all, courtesy'[135] were the values of the reconstructed bourgeois games ethic.

The Wolfenden Report[136] embodied all of this patriarchal conservative concern along with a proportion of worldly knowledge, level-headed commonsense, and the occasional sliver of acute insight thrown in for good measure. This report articulated in an elaborate and sophisticated form the key features of the postwar rise to prominence of competitive games and sports, and formed the basis for the reorganization of the administration and funding of British sport over the next two decades.[137] It was commissioned in October 1957 by the CCPR to examine factors affecting the organization of British sport, and the Committee, which included David Munrow, interpreted its remit widely, reviewing the situation at that time across all sports and forms of physical recreation including major and minor games, outdoor recreational activities, amateur and professional sports, and other matters such as facilities, coaching, and the influence of the media. The Committee endorsed the emphasis placed by the Albemarle Report[138] on physical recreation in the Youth Service, and paid particular attention to 'the needs of

young people'. In a now well known and often quoted statement, it expressed the quintessentially bourgeois view of the role of games and sport in meeting these needs.

> It is widely held that a considerable proportion of delinquency among young people springs from the lack of opportunity or the lack of desire for suitable physical activity. The causes of criminal behaviour are complex, and we are not suggesting that it would disappear if there were more tennis courts or running tracks: nor are we concerned to press for wider provision of opportunities for playing games just on the ground that it would reduce the incidence of those various forms of anti-social activity which are lumped together as 'juvenile delinquency'. At the same time, it is a reasonable assumption that if more young people had opportunities for playing games fewer of them would develop criminal habits.[139]

Such an assumption is only 'reasonable', of course, within a particular view of games playing; at the same time, the Wolfenden Committee were, in stating this view, merely confirming a widespread conviction that had been growing in strength since the end of the war that games did have these therapeutic powers.[140] The way in which this bourgeois view was treated in the Report in itself reveals the extent to which this version of games playing had been successfully reconstructed as *the* traditional form of physical education. In the early pages of the Report, the Wolfenden Committee went to some lengths to caricature what was intended to be understood as an obsolete and slightly ridiculous version of the bourgeois games ethic, in order to legitimate those elements of the ethic that have been selectively retained. For instance:

> 'Character-building' is a description commonly applied to games, especially team games...it is easy to exaggerate (and to react from) this kind of claim. It is not in actual fact obvious that those who have been brought up on competitive team games are more un-selfish, co-operative and self-sacrificing than those who have not; and we should not wish to press this particular argument too far. But within limits we believe that the playing of games or the sailing of a boat does at least provide the opportunity for learning this kind of lesson.
>
> Certainly it can be said that in Britain there is an ingrained respect for certain attitudes which have their roots in sport. The word 'sportsmanship' means something important and valuable; and the notion which underlies it is perhaps still one of the traits on which we customarily pride ourselves most. It is easy to ridicule the 'That's not cricket, old boy' attitude. But in its deeper (and usually inarticulate) significance it still provides something like the foundations of an ethical standard, which may not be highly intellectual but which does have a considerable influence on the day-to-day behaviour of millions of people.[141]

The sentiments expressed in these statements are not nostalgic hankerings for good times past; on the contrary, they express a reconstructed version of the bourgeois games ethic that is intended to have relevance and authority in the here

and now. The very idea that the values embodied in games playing form an ethical standard that is the measure of the everyday behaviour of millions of people reveals the extent of the saturation of bourgeois hegemony. It also shows how far these values had penetrated physical education discourse, and the level of sophistication the process of reconstructing the bourgeois games ethic had reached by the end of the 1950s. This reconstructed tradition formed the legitimating framework of the Wolfenden Committee's analysis of the problems facing British sport, and lead directly to the identification of 'The Gap' as one of the key difficulties requiring urgent resolution.

The notion of 'The Gap' was borrowed from the Albemarle Report, and in the Wolfenden Report signified 'the manifest break between, on the one hand, the participation in recreative physical activities which is normal for boys and girls at school, and, on the other hand, their participation in similar (though not necessarily identical) activities some years later when they are more adult'.[142] Identifying this issue as one of the leading concerns of their Report, the Wolfenden Committee strongly endorsed the recommendations of the Albemarle Report concerning the role of organized physical activity in the Youth Service, and greater linking between youth groups, statuatory bodies, sports clubs and schools.[143] In addition to a more cohesive approach to organization, the Committee also expressed an optimistic view that the infrastructure of coaching, facilities and other services that would facilitate participation were on the way to being put in place. However, the Committee members scarcely conceal their puzzlement over the apparent reluctance of youth to take advantage of the opportunities being offered to them. The CCPR survey of secondary modern school leavers in the summer of 1960, showing that few of these working class adolescents had any desire to continue their involvement in organized sport and games,[144] confirm that the Committee's concerns were not groundless. After giving some lengthy consideration to what was clearly to them a surprising and unexpected obstacle to mass participation, they speculated that the resistance of school leavers might be rooted in resentment to continuing regulation and organization of their lives and an intrusion into their new found freedom. Rather than seeing this for what it was — a clash of class ideologies — and as a problem that afflicted the whole Welfare State, of which the State system of schooling was a part, the Committee saw the problem as one of immaturity on the part of working class youth. Given this perspective, intervention was for their own good, and the tone of the Committee's recommendations was couched entirely in terms of providing opportunities for youth who might otherwise be deprived; 'we find it discouraging that so many fall away; and for their sakes we hope that something may be done urgently'.[145]

While this philanthropic tone is the dominant one, other interests were also expressed in the Report which clearly demonstrate its bourgeois affiliations. Not only were the young missing out on the opportunity for 'healthy enjoyment', but there was a 'waste...of the national investment in the provision of facilities for school games'.[146] This statement could doubtless have been read in a number of ways. Within the political and sports communities, 'The Gap' was less a problem of missed opportunity for wholesome personal development and more an issue of lack of supply of sports men and women who could excel in international competition.[147] For the physical education profession, and especially for the males, 'The Gap' represented an opportunity to confirm their indispensibility to

the development of British sport. But beneath all of these interests, 'The Gap' can be seen as an expression of concern over social control. When this concern is placed in its temporal context of ruling class attempts to control the allegedly delinquent behaviour of working class teenagers, what the Wolfenden Committee were advocating was a very extensive network of supervision and surveillance during the post-school 'problem' years. This is not to accuse any of the members of this Committee of engaging in a conspiracy to dominate the masses; indeed, to judge from the Report, their belief in the wholesome and therapeutic power of organized physical activity is sincere and profound. Rather than damning members of the Committee, their sincerity in itself reveals the pervasiveness and power of the reconstructed games ethic among some members of the physical education profession and many members of the Establishment and, more generally, the bourgeoisie.

The Wolfenden Report was generally well received and many of its recommendations finally acted upon.[148] Its solutions to the problems afflicting British sport focused on more and better organization, facilities and coaching,[149] and these were predicated on the provision of funding from the British government.[150] The setting up of the Sports Council in 1965 was the outcome of this and other pressure from the sports lobbyists, an event that continued the trend toward State intervention which began with indirect funding of sport through the Ministry of Education after the war. The inevitability of this outcome of greater State intervention was prefigured by the almost simultaneous publication of policy statements on physical recreation and sport by the Labour opposition and the ruling Conservatives in 1959, just before the release of the Wolfenden Report.[151] While each party's policy statement differed in approach, with Labour in particular making much of teenage delinquency and the lack of provision of sports facilities, their recommendations were virtually identical, both supporting the idea of a Sports Council of Great Britain. This outcome was entirely consistent with the consensual politics of the 1950s, and it is not insignificant that this sudden interest in sport emerged at the same time that education became an election issue. Discourses on both education and sport were mired in the egalitarian rhetoric of the day, and the Sports Council's Sport for All slogan had close affiliations with the ideology of comprehensive schooling and the notion of equality of opportunity which, as we saw in Chapter 3, had become by the early 1960s a debased materialist concern for the equitable distribution of educational resources. Both sport and education were dominated by the same meritocratic myth that 'IQ (or in the case of sport, Talent) + Effort = Merit', and physical education straddled both institutions, being located within schools and drawing its substance from competitive games and sports. In this respect, the reconstructed games ethic appeared as the ideal form of physical education for the new mass secondary schools, at one and the same time supplying the common denominator to unite divided groups, a means of combatting recalcitrance and delinquency among working class adolescents, and a cohesive force forging group solidarity, and more broadly, national identity.

Traditional Physical Education as Myth

The playing of team games and the educational values to be derived from this had achieved mythical proportions among sections of the British bourgeoisie long before the cult of athleticism reached its peak in their schools around 1914. We saw earlier in this chapter that this myth performed a number of class-specific functions for the bourgeois males in relation to class identity and the identification of their own interests with the nation's. In this latter regard, ideas about patriotism and right conduct generated from games playing may have made some impression on popular consciousness, but it was not until much later that a reconstructed and sanitized version of the myth began to have anything like a widespread impact or appeal. One of the things that had to happen to the myth was the eradication of the idea that games playing demonstrated social superiority, in order to accommodate the alternative notion that games were a common demoninator that could transcend barriers of class and wealth. Other important modifications included an elaboration of the notion of character building as a counter-vailing influence on delinquency, and the establishment of the idea that access to facilities for participating in games and other sports was a right of everyone, not just the privileged minority.

The myth was being continually reconstructed to suit different purposes and circumstances between the end of the first world war and the beginning of the second, but it was in the late 1940s and through the 1950s and its use in the mass secondary school system that this process of reconstruction accelerated and the myth began to take on its contemporary form. It was at this point that what had been a form of physical education traditional to the schools of a specific social class group was installed as *the* traditional form of physical education common to all social classes, for females as well as males, and that bourgeois hegemony was extended through organized physical activity and sport. The Wolfenden Report represented something of a peak in this process in as much as it brought together the various strands of the debate on physical education, recreation and sport from the end of the second world war, and expressed a sophisticated version of 'traditional physical education' that was to form the basis for work in schools over the following two decades, embodying each of the key elements of the selective tradition, in particular the promotion of national culture and the supervision and therapy of potentially delinquent working class youth. In this respect, the Wolfenden Report effectively consolidated what was to become the official discourse in physical education and played a key role in further legitimating and extending bourgeois hegemony. At the same time, as John Hargreaves[152] has pointed out, we cannot read-off the effects of this official discourse from the discourse alone, and deduce that participating in competitive games and sports actually developed national culture or controlled delinquent youth. Though participation may have had this influence in some specific instances, it was not the actual impact, for example on working class youth literally being cured of delinquency through the therapeutic powers of games, that was the decisive factor in extending bourgeois hegemony. Rather, the effectiveness of 'traditional physical education' for this purpose was in its continuing function as a myth.

The CCPR survey of 1960 showed that working class youth were by and large not particularly interested in participating in so-called national games outside compulsory schooling, and this pattern of non-conformity continued to be a feature of the response of sections of the working classes to participation in organized physical recreation beyond the 1960s.[153] Hargreaves has argued that such non-compliance on the part of the working classes demonstrates the tensions and contradictions inherent in the often contradictory functions competitive

games and sport are required to perform in contemporary society. He suggests, as an example, the situation where sport is on the one hand sold as family entertainment and yet on the other often involves displays of violence and dissension that are counterproductive to this use; or where in consumer culture the prime targets for the control function of games and sports, such as the unemployed and certain ethnic minorities, may be inaccessible to media influence and so remain untouched.[154] These contradictions suggest that the effects of the bourgeois games ideology are certainly neither literal nor straightforward.

> We can dismiss the idea that sports nowadays embourgeoisify the working class...involvement in sport, whatever section of the class we consider, does not induce an identification with, or facilitate mixing with bourgeois elements, or lead to the adoption of a bourgeois lifestyle ...we know the middle and upper classes effectively place obstacles in the way of the lower classes mixing with them in sporting activity; and we also know that working class people on the whole do not aspire to join them.[155]

What this example points to is the fact that in terms if its practical effects, a hegemonic ideology is rarely absolute or universal. Indeed, it is precisely because of such disjunctions in practice that hegemony needs to be constantly reconstructed. The more profound effects of the ideology surrounding competitive games and sports derive from its function as a myth. It does not require literal belief or adoption to be effective, since it operates mainly as a metaphor, not for games and sports, but for other aspects of social life, such as the allegedly natural order of society, proper social conduct, and the underpinning principles of the political system sloganized in terms like equality of opportunity. Hargreaves shows how the ideology of bourgeois sport and games performs this mythological function, in this case in relation to social mobility.

> Social mobility through sport can exert an effect and make an input to hegemony by functioning as a myth about, and as a symbol of, the openness of society...sport as a social institution therefore gives convincing substance to the ideology that the ambitious, hard working, talented individual, no matter what his (sic) social origin, may achieve high status and rewards, and so reproduces the belief among subordinate groups — some individuals from which are actually successful in sports — that the social formation is more open and amenable to change that it really is.[156]

It was this mythical quality of competitive games and sports that the members of the Wolfenden Committee were alluding to when they caricatured the quaint and faintly ridiculous relics of the public school tradition, but then suggested that the 'That's not cricket, old boy' attitude actually stood for something above and beyond cricket. As proponents of the 'games playing as a common denominator' ideal and affiliates to the ruling class, though, their view of the operation of this myth was that it provided inspiration and an ethical standard for the right conduct of everyday life for all. A less partial view of the myth suggests a less benign set of outcomes. As Hargreaves' example shows, the myth serves the interests of the ruling class by masking the actual state of affairs in society and

constructing a reality that is patently false. His example of social mobility through sport is a good case in point, since on closer examination it is clear that only a small fraction of working class people become wealthier or achieve a higher social status through their sporting ability. As we saw in Chapter 3, the same can be said for education. Indeed, it is obvious that despite the increase in the numbers of working class people now participating in organized physical recreation either in school or their own time, sport itself remains an inegalitarian institution, and certain sports such as golf, yachting, rugby union, and equestrian to name a few remain the preserves of the wealthy.

The reconstructed bourgeois games ethic which emerged from this postwar period as 'traditional physical education' was mythical in two interrelated senses, then. The first is that the entire notion of 'traditional physical education' was in itself a myth, since it purported to be *the* tradition rather than simply *a* tradition in physical education. Clearly, since competitive games and sports were never a substantial part of the physical education programmes of working class schools until after the second world war, this claim was unfounded. So the myth of 'traditional physical education' effectively concealed or at least obscured its class-specific origins. This was an important function since it facilitated appeals to a common heritage and a shared interest in the well-being of the nation. And it was mythical in a second sense in so far as it obscured not merely its origins, but the fact that the values of its originators (or at least their heirs) continued to be represented through the educational ideology surrounding competitive team games. In this second sense, the myth of 'traditional physical education' is consistent with reconstructed bourgeois sport in its widest sense, and indeed occupies a key role in the overall process of the production of bourgeois values.

The power of the mythical and symbolic properties of games and sports to influence the practices of individuals and groups cannot be underestimated, even when the educational values awarded to games playing are treated with scepticism. Physical educators were key proponents of 'traditional physical education', but there was dissent among sections of the profession regarding the educational values of games in the public arena by the mid 1960s. We know that the females had resisted the excesses of the male bourgeois games ethic from the beginning, and many educational gymnasts continued to do so through the 1950s and 1960s. However, there was dissent among the males too. Teachers at a 1968 Conference in Scotland on 'The Place of Organized Games in the Curriculum' discussed the issue of the 'carry-over' between what is learned in games and other aspects of life, and reported that 'when considering competition in adult life in commerce, industry, the professions or anywhere else, (the group) was completely agreed that the experience of children in 'game situations' would be of no value whatever'.[157] In a paper presented at another professional gathering two years earlier, KB Start poured scorn on many of the educational benefits alleged to derive from participation in games, arguing through a sustained critique that any literal interpretation of the games ethic was in contemporary consumer society naive, and the values it purported to embody redundant for many working class pupils.[158] While such explicit dissent was rare in the late 1950s, there were few physical educators a decade later who would have been able to take the ideas of the Wolfenden Committee on the educational value of games seriously, since they had the evidence of their own experience that team games did not have the practical effects the rhetoric claimed for them. Nevertheless, as surveys in

the late 1960s and early 1970s by Whitehead and Kane[159] showed, the role of competitive team sport, as the mainstay of physical education programmes, was by this time unquestioned. In this respect, the myth of 'traditional physical education' suited the purposes of the male physical educators, even though they were themselves privately sceptical of its educational value. This myth provided them with a legitimate and respectable rationale for games teaching while they were drawn more and more through the 1960s into developing the base in the pyramidial structure of British sport. The function of servicing elite sport became the dominant but unstated purpose of physical education programmes in many schools, and in this physical education teachers were aided and abetted by the new scientific knowledge of skill acquisition, exercise physiology and biomechanics. In the next chapter, we turn to examine the emergence of this scientific functionalism in male physical education discourse in the 1950s, and its 'hard core' of fitness training centering on the development of strength and endurance.

Notes

1 Mangan, J.A. (1981) *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, Cambridge University Press.
2 As Mangan, note 1 and Hargreaves, J. (1986) *Sport, Power and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press, both point out.
3 Thompson, E.P. (1962) *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
4 Mangan, note 1, p. 14.
5 See Mangan, note 1, for a detailed account of this process.
6 Thompson, note 3.
7 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 75.
8 Mangan, J.A. (1983) 'Grammar schools and the games ethic in Victorian and Edwardian eras', *Albion*, **15**(4), 313–335.
9 Mangan, note 1, p. 7.
10 Mangan, note 1, p. 207.
11 Netball was the result of the Ling Association's modifications to basketball.
12 See McCrone, K.E. (1988) *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women* London: Routledge, pp. 60–85, and her discussion of games at the North London Collegiate School, St Leonards and Roedean, where games did not become firmly established until this time.
13 Hargreaves, J. (1985) 'Playing like gentlemen while behaving like ladies: Contradictory features of the formative years of women's sport', *The British Journal of Sports History*, **2**(1), 40–52.
14 See McCrone, note 12, p. 88.
15 McIntosh, P.C. (1952) *PE in England Since 1800* London: Bell (First Edition), p. 189. This comment needs to be seen in the context of the development of scientific medicine in the nineteenth century as a powerful body of professional knowledge centred on the control and surveillence of populations, and as a major propogator of what some feminist theorists have described as the uterine tradition, through which a woman's purpose in life was identified with her biological capacities for childbirth and mothering; see Turner, B. (1984) *The Body in Society: Explorations in Social Theory* Oxford: Blackwell, and Matthews, J.J. (1987) 'Building the body beautiful: The femininity of Modernity', *Australian Feminist Studies*, **5**, 18–34.
16 Mangan, note 8, p. 313.

17 Mangan, note 8, p. 336.
18 Mangan, note 8, p. 330.
19 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 55.
20 Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from Prison Notebooks* London: Lawrence and Wishart. See Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of hegemony and its place in the theoretical framework of this study.
21 Thompson, note 3, p. 21.
22 Foucault, M. (1981) *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p. 124.
23 See Mangan, note 1, on the religious connection in the public schools, p. 27; and problems of discipline, pp. 31–34; and McIntosh, P.C. (1968) *PE in England Since 1800*, London: Bell (Second Edition), p. 58 for the view of games as an antidote to (homo)sexual misbehaviour. See also the comment in note 15.
24 Foucault, note 22, p. 123.
25 Mangan, note 8, p. 330.
26 McIntosh, P.C. (1976) 'The curriculum in physical education — An historical perspective', in Kane, J.E. (Ed.) *Curriculum Development in Physical Education*, London: Crosby, Lockwood and Staples, pp. 11–45.
27 Board of Education (1933) *Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools* London: HMSO, p. 37.
28 The writers of the Syllabus suggested that 'in most schools games now form part of the general curriculum'. These were more likely to be games like Fox and Geese, Blind Man's Bluff, etc. viz. 'It is too commonly assumed that the games to be played should be football and cricket for boys, netball and tennis for girls, regardless of the fact that these games require a high degree of physical co-ordination as well as specially prepared pitches, the cost of which would be altogether prohibitive for the thousands of schoolchildren for whom provision must be made'. They also make one of the earliest official statements about the role of sports and games in post-school leisure. 'Unless children are taught to play and enjoy organized games while at school it is unlikely that later they will occupy their leisure hours in healthy open air exercise of this nature'. Board of Education, note 27, p. 37.
29 The key to exclusion was the amateur/professional distinction; see Hargreaves, note 2, pp. 46–47.
30 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 46.
31 McIntosh, note 15, pp. 199–200.
32 Mangan, note 1, p. 207.
33 Munrow, A.D. (1958) Physical Education in the Universities. Proceedings of the Second British Empire and Commonwealth Games Conference, Barry, Glamorgan, p. 2.
34 Moyse, Y. (1949) 'A brief outline of some activities of the Ling Physical Education Association', *Journal of Physical Education*, 41, p. 83.
35 *The Leaflet*, **45**(6), 1946, pp. 123–124.
36 *The Leaflet*, note 35.
37 *The Leaflet*, **49**(7), 1948.
38 Conference Report, 'Physical education of girls and boys in their last year at the secondary grammar and secondary modern school', *The Leaflet*, **49**(1), 10–11, 1948.
39 For example 'the possibility of allowing the Grammar School boy some freedom of choice'; 'it might be wise to allow them (the VI Form girls) some latitude of choice in physical education, in consultation with the teacher'; *The Leaflet*, note 38, p. 10.
40 For example, in Rubenstein, D. and Simon, B. (1966) *The Evolution of the Comprehensive School, 1922–1966* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

41 Moyse, note 34.
42 Report, *Journal of Physical Education* 1949, p. 123.
43 See Whitehead, N. and Hendry, L. (1976) *Teaching Physical Education in England — Description and Analysis* London: Lepus, pp. 43–71.
44 Small, R.B. (1976) The effects of individuals on, and developments within, the Scottish School of Physical Education in the 20th Century. Mimeo, Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow.
45 Brown, H.C. (1958) 'The training of the man teacher of physical education'. *Physical Education*, **50**, p. 92.
46 Hargreaves, note 2.
47 See Chapter 4; and McIntosh's comments — 'Posture training has been overdone, the present need is for knowledge on 'skill learning'. Are we teaching skills the best way? How can we experiment and compare different methods?' in McIntosh, P.C. (1953) *The Leaflet*, **54**(10), p. 10.
48 McIntosh, P.C. (1963) 'Practical aspects of physical education', *The Leaflet*, **64**(8), 62–64.
49 For example, *TES* 5 February 1949, p. 86, picture of senior pupils at Tiffin's Boys' School, Kingston-on-Thames, having their weekly golf lesson with the professional at Home Park Golf Club; *TES* 24 February 1950, front page picture of 'Lacrosse at Kensington Gardens'; *TES* 31 March 1950, picture of four boys with a football headed 'Talking Over The Rules'; *TES* 28 April 1950, picture of seven schoolboy athletes at the steeplechase waterjump, caption reads 'The London Athletic Club's Annual Schools' Challenge Cup meeting was held at the White City Stadium last weekend, when the trophy was won by Latymer Upper.'; *TES* 6 October 1950, front page picture of ancient building in background, game of rugby in foreground, caption reads 'The school scrum half throwing out a long pass in the match between Taunton School and their Old Boys. Taunton has had one of the strongest school sides in the West Country in the last few years. In 1948 they won the public schools' seven-a-side tournament'.
50 *TES* 18 May 1951, picture of fencers headed 'School Fencing Team', caption reads 'Members of the Stoke-under-Ham Secondary Modern School practising fencing, which is proving to be a popular sport with both boys and girls.'; *The Leaflet*, **58**(5) 1957, article 'Physical Education in Cornwall' shows games to be well established for boys and girls.
51 Jacobs, V. (1961) 'The planning and organization of physical education in a new comprehensive school'. *The Leaflet*, **62**(6), 45–48.
52 Basically on a ratio of three periods of games to one of all other activities, and some of these 'other activities' involved skill practices for games like cricket and for athletics; see Jacobs, note 51, p. 46.
53 Jacobs, note 51, p. 47.
54 Jacobs, note 51, p. 48.
55 CCPR (1961) 'A survey in the eastern counties of England on the sports interests of secondary modern school leavers'. *The Leaflet*, **62**(3), 23–24.
56 In Whitehead and Hendry, note 43, pp. 22–42.
57 Whitehead and Hendry, note 43, p. 38.
58 Whitehead and Hendry, note 43, p. 31.
59 Editorial, *TES*, 19 January 1951.
60 McIntosh, P.C., Letter to the *TES*, 26 January 1951.
61 Hargreaves, note 2.
62 An example being the Welfare State; State intervention in the education sector was evidenced in the introduction of mass secondary schooling, see Lawson, J. and Silver, H. (1973) *A Social History of Education in England* London: Methuen, p. 431, for a comment.

63 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 92.
64 See for example the Birmingham University, Physical Education Department Report, 'Britain in the World of Sport' (1956); and Report in *The Leaflet*, **59**(3), 1958 of the Minister of Education's response to the UNESCO Report, 'The Place of Sport in Education'.
65 Hargreaves, note 2, pp. 135–137.
66 McIntosh, note 23, pp. 223–224.
67 McIntosh, note 23, p. 238.
68 *TES* 9 March 1951, p. 192; there would have been many more grass tracks, but these would have been of variable standard.
69 *TES* 6 May 1949; and NPFA Annual Reports, 1950–1960.
70 *TES* May 1951.
71 There was a question in House of Commons to Chancellor of Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps concerning a grant to the NPFA; Cripps responded that funding was made available through the Ministry of Education and the 1937 Physical Training Act, *TES* 30 April 1949. Michael Astor, chairman of NPFA grants committee, addressing a conference of local authorities, was told by a representative of the Minister of Education that there could be no hope of money from the government due to financial stringency, *TES* 30 October 1953, p. 920. The *TES* 30 October 1953 reported on a debate in House of Lords on playing fields for new towns.
72 McIntosh, note 23, p. 251. By 1947, part of the salaries of the AAA's four National Coaches was being paid by the Ministry of Education, McIntosh, note 23, p. 264.
73 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 89.
74 *The Leaflet*, **44**(5), 1945.
75 Seventy-five per cent of women and only twenty-five per cent of men were already qualified teachers, *TES* 24 April 1946.
76 One of the CCPR's fund-raising activities for the National Sports Development Fund was an exhibition at the Wembley Festival of Youth and Sport. Princess Elizabeth and Prince Phillip attended the Festival, and the *TES* description of the finale provides some idea of the complicitness of the CCPR with the power structure, and also demonstrates the intermeshing of nationalism, patriotism, and militarism. 'The finale was apt and impressive. The RAF marched into the arena as markers, each man bearing a flag; at a blast from the whistle the boys of the army and the navy scampered from the sides with incredible speed to shape themselves into a living E and P. A moment's pause, and the Empire Pool Orchestra struck up the National Anthem to conclude an absorbing and interesting exhibition which, it is hoped, will have materially benefitted the fund it was designed to aid'. *TES* 12 June 1948, p. 1 & p. 334.
77 *TES* 24 October 1946.
78 *TES* 21 September 1946, p. 450.
79 *TES* 15 June 1951, p. 484.
80 *TES* 9 October 1948, p. 574.
81 See for example the *TES* October 1949, 13 February 1953, 21 August 1953, 11 September 1953, 8 October 1954.
82 McIntosh, note 23, p. 280.
83 This is not to say that they played together though, see Hargreaves, note 2, p. 111.
84 Sir Ernest Baker claimed that 'Leisure has to be nationalized if there is to be a common provision of facilities', *TES* 18 October 1947, p. 558.
85 Hargreaves, note 2, pp. 89–90.
86 Report on an Address given by RE Presswood, Director of Education for Cardiff, to the NAOLPE Conference, in *The Leaflet*, **55**(8), 1954, p. 5.

87 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 12.
88 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 67.
89 Williams, R. (1977) *Marxism and Literature* Oxford University Press, pp. 115–116.
90 *TES* 18 October 1947, p. 558.
91 Munrow, A.D. (1956) 'Looking back and looking forward in gymnastics', *Journal of Physical Education*, **48**(1), 18–24.
92 Abrahams, H. (1957) 'The Olympic Games, 1956'. *Journal of Physical Education*, **49**, 1–8/20.
93 *TES* 18 July 1952, front page.
94 Editorial, *TES* 8 September 1950.
95 Its elitism and upper class point of view was at times quite blatant. An example is provided by an Editorial comment about 'racy talk', which presented a generally dismissive view of what the Editor saw as the American influence in British sports journalism. The Editorial went on to say 'The sporting pages of the papers form the only reading matter of millions; perhaps if local government debates were reported like this more than 40 per cent of the eligible voters might be constrained to vote', *TES* 11 April 1952, p. 308. See also Joan Simon's analysis of the role of *The Times* and the *TES* in projecting a ruling class view of 'social reconstruction' during the war years, Simon, J. (1989) 'Promoting educational reform on the home front', 'The *TES* and *The Times* 1940–1944. *History of Education*, **18**(3), 195–211.
96 *TES* 17 March 1950.
97 *TES* 14 July 1950, p. 562.
98 *TES* 26 October 1951, p. 831.
99 *TES* 24 April 1952, front page.
100 *TES* 6 October 1950, front page.
101 The examples cited are merely a brief selection to illustrate the point. In addition to the reporting described, the newspaper ran a regular column from the late 1950s and through the 1960s called 'In Corpore Sano', which reported on interschool sports matches and other elite competition, outdoor pursuits, and other sports news. See, for example, *TES* 22 January 1960, p. 120, an article on Lacrosse as a 'Moral Substitute for War'; *TES* 2 September 1960, p. 262 'Youth at the Helm', report on a sailing regatta; *TES* 2 February 1962, p. 187 report on a rugby union match between two secondary modern schools; *TES* 23 March 1962, p. 557 report on a school Head of the River race at Putney Reach; *TES* 4 May 1962, p. 881 report on public schools' foil and sabre championships; *TES* 30 October 1964, p. 761 'Sport the Real Theatre' report on pre-Olympic Conference on Sport held in Tokyo.
102 See Chapter 4.
103 Editorial, *TES* 15 June 1951.
104 *TES* 22 June 1951, p. 507.
105 Editorial, *The Leaflet*, **45**(5), 1946.
106 Lord Aberdare (1948) 'Olympics I', *Journal of Physical Education*, **40**, p. 115.
107 Phillip Noel-Baker, reported in the *TES* 9 October 1948.
108 *TES* 5 October 1952, p. 735.
109 *TES* 6 August 1954, p. 760.
110 In McIntosh, note 23, 281.
111 See Anthony, D. (1980) *A Strategy for British Sport* London: Hurst.
112 McIntosh, P.C., Letter to the *The Leaflet*, **59**(1), 1958, p. 5.
113 For instance, see *The Leaflet*, **58**(10), 1957.
114 Munrow, note 113, p. 71.
115 *The Leaflet*, **58**(5), 1957, p.
116 McIntosh, note 115, p.

117 *The Leaflet*, **58**(3), 1957.
118 Nicol, A. (1954) Training for Strength. *The Leaflet*, **55**(2), p. 1.
119 MacQueen, I.J., Letter to *The Leaflet*, **55**(2), 1954, p. 10.
120 On this issue of international competition, the Wolfenden Committee's rational pleading in 1960 provides us with some idea of the pervasiveness of at least the sentiments if not the substance of Nicol *et al's* views. 'Naturally the public is pleased by national success; the public has normally expected it, since so many sports and games originated in this country and were later adopted abroad. Correspondingly, there is a natural tendency to regard defeat as a disaster...It is not the end of the world if British teams are defeated, still less is it a symptom or proof of national decadence. To talk, as some do, as if sport could properly be used as an instrument of international diplomacy, or as if a nation's authority in world affairs at large are to be measured by its successes or failures at the Olympic Games, seems to us to reveal a serious lack of sense of proportion.' Wolfenden Report (1960) *Sport and the Community* London: CCPR, p. 73.
121 McIntosh, P.C. (1963) *Sport in Society* London: Bell, p. 203.
122 Graves, J. (1942) *Policy and Progress in Secondary Education* London: Thomas Nelson, pp. 169–171; See also Lawson and Silver, note 62, p. 416 who explain that this need was brought about by the need for evacuations in the early years of the war which resulted, among other things, in large scale inattendance at school.
123 Board of Education (1940) 'The Service of Youth' Circular 1486; Board of Education (1940) 'The Challenge of Youth' Circular 1516; Board of Education (1940) 'Youth, Physical Recreation and Service' Circular 1529; Board of Education (1941) 'Youth Service Corps' Circular 1543; Board of Education (1941) 'Registration of Youth' Circular 1577.
124 The *TES* report 24 May 1947, p. 247 suggests that youth clubs were not seen as appropriate or necessary for grammar school boys and girls.
125 Marwick, A. (1982) *British Society Since 1945* Harmondsworth: Penguin, pp. 148–149.
126 See the *TES* 24 May 1947, p. 247; *TES* 13 May 1949; *TES* 31 March 1950, p. 240.
127 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 184.
128 Henriques, J. (1955) 'Physical activity and the young delinquent', *Journal of Physical Education*, **47**, p. 2.
129 As one speaker at a NAOLPE Conference in 1952 put it, *TES* 25 July 1952, p. 636.
130 *TES* 13 May 1949.
131 *TES* 12 July 1947, p. 359.
132 *TES* 22 December 1950, p. 980; see also the *TES* 31 March 1950, p. 240 and the comments of Lt-Col. Edmundson.
133 Hargreaves, note 2, pp. 182–183.
134 For instance, Henriques, note 128, p. 3; 'There are schools — they are called progressive schools — which are definitely based on the principles of no rewards, no punishments, no competitions, and no repressions. Well, it sounds awfully nice, but it is no preparation for life. Life is not like that. There is competition and surely competition is not a bad thing. The desire to compete is almost innate in human nature.'
135 Henriques, note 128, p. 5.
136 Wolfenden Report, note 120.
137 See Anthony, note 111 on this issue.
138 Albemarle Report, in note 120 for a commentary.
139 Wolfenden Report, note 120, p. 4.
140 For example, 'Today, games are part of the life of every school. It has to be

remembered that young people who learn games now have not been brought up in homes in which the sporting spirit has been unconsciously embued. If we want to help them fit into a community, the recognition that certain rules must be obeyed, as in games, should help them to accept the basic principles of society. Loyalty to the team or to the gang, so strong in the adolescent, should be extended until the gang includes an ever-larger group, and loyalty to truth might also be reached'. Webster, C.M. (1958) 'The training of the woman Physical Education teacher', *Physical Education*, **50**, p. 88. The bourgeois values associated with games playing were also extended to cover outdoor leisure and adventure activities — 'Have you ever watched a Teddy gang at work? I have. I have seen them beat up a single enemy, leaving him bleeding and unconscious on the pavement. And the terrible thing about it all was the cold, passionless, miserable atmosphere in which they did it. Are we being unduly sentimental when we believe that the beauty of mountains, rivers or lakes can be some kind of antidote to this tawdry misery? My own experience of taking many hundreds of young people to the mountains for their first visit convinces me that most respond with eager happiness to peacefulness and beauty.' Bell, W.O. (1962) Changing Objectives in Physical Education. *Physical Education*, **54**, p. 9.

141 Wolfenden Report, note 120, pp. 5 and 6.
142 Wolfenden Report, note 120, p. 25.
143 Wolfenden Report, note 120, p. 29.
144 See note 55.
145 Wolfenden Report, note 120, p. 28.
146 Wolfenden Report, note 120, p. 28.
147 Anthony, note 111.
148 Anthony, note 111, Chapter 5.
149 A point supported with qualification by the *TES* 30 September 1960, front and p. 400.
150 'It seems inevitable that if sport were left to be self-financing without support from the central government, local authorities, the great charitable trusts or benevolent industrial firms, those which require buildings or land and all within the great conurbations would decline almost to the point of extinction. Is this the prospect which any modern society or any government of whatever party could, should or would be ready to accept?' McIntosh, note 121, p. 142.
151 See Anthony, note 111, pp. 52–54.
152 Hargreaves, note 2, pp. 135–137.
153 Hargreaves, note 2, pp. 101–102.
154 Hargreaves, note 2, pp. 135–137.
155 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 111.
156 Hargreaves, note 2, p. 111.
157 SSPE/SAPE Conference Report 1968, p. 23 (Jordanhill College Library).
158 Start, K.B. (1966) Sport and Education. Aspects of Sport and PE, SSPE Symposium, Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow.
159 Whitehead, note 43; Kane, J.E. (1974) *Physical Education in Secondary Schools*. London: Macmillan.

Chapter 6

Health, Fitness and the Rise of Scientific Functionalism

The calculated use of physical education as a means of contributing to the health of school children was restricted mainly to the state elementary school system, despite the long association between physical activity and health in physical education discourse stretching back to at least the mid 1800s. The female Swedish gymnasts did champion the role of their system of gymnastics in promoting health. But, with the exception of the work of a few of their number through Inspectorate and Advisory positions, their influence was limited to the girls' private schools. Their conception of the relationship between physical activity and health was embedded in a medico-health rationale, which built on the same logic as the view of the purpose of physical education in elementary schools. However, their objectives diverged dramatically from those of the elementary school teachers. In the bourgeois girls' schools, physical education was relevant to health in so far as it developed elegance, poise and posture, and the sound physical functioning that was a prerequisite to child-bearing. In the elementary schools, the concerns were rather different, focusing instead on the role of physical activity in compensating for and possibly remedying inherited and acquired physical defects. The result was that up until the middle of the 1950s, the use of organized physical activity to promote health was associated with the masses, and indeed, was with few exceptions[1] never taken seriously by the male public schools.

The demise of the influence of the Swedish gymnasts in physical education coupled with the influx of large numbers of male physical educators into the state secondary schools after the war, severely undermined the traditional, medico-health conception of the link between physical activity and health. In its place, a new view of this relationship began to emerge during the 1950s, crystallized in the notion of physical fitness. In contrast to the traditional therapeutic view of physical education's role in promoting health, this new view was embedded in 'scientific physical education', which was itself framed by the canons and procedures of experimental methods and statistical analyses. New insights into the process of skill acquisition and the mechanics of body movement deriving from experimental work began appearing in physical education discourse by the early 1950s. But it was the new knowledge of the physiological responses of the body to exercise that led the way in reconceptualizing the physical activity/health relationship, and this experimental work was pioneered mainly by male physical educators through the 1950s. In the process, it was their definitions of fitness that