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THE SOCIALIZATION GOAL  
OF MANITOBA PUBLIC SCHOOL  
PHYSICAL EDUCATION, 1945 to 1958

by

David A. Fitzpatrick

A Thesis Submitted to  
the Faculty of Education  
The University of Manitoba

In partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Education

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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## ABSTRACT

This study has examined physical education in the Manitoba public school system, during the years 1945 to 1958, in order to assess the role that it was expected to play in the socialization of students. The study was an analysis of policy statements, primarily made by professional educators interested in physical education. Conflict theory was used to explain socialization, relative to physical education. Socialization was an explicit goal of all facets of physical education, the instructional, intramural, and the inter-school parts of the program, and it was reported to be the same as that for all school subjects. The specific socialization and socializing roles articulated and embedded in the different official and unofficial policy and philosophical statements of physical education, were predominantly aimed at the inculcation of various habits, traits, characteristics, attributes, qualities, and values which contributed to the most prominent goal, that of citizenship, which was seen as fundamental to the conservation and maintenance of society. The conflict theory approach offered a perspective in which to analyze and shed some light upon the study of socialization, in relation to Manitoba public school physical education during the Post World War Two period. This time clearly represents a consensus view of education and physical education, where the intention was to preserve society as it existed, based upon the assumption that it was fair, and equal for all.

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

#### Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the development of the program of physical education in the Manitoba public school system, during the years 1945 to 1958, in an attempt to assess the role that it was expected to play in the socialization of students. The study determines how explicit socialization was, as a goal of physical education, and identifies the specific socialization and socializing roles articulated and embedded in different official and unofficial policy and philosophical statements made about physical education. In addition the study examines the extent to which these statements received a consistent and agreed upon view in the context of the political, social, and educational conditions over the time period 1945 to 1958.

As a result of research by critical historians and sociologists, the investigation of schools' functions has been widened beyond the mention of Acts, institutional development, educational trends, and changing instructional methodologies. The study of schooling in its societal context, rather than as a separate entity, has yielded



unique and valuable insights into the development and role of the public school system. One of the purposes of schools, which has received attention, is their role as agents of socialization. Physical education is one of many areas of school life which serves as an agent of socialization (Halas, 1987).

Socialization is generally understood as an interactional process whereby a person acquires a social identity, learns appropriate role behaviour, and in general conforms to expectations held by members of the social systems to which he or she belongs, or aspires to belong. It is a preparation for adult life, an initiation into the values, norms, ways, knowledge, and dispositions of adult society (Langton, 1969; Musgrave, 1988). In this process the public school in Canada has generally been seen to have a preeminent role.

However, the process of socialization is not as simple as this description suggests. It is not natural, simple, matter of fact, unnoticed, or taken for granted. It is, as conflict theorists have pointed out, a complex, dynamic, resisted, and contested process.

What is seen to constitute the necessary skills, values, norms, and dispositions that comprise the process of socialization, changes over time, in relation to the changing nature of society and the world. Such factors as technology, industrialization, value systems, and shifting

power structures within society, all contribute to the dynamic and contested nature of socialization.

An example of the role assigned to schools as agents of socialization is provided by the 1988 Policy Manual of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, the oldest and largest school division in Manitoba. The Manual outlines the educational philosophy of the Division and describes the central purpose of the schools as:

the preservation and extension of the democratic way of life and the development of students to their greatest potential. The schools are required to develop in children the knowledge, skills, habits, understandings, attitudes and character traits that are considered essential for development of sound moral character, appreciation of spiritual love of home and country, and a disciplined approach to the varied responsibilities of life, including respect for duly constituted authority, a genuine concern for the rights of others, and a desire to improve in those competencies essential to effective social living (The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1988, p. 1.1).

This statement clearly gives pride of place to socialization as the central goal of the schools, and it closely resembles the officially prescribed goals set forth by Manitoba Education, as stated under the objectives of citizenship teaching (Province of Manitoba, 1988).

Physical education, as a subject in the school, has had a long standing role in the socialization of the young. It is a particularly interesting element in this study of

socialization. It is of particular interest to conflict theorists who have studied contemporary physical education, as well as to investigators of such things as working class and public school sport in nineteenth century England. It is also of interest to feminists who point to the different social roles of boys' physical education as compared to girls' physical education (Bray, 1988; Hargreaves, 1986; Kane, 1989; Mastro, Hall, Margery, and Canabal, 1988). Physical education and sport, they argue, have generally perpetuated different gender roles by encouraging nonviolent dance and aesthetic activities in girls' programs, while sanctioning more physically demanding contact programs for boys, with a great deal of competition, team effort, and other qualities thought to be related to the male work world of modern day capitalist society.

This study is limited to the years 1945 to 1958. Two major events effecting physical education in Manitoba occurred to define this period; namely the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act (1945) and the 1958 Study of Physical Education and Recreation in Manitoba. In addition, these years represent a distinct and recognizable historical period. The latter part of the 1940s and most of the 1950s were, in Canada, a time of population growth, stability, and prosperity, following the Depression and the War. The age of Sputnik, and the educational liberalism of the 1960s was yet to come.

The year 1945 was selected as the starting point for the study because, in that year, the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act was passed, resulting in more attention being paid to public school physical education. Specifically, as a result of this Act, for the first time in several years, an individual was assigned at the Manitoba Department of Education to give assistance to the development of physical education programs.

The year 1958 similarly constitutes a significant event in the history of Manitoba physical education. In that year, a study of physical education and recreation in Manitoba drew attention to what were seen as the inadequate programs of the time. As a result of that report and its recommendations, physical education gradually improved in such areas as teacher preparation, supervision, finance, curriculum, methodology, and facilities (Province of Manitoba, June, 1958).

There has not been an historical study of socialization and physical education, with respect to Manitoba physical education, although related work has been done on the history of school cadets (Green, 1950), the Gimli Leadership Training Camp (Connell, 1967), and the Strathcona Trust (McDiarmid, 1971). Other historical research has been done on various aspects of Manitoba physical education (Anderson, 1964; Downie, 1961; Fitzpatrick, 1982; Mott, 1980; Tarbuth, 1970; Wark, 1972 and Zukanuk, 1962).

### Purpose of the Study

The study undertakes to examine the role assigned to physical education in the socialization of students, in Manitoba between 1945 and 1958, as evidenced by policy statements, reports, curricula, and writings of: the Department of Education; school divisions; teacher education institutions; physical education leaders; teachers; and, the general public. It seeks to identify what aspects of socialization were stressed and to investigate what importance was attached to different goals such as sportsmanship, character, leadership, and citizenship in Manitoba physical education during this period.

In addressing these questions four themes have informed and directed the writing of this thesis: To what extent was socialization an explicit goal; What were the socialization and socializing roles articulated and embedded in the different official and unofficial policy and ideology statements of physical education; To what extent did these statements receive a consistent and agreed upon view of the role of physical education in socialization, over the time period of this study; and, What was the political, social, and educational context within which these goals were enunciated? In short, accounts of Manitoba public school physical education, between 1945 and 1958, are surveyed, in order to determine their association with the goal of socialization.

### Methodology

This study is based on documentation describing Manitoba's physical education program between 1945 and 1958. The Faculty of Education, Elizabeth Dafoe, Manitoba Education, and the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 reference libraries, and the Manitoba Archives were the sources of information.

The primary sources were the Manitoba curricula of physical education, Inspectors' Reports and Annual Reports of the Manitoba Department of Education; minutes of the Winnipeg School Division Inter-High Athletic Council, along with pertinent articles from educational publications, such as The Manitoba School Journal. Historical narratives of education and physical education, were analyzed. Reports and accounts of intramural and inter-school sports programs, physical education classes, and other specific aspects of physical education, such as field days, were also reviewed.

The influence of such phenomena as war, government, leadership, curriculum, educational philosophy and teacher education have been studied, relative to the socialization goal in Manitoba public school physical education programs. The Manitoba Physical Fitness Act (1945); the first curricula in Manitoba devoted solely to physical education; the work of physical education leaders such as Hart Devenney, the Director of Physical Fitness in Manitoba (1945-1955); and the 1958 study, Physical Education and

Recreation in Manitoba, have also been investigated.

#### Limitations of the Study

There are three limitations to the research. Firstly, the study focuses only on public school physical education programs in Manitoba, and says nothing about private school programs. This is significant because some of the elite private schools' view of the socialization outcomes for their students were derived from British public schools of the nineteenth century, where students were socialized to be the future leaders and administrators of the country. Other Manitoba private schools, for example rural religious institutions, are also not a part of this study.

Secondly, the focus is completely on the arena of policy and philosophy, not practice. The study makes no attempt to connect the two. It is a study of ideologies not practice, limited to official, and other written records of Manitoba physical education, including government actions, during the Post World War Two Era. For example in 1946, 1947, and 1948 Manitoba developed its first curricula for physical education, but one can only speculate as to the extent to which classroom teachers, and others who taught physical education, used, or even read, these guides. Nevertheless it is still useful to study these statements, because they provide information on the "official" expectations of the socializing role of physical education.

Thirdly, since there is a male bias in the readily

available data, and during the period identified by this study, boys' physical education was more fully developed than was the girls' program, much of the study is in the context of male programs. The evidence, in the available data, poses problems for a feminist analysis of physical education. It is not accurate to generalize from boys' experiences and statements about boys' physical education. Nevertheless socialization related to girls' physical education is not ignored, although many of the references to physical education are really to boys' physical education, which is, of course, evidence of gender bias in physical education.

#### Definitions

Terms central to this study are physical education and socialization. Physical education, in this study, refers to the subject or discipline of physical education in the public school system of Manitoba, as authorized by the Manitoba Department of Education during the post war years (1945-1958). It includes all portions of the discipline of physical education, the instructional, intramural program, and the inter-school sports programs, involving organized physical activity.

Socialization, in relation to physical education and in the context of this study, is a broad concept, as will be shown. In the Manitoba context, it includes the instilling of such qualities as cooperation, concern and respect for



others, as well as "good" character, social development, and sportsmanship. Physical education purportedly offers students a medium for learning to cope with success and failure, winning and losing, self discovery, social roles, communication, fair play and "appropriate" ways to use leisure time, all deemed a part of socialization and learning to function in society.

All of these traits and qualities are part of socialization, and are selective learnings considered necessary in contributing to the inculcation of "desirable" morals, values, ethics and character in students. This is considered important, by some educators and others, as partial justification for including physical education in the Manitoba public school curricula, today, as well as during 1945 to 1958.

With respect to the subsequent organization of the thesis, Chapter Two and Three review the relevant literature on the subject of socialization, political socialization, and physical education as a socializing activity. Chapter Four examines the socialization goal in Manitoba physical education from 1945 to 1955 inclusive, the period of the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act. Chapter Five investigates the 1958 Study of Physical Education and Recreation in Manitoba. The summary, discussion and conclusion of the study follows Chapter Five.

## Chapter 2

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE SOCIALIZATION AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIALIZATION

#### The Concept of Socialization

Socialization is a relatively new term. Clausen (1968) notes that the first citation of the word "socialize", mentioned in the Oxford English Dictionary was 1828 and was defined "to render social; to make fit for living in society" (p. 22). The concept of socialization is broad and obviously not confined to physical education. The disciplines of sociology, political science, social psychology, psychology, anthropology, biology, philosophy, history, and education, among others, all have much to say on the topic of socialization.

Socialization is the process that involves the entry of nonmembers into an already existing society or part of that society. It is a crucial link between the existing culture of any group and its members. Socialization is broad, complex, multifaceted, and, contested (Musgrave, 1988). The interactional process of socialization involves learning the behaviour, knowledge, values and ideals of those who exercise power and judge right as well as wrong. Those in power include the law makers, teachers, coaches, and others

with authority, depending upon the type or nature of the organization.

Those new to a unit must learn the necessary information, attitudes, beliefs and skills to function as members of that unit. Through the process of socialization, members of an organization are prepared to some degree to conform to the established norms of the organization, in order to function as part of society. However, a society such as Canada has a multitude of competing and conflicting versions of expected behaviour. Some versions of behaviour are more influential and have more status than do others.

For much of human history socialization was relatively unproblematic, although it may be that not enough is known about the past. Socialization seems to have been often taken for granted and unnoticed. Children more or less automatically learned their roles from parents and others. At the same time, there were social limits and sanctions for those, such as Socrates, for example, who disrupted existing patterns of socialization.

With the emergence of urban-industrial society, socialization became more complex. It was no longer possible for the young to learn their roles as they had in the past. In a more complex society, socialization had to be attended to as a matter of deliberate policy, for example through compulsory schooling. All subjects, directly or indirectly were designed to socialize. Physical education

eventually became one of the curricular subjects expected to provide a socializing function.

This deliberate attention to socialization was especially important when urban industrial society was coupled with the rise of nation states during the nineteenth century. Boys and girls had to be made "British" or "French" men or women. In Canada the concern had to do with the Canadianization of native and immigrant children. Thus, it is not surprising that socialization became an issue in the nineteenth century. Schools, and the subject of physical education became part of that issue.

The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) was influential in the examination of how individuals become social beings, by learning the roles attached to the positions which they expected to, and did occupy during their lives. He was influential in the development of what Musgrave (1988) calls the organic/societal interpretation of socialization.

The first technical use of the term, according to Clausen, was by American sociologist, Edward Alsworth Ross (1901) in his work Social Control, a significant title. Ross wrote about his concern with the need for the conscious design and maintenance of social order under the emerging conditions of twentieth century society (Clausen, 1968). These conditions included expanded industrialization, increased urbanization, a growing concern for, and fear of,

youth, which led to an increase in the number of schools, as a result of compulsory education.

Much of the early writing on socialization saw it as a simple, "top down", matter of fact, "natural" procedure, but the work of later sociologists, particularly those working in a critical perspective, has shown the process to be complex. The literature that talks of socializing "people" generally into "society", and views this process, either implicitly or explicitly as natural, is referring to socialization in a technical and unproblematic way.

In fact socialization is not a simple, straight forward process. The form that it takes for particular individuals is influenced by the interaction of many factors, including socio-economic status, birth order, geographical location, race, ethnic, religious differences, as well as gender, culture, and social class.

Social class and socialization are related because social class can be a vehicle for, or an obstacle to, socialization. Class often impedes access to high status in society or equality by denying equal opportunity for all. Class often determines the type of socialization. For example, Willis' study (1977) of working class "lads" shows that class is a barrier to the type of socialization intended by the school, although they are successfully socialized in their place as workers. The inequalities of social class have been perpetuated and legitimized "either

by refusing to deal with them or by making them appear to be natural and inevitable" (Osborne, 1988, p. 13).

With respect to gender, it is clear that girls and women have been and are socialized differently than boys and men. The differences in socialization are based upon distinct role expectations imposed and expected by those with power, often men, and generally accepted by both men and women, although this is less so in the 1980s.

When one explores the history or any aspect of society, and considers the female perspective, it is clear that the roles assumed by males and females are due in part to distinct and separate socialization. Prentice remarks that since society has been and remains male-oriented, "sex-role stereotyping may have been endemic to formal education throughout its history" (1981, p. 43). There has always been a strong belief in women's different nature and separate sphere of activity. Nowhere has this perhaps been more evident, within the school or the curriculum, than in physical education.

Socialization processes reinforce divisions of class, gender, and culture while also, in some cases, recruiting selected members of particular groups to the dominant culture. Thus, for example education, for the purpose of socialization was organized differently for different classes and for boys and girls. The portrayal of women, native and ethnic minorities, and of the working-class,

Osborne (1988) maintains, has perpetuated the problem of class in Canada. "This obscures the schools' underlying class bias that serves to keep most working-class children in their place while recruiting a few to a higher rank. ... There is no doubt that school curricula do scant justice to the culture and experience of working-class children and they portray Canada as classless" (pp. 13, 14).

### Theories of Socialization

In reviewing the literature on socialization, and that concept in relation to the school, it is apparent that there are various theories, but that, at bottom, there are two basic schools of thought: consensus and conflict. The consensus view, a widely held position, developed out of the works of classic sociologists such as Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim, as well as the writing of such anthropologists as Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (Hurn, 1978; Musgrave, 1988). Since the 1970s, the consensus interpretation of socialization and the role of schooling in modern Western Society has been increasingly questioned (Hurn, 1978).

A common thread running through consensus theory is the perception of society as a self-regulating, self-maintaining system. There is also the notion of society as a thing, as an integrated unit, with basic needs which have to be met to ensure and preserve stability. Society is envisioned as a macrosystem, and is conceptualized as having interrelated

and interdependent parts, as does the human body (Scimecca, 1980, p. 6). Musgrave (1988) refers to consensus theory as an organic approach where society is seen as a network of interrelated positions filled by actors who more or less agree with each other about how they should interact. The schools, according to consensus theory, are seen as important institutions that offer an avenue for this network and agreement to take shape.

Modern consensus theory argues that schools perform three essential functions. Firstly, they represent a fair and rational way of sorting and selecting people so that the most able and motivated attain the highest status positions and so that others get lower status positions. Secondly, schools teach the skills, norms, and values needed by society. Thirdly, schools give people the attitudes, values, and norms that lead them to accept all these skills and norms, and their distribution as natural (Hurn, 1978). The curriculum of physical education, from the consensus perspective, exists to serve broad social goals that contribute to the schools' stabilizing role for society.

Dreeben (1968) writes from the consensus perspective and takes the position that schooling constitutes a process taking place outside the family in which large masses of people acquire capacities that enable them to participate in the occupational and political institutions of society; to occupy social positions; and to cope with demands and



exploit the opportunities that these positions present (p. 93). The result is both expected and predictable in the majority of cases, contributing to the transmission of culture and to the maintenance of the existing social order.

An opposite model to functionalism is represented by conflict theory. Conflict theory holds that society is comprised of individuals who, while living together have different interests which come into opposition. Some of these individuals and or groups gain greater power and influence than others, and subsequently use that power to follow their own interests (Scimecca, 1980). Humans are seen as sociable but conflict-prone. A central element of conflict theory is in its concept of power. In the opinion of the conflict theorist, power is the most important variable for understanding behaviour. Power and its ramifications are analyzed in order to understand social behaviour. Power is exercised in two ways: by physical force, or by persuasion or hegemony. Hegemony is much more than persuasion. It is at its best when no one even realizes that persuasion is necessary. Hegemony, the predominance of the powerful over subordinate groups, can include physical force if required. However persuasion and physical force, as methods of control, are usually considered conceptually distinct.

Power is legitimized by ideology, in which subordinate groups either fail to see their subordination or accept it

as natural. At the same time, hegemony is not simply imposed, top down. It is resisted, diverted, or challenged. Thus, hegemony has to be constantly "negotiated".

Dahrendorf comments that society is regulated by hegemony through incentives and threats of sanctions, "the abstract core of all power" (as cited in Musgrave, 1988, p. 1).

### Contested Socialization

Since dominant groups seek to influence and control others, subordinate groups may seek to resist or divert this control. Thus, socialization is contested. For example in Manitoba, the latter part of the nineteenth century saw the arrival of large numbers of Ontario Protestants, who became the dominant ethnic group, and, as such, attempted with some success to impose their institutions, values and style of life, including their love of games, sport and competition on the life of the province and on the life of the public schools (Mott, 1980). The native people, the French, and later immigrant minorities resisted this dominance.

Children, in some instances, also provide an example of contested socialization. Willis (1977) gives an ethnographic account of a cohesive group of working-class "lads", as they are called, at an all-male high school in an industrial area of England, and shows how they contested and rejected the school's attempts to socialize them. They contest, he suggests, in order to maintain their collective identity, and confidence of their ability to survive and

succeed by their own terms, in order to gain a degree of control over the way they spend their time in school.

These boys are contrasted to the embodiment of middle class educational values in those whom they call the "ear'oles" (or earholes so named after those who blindly sit and listen) who have accepted the legitimacy of educational authority and have opted for conformity.

The lads reject attempts to portray jobs as offering opportunities for mobility, for they have experienced the world of work from their parents, friends, and their part-time jobs. They also reject mental labour, seeing it as effeminate and not physical enough. Moreover, they also reject physical education, probably because it is organized by the school, and perhaps because it too has no relevance in their lives, or else because it is more closely associated with the middle class and the lads must work not play. They do however love soccer, perhaps as their opera, a diversion from their labour.

It is interesting to note that, even though the lads were not socialized by the school, they were presumably well socialized, no doubt with a degree of contestation, by their parents, peers and culture, to operate within their culture. Willis demonstrates that not only was the school unsuccessful in socializing, but there are also competing agencies and forms of socialization which in fact do succeed. In an ironic, paradoxical way, Willis shows that

the lads, in spite of their resistance to socialization by the school, are in fact "socialized", for in rejecting the school and therefore in a sense failing, they are slotted into unskilled, manual, "dirty" jobs that "someone has to do". Thus, in failing to achieve the "official" socialization goals, "society" nonetheless wins in the end.

The female equivalent to the lads are the working class girls, studied by McRobbie, and others, who use their femininity and sexuality to create their identities and contest the goals of the school, but at the same time knowingly accept their future roles as housewives and mothers, perhaps because they see no way out (Apple, 1982; McRobbie, 1978). As an example of this phenomenon it might be noted that, with respect to physical activity, in the past, and to some extent at present, girls often accepted their roles as cheerleaders (Seefeldt, 1987).

Apple (1982) and Giroux (1983) point out that the rapidly growing work on resistance and the increased awareness of the way contestation, resistance, and opposition operate, shows that people indeed resist and can do so in subtle, not so obvious ways. They often contradict and partly transform modes of control into opportunities for resistance and maintain their own informal norms.

Apple points out that studies have shown that most of the time students are in school is spent not on "work" as their teachers think, but on regenerating their own culture

through resistance. Resistance takes on many forms in schools, where those students, who unlike the lads, appear to comply with the goals of the curriculum, by appearing attentive and responsive, when in fact they are talking about sports, discussing and planning outside activities, and like the lads, finding ways to "goof off". However, Apple points out that, unlike the lads, these students do manage to meet the requirements of the school even though they, like the lads, resist, but in less obvious ways (1982).

It is important to note that, not only can socialization be resisted or contested, but it is not always successful. Not all of those who participate in various interactions are socialized to the expectations of society which can be seen to be an aggregation of conflicting groups who live together. It also can be incomplete or ineffective as is evidenced by what a particular society may subjectively term as cranks, misfits, nonconformists, deviants, dissidents radicals, revolutionists, criminals and so on.

#### The Concept of Political Socialization

Political socialization is a particularly relevant concept to physical education because, as will be shown, physical education has been used frequently throughout history and in present times to teach students about their country and its various forms of government, and as a

vehicle to convince students to think in a particular way about the state. Nazi Germany serves as one extreme example, but there are many others.

The moulding of human behaviour within a political context, referred to as political socialization, like socialization, is complex and controversial, and has been defined as "the process, mediated through various agencies of society, by which an individual learns politically relevant attitudinal dispositions and behaviour patterns" (Langton, 1969, p. 5). See also Jaros (1973) and Greenberg (1970). For some this process is benevolent; for others it is oppressive and exploitative, but in either case it is something deliberately organized and not left to chance.

Prior to 1960, according to Jaros, no one used the term political socialization, but by the 1970s anyone who had any connection with political science not only recognized it, but was expected to deal with the idea.

The prospects of finding the roots of patriotism or revolution, of stability or instability in the operation of the political system, of success or failure in the process of political development, to say nothing of differential political preferences and partisan behaviour, have attracted both student and professor (Jaros, 1973, pp. 8 - 9).

The term political socialization may be relatively new, but the idea of attaining or retaining political power by controlling minds has been of interest since at least the time of Plato and has continued throughout history

(McDonald, 1981; Osborne, 1984). Physical education, at various times and to different degrees, has played a part in this process.

There are two different elements involved in the study of political socialization: one is political socialization as the investigation of how political beliefs, values, attitudes and so on are formed; and the second is the active exercise of techniques of control and persuasion. The former is specifically relevant to this study, which is concerned with the role of physical education in the formation of "desirable" political and other beliefs. It will be shown that participation in physical education has been expected, in a variety of ways, to develop among those involved, a common body of knowledge, values, and attitudes about political matters.

Some historians have written on the influence of clubs, playgrounds and organized sports on the political socialization of youth. They argue that physical education and related programs have been intended to foster citizenship and political socialization (Brohm 1970; Cavallo, 1981; Gillis, 1974; Hargreaves, 1981; Heer, 1974; Hurt, 1977; Kett, 1977; and Springhall, 1977). For example, Heer remarks that sports, as far back as early Greece, and probably a good deal earlier, were one way of combating youth counter-culture which was openly directed against the established customs, educational patterns and social

conventions (1974). Sports and athletics have often been offered as a way of diverting and channelling social and political thinking, considered to be potentially dangerous to the state (Gillis, 1974). The school has traditionally been used as a popular site to politically socialize youth. Physical education has had a part in the process.

#### The School as an Agency of Socialization

Other agents of socialization, aside from the school, such as peer groups, youth clubs, families, churches, communities, and the media, can provide climates conducive to the acquisition of norms. However no other agency with some contact with and jurisdiction over children between the ages, roughly, of from five to eighteen, either does, or seems as well suited to, produce the same set of norms as that produced in school, although all agencies do contribute to the process of their acquisition.

One, if not the main, purpose, of schooling, in Western Society is to socialize the young. From their beginning, in the West, systems of public education, especially with the instituting of compulsory schooling, have been concerned with the "control and preservation of the emerging capitalist order" (Osborne, 1988, p. 9). This is well documented (Broudy, 1988; French, 1985; Gillis 1977; Houston, 1981; Katz, 1976; Kett, 1977; Musgrove, 1979; Osborne, 1988).



The curriculum, including physical education, was designed to channel and control working-class aspirations; to control and teach the masses how to behave; to serve their society by staying put in their station in life. It also was used to recruit talented working-class children. Schooling was intended to make the working class docile so that it would fit smoothly into subordinate positions in the capitalist system, but made the upper classes self-confident so that they could control it (Houston, 1981; Musgrove, 1979). However, this did not always work, as is evidenced by the previous comments on contested socialization.

Houston (1981) writes that in her view schools and the civilizing effects of education were "closely associated, in middle class minds, with the need to discipline people whom the dislocations of early capitalism threatened to render unruly and rebellious" (p. 9). The hope was that society in its existing form would be preserved, or at least that social change could be controlled and directed. Education was seen by those with power as a way to keep it, thus protecting and maintaining the status quo in society.

The school, it can be argued, is intended to be the childrens' principal "formal" socializing agency. Children spend over one thousand hours a year in school where teachers are expected to fulfil a role similar to that of parents. Teachers are models who have special positions as paid agents of cultural transmission. They teach, coach,

encourage, reinforce, reward, punish and so on. Children perceive, interpret, accept, ignore, resist or reject the experiences conveyed by teachers (Jersild, 1968).

Consciously or unconsciously, all teachers and school subjects have a part in the socialization of students. This process also includes physical education. Schools are supposed to produce "citizens" through the overt and the hidden curriculum. This has been stated frequently, in reference to both contemporary and historical accounts of schooling, and repeatedly in the general and some specific goals in curricula and school policy manuals (Comer, 1988; French, 1985; McDonald, 1981; Simon, 1965).

One aspect of political socialization in the school, and in the subject of physical education, is citizenship, which involves the promotion of such ideas as civic consciousness, civic pride, nationalism, patriotism, an acquaintance with rules and laws, an understanding of the workings and function of government at all levels "in order to make intelligent citizens" (Phillips, 1957, p. 538). Physical education has always had a close association with citizenship, in a direct way (Hargreaves, 1986; Hurt, 1977).

There are those who argue that citizenship should be seen as more active, participatory process. It has traditionally been seen in Canadian schools as passive, and students as passive respondents, as "good sheep" (McDonald,

1981; Osborne, 1988). Words such as loyalty, obedience, conformity, diligence, punctuality, politeness, discipline and others have usually been associated with the citizenship goals of general education (Osborne, 1988; Tomkins, 1977). It is worth noting that these words have been also associated with the goals of physical education throughout much of this and the last century, suggesting that the socialization goal was possibly more important than proficiency in sports and games.

In reference to Canada, as Osborne outlines, "education and citizenship have long been connected. . . . From their very beginnings schools were intended to Canadianize the young (Osborne, 1988, p. 1). By the start of the twentieth century, education had moved from an academic agenda toward one linked with training and social efficiency, a sense of social and civic duty, the stimulation of national and patriotic spirit in children (Gillis 1974; Heer 1974; Houston, 1981; Hurt, 1977; Kett, 1977; Springhall, 1977). Children "were to learn their place in life and to keep their place" (Osborne, 1988, p. 1). The majority were expected to accept and follow the orders of those with power with no questions asked. This can be seen in the case of physical training and drill programs in the basement gymnasiums and play fields of early Winnipeg which were intended to reinforce this.

The impact of schooling on the development of citizenship remains open to debate. Traditionally schools have offered politically related information, both directly in citizenship courses and indirectly through the hidden curriculum, and through a range of subjects, including physical education. "Underlying the school's political curriculum has been the assumption that the functioning of a democratic polity requires an active, literate, and informed electorate" (Dreeben, 1968, p. 130). At the same time, this has not usually involved the development of a critical, questioning, and socially conscious electorate.

Public schooling, can be seen by conflict theorists, as a vehicle of hegemony and ideology, by which subordinate groups are supposed to learn to accept their place although they sometimes do not (Willis, 1977). It works through curricula, streaming, teaching methods, exams, promotion, and other such devices, especially the "hidden curriculum". Thus education is implicated in social conflict. Orthodox Marxists and other conflict theorists maintain that public schooling can never be neutral. It is a tool of the ruling class. However, others such as Simon argue that, it is not so much that education is a tool of the ruling class, but rather that it is an "arena" of conflict, where different classes wage their political and ideological battles. Thus education has a certain autonomy, if not neutrality, where ideologies meet (Simon, 1985). Thus, also, socialization is

not a "one-way" process; it works in many ways, some of them contradictory to each other and it is a process which may be contested or resisted as Willis, Apple, Giroux and other critical theorists have shown.

Schools attempt to offer students an opportunity to learn to get along, to cooperate, to successfully complete a task individually or in cooperative group settings. In so doing, it is anticipated that "an individual develops certain beliefs, values, and preferences specific to the task itself, which over time are generalized to other areas of life" (Dreeben, pp. 49, 50). However the difference between rhetoric and reality is clear when one considers Willis' study of the school's failure to socialize the lads (1977).

In contrast to Dreeben and other functionalists, conflict theorists argue that schools are fundamentally individualistic and competitive, and are merely training grounds for capitalistic society. Dreeben and other functionalists would probably agree and say this was good and necessary. Apple (1982) has examined how school curricula and texts convey support for the capitalist system in the United States. His conclusions are applicable to most of the English speaking world, including Canada (Osborne, 1988). Physical education, as it will be demonstrated, fits quite easily in this context.

For conflict theorists, the questions are, how are different people socialized into different roles; who decides what those roles are to be; and are they fair? Consensus models say "society" decides, using the school as the vehicle, so that the talented succeed, and everyone is fairly and reasonably treated, according to their merits. Conflict theory, however, points out that people in power decide to protect their power; thus women, the working classes, minorities and so forth are kept in their subordinate place.

The key point is that some conflict theorists see public schooling, as it was established, and as it exists today, in Western Societies as constraining and coercive-, as maintaining the social control by the powerful over the powerless (Mercer and Covey, 1980). The school is seen totally as subordinate to the ruling class. Others grant the school some autonomy (Simon, 1985). However, it is important to stress that most conflict theorists do not devalue education, even some fairly traditional elements of education, merely the way in which it has been institutionalized in schools and what has been legitimized as "school knowledge" (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 1983; Willis, 1977). There are others, in addition to conflict theorists, who do more than simply criticize schools, but actually write extensively on ways to make the education system work

better from the conflict perspective (Apple 1982; Kohl, 1980; Osborne, 1988; Willis, 1977).

In conclusion, this chapter has reviewed some of the literature and theories of socialization, political socialization, and the school as an agent of these concepts, from the sociological perspective. The school plays a large role in the socialization of youth, but it is not solely responsible for socialization or political socialization. Society as a whole, assumes that responsibility and it is difficult to precisely pin point the extent to which individual elements of society, such as the school or specific subjects such as physical education, contribute to the process.

There is an interconnectedness between the concepts of socialization and political socialization and the work in both of these areas is somewhat similar. The concepts are broad, complex, dynamic, contested, enduring and have been much discussed. The school is identified as a major agent of socialization and all areas of school life and curricula, including physical education, have some responsibility for ensuring that socialization and political socialization take place, as Chapter Three will show.

## Chapter 3

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE PHYSICAL EDUCATION AS AN AGENT OF SOCIALIZATION

While Chapter Two has attempted to review the concepts of socialization and political socialization in a general sense, this chapter will examine these concepts in the context of physical education. Just as the general literature on socialization reveals a lack of consensus, so does writing in physical education related to such aspects of socialization as sportsmanship, character development, sport, competition, and cooperation. Such terms and concepts are interpreted differently. Socialization has increasingly interested physical education researchers in recent years, particularly to do with the study of females and physical activity and the political use of physical education and sport (Andrew, 1979; Arnold, 1986; Barrow, 1983; Bray, 1988; Cantelon & Gruneau, 1982; Kane, 1989; Kidd, n.d.; Mastro, Hall & Canabal, 1988; Stanford, n.d.).

"A healthy mind in a healthy body" has long been associated with physical education as a part of education. However physical education has always had more than merely physical goals. Appearance, alertness, discipline, self-control, character, loyalty, cooperation, and so forth have also been important (Van Dalen, Mitchell, & Bennett, 1953).



The concern for youth that arose in the increasingly complex society of the nineteenth century, generally raised the question of the role of physical education as a socializing agent. This all was a reaction to the social changes of industrialization, urbanization, and class division which resulted in an increasing concern for the welfare of children and for the preservation of the social order.

Some historians have referred to this as "child saving". It was aimed at rescuing city children, especially those of the working-class, from what were felt to be social hazards; moral chaos; economic exploitation; the risks of unsupervised street culture; and the immorality and license of working class life, all thought to be generated by mass immigration and unregulated capitalism. The "child saving" movement embraced public welfare programs; child labour laws; the playground movement; the creation of a host of boys' and girls' youth clubs; Scouting; compulsory schooling; and physical education (Cavallo, 1981; Gillis, 1974; Kett, 1977; Rosenthal, 1986; Springhall, 1977).

These developments can be clearly seen and have been most thoroughly studied in England, where on the one hand, it led to a type of physical education for the males of the ruling class, where "manliness", character, leadership, mutual respect, and the ability to strive to the utmost in a cause were considered educationally useful, and were

expected by-products of sports and games (Mott, 1980; Newsome, 1961). On the other hand, for the working class, physical education involved drill, if it was done at all, for the purposes of control, order, regimentation, obedience, discipline, and following orders (Hargreaves, 1986). As British immigration increased in Canada and Manitoba during the late 1800s and early 1900s, British thinking about physical education and its role in socialization was transported to the school system (Mott, 1980).

The roots of the study of physical education, relative to the goal of socialization, can be traced at least to the early part of the twentieth century. One of the earliest American studies reported, was by McDonald, a criminologist who studied baseball because he considered it one of youth's greatest "moral tonics" (Brooks, 1981, p. 328). There are a few other examples of early writing (Miller & Jarman, 1988; Oberteuffer, 1962) more in the form of assertion and prescription than research. However, beginning in the 1960s, physical education studies and theoretical papers on the topic of socialization appeared more frequently in the literature (Arnold, 1986; Sage, 1986, Stanford, n.d.).

There is a great deal of writing which supports physical education's role as an agent of socialization. For example, Willgoose, in reference to Western Society, mainly the United States, asserts that "more than any subject in

the curriculum, physical education is organized to deal specifically with the elements of proper social behaviour" (Willgoose, 1974, p. 52). Willgoose, does not specifically elaborate what comprises "proper social behaviour", although he refers to some specific benefits, such as learning responsibility, cooperation, fellowship, and leadership. He argues that participation in physical activity contributes to social efficiency but cites only three unrelated research studies to validate his point. This is typical of much of the writing about physical education and socialization.

Physical education, in relation to socialization, historically has been associated with the concepts of character, manliness, and sportsmanship. These concepts are similar, as the following will show.

Character development has been defined in many ways and cited often in the physical education literature locally, nationally, and internationally (Barrow, 1983; Halas, 1987; Oberteuffer and Ulrich, 1962; Sage, 1986; Sander, 1985; Staniford, n.d.). The concern for character education in and through physical education has been shown to have roots from the earliest examples of physical education (Van Dalen, Mitchell, and Bennett, 1953), and according to Sage (1986), most vividly espoused since the last century in England. Character development continues to be cited as a worthy objective in the physical education literature (Figley, 1984; Halas, 1987; Sander, 1985; Staniford, n.d.). However,

in spite of this, there are those who are uncertain whether physical education can or even should lay claim to this goal. The main criticism focuses on the lack of any supportive research to verify the character value allegedly produced by school sports. Despite this, "faith in them was unshakable" (Sage, 1986, p. 25).

Character development and manliness, in connection with physical education, became particularly popular with educators during the latter nineteenth century in England, in part due to Thomas Arnold, the pioneering and reforming headmaster of Rugby School.

Manliness involved attributes that seem to test qualities of character valued, in males, by Victorians and pioneer Manitobans. It was inspired by several nineteenth century English theologians, educators, novelists, and philosophers, such as Arnold, Spencer, Kingsley, and Hughes, all of whom were influenced by, what they saw as the degeneration of nineteenth century society (Newsome, 1961).

With regard to female involvement in sports, the games in which girls and women took part were played in a "womanly" way. This allowed them to demonstrate what were seen as the feminine qualities of grace, modesty, and elegance. Qualities that were not thought to be womanly, such as aggressiveness and competitiveness, were absent from their games. It seems that, although the idea that girls and women should not play games or indulge in physical

activity may have prevailed in many parts of the English speaking world of the nineteenth century, this was not entirely the case in early Manitoba. Although many women watched and urged men to take part in sports and games, some girls and women also participated and were encouraged to, though generally not to the same degree or with the same intensity as boys and men. Boys, in the late 1800s, who were not athletic were thought to be effeminate, since girls were not expected to be as physical as boys. At the same time girls and women were expected to be enthusiastic spectators, or in North America, cheerleaders, but also fit enough to be able to procreate and perpetuate the race (Mott, 1980).

Manliness, through participation in sports and games, was thought to teach boys to play fair, to work for their team, to persist against the odds, all in order to make men of themselves. Manliness represented the ultimate masculine quality, the male attribute that incorporated a number of characteristics such as physical energy, strength, endurance, speed, agility, coordination, skill; all components of fitness, as well as courage, non-effeminate character, sturdiness, valour, ruggedness, robustness, and heroism.

Manliness also described one who used his trained body for the protection of the weak and the advancement of all righteous causes in a chivalric manner. In addition, it

embodied intellectual capacities, determination, fairness, decisiveness, confidence, self control, integrity, generosity, humanitarianism, and morality. In short to be physically, mentally and morally fit was manly, and was necessary to be successful in life (Newsome, 1961). However it is important to emphasize that manliness was more of a moral creed than a physical one, as seen in the poetry of Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) who built up a code of honour, duty, and fair play. (Abrams, 1962).

Mott (1980) has shown that, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the concept of manliness, derived from sports and games, was clearly associated with socialization and political socialization for Manitobans of British descent. Manliness was a manifestation of a devotion to a "racial" and cultural heritage they were trying to transfer to, and consolidate in, Manitoba. Physical activities came to be perceived as valuable assets in an effort "to 'Canadianize' foreigners, socialize young people, and in general counteract the perceived detrimental effects of 'modern' civilization" (p. iii).

Sportsmanship, like character and manliness, has long been associated with physical education, and has been defined in numerous ways. Sportsmanship, as nebulous and value laden as it is, consistently continues to be one of the values associated with sports and games in the educational setting.

Sportsmanship is often a sexist term in that it excludes females. In the past, sportsmanship, like manliness, was felt to be appropriate only for males. Females were to expected to derive different benefits, such as grace, modesty and elegance from sports participation. The term "fair play" is more in vogue today and it has a similar connotation to sportsmanship and is applicable to both sexes (Seefeldt, 1987).

Sportsmanship has been described as involving such things as fair play, modesty in victory, self-control in defeat, honesty, self-discipline, sacrifice, all qualities similar to those used to describe manliness and character.

Willgoose's belief is typical of many who vouch for the sportsmanship role of physical education. He argues that

sportsmanship ... alone may be one of the most important concepts in education. ... The power of the word 'sportsmanship' is universal. It is probably the clearest and most popular expression of morals (Willgoose, 1974, pp. 52, 53).

Sanborn and Hartman (1964) write that some believe that a civilization depends on the quality of its sportsmanship, but they do not cite any source or research for the statement. However they do proceed to associate sportsmanship with religion, ethical behaviour, and democracy for which they refer to the work of other writers such as Hetherington, Duer, Tunis, and Davis.

There are numerous other assertions similar to those cited above. They are found mainly in physical education text books, and journals offered to undergraduate students and teachers in the field (Barrow, 1983; Bucher, 1968; Oberteuffer, 1962; Sanborn, 1964; Seidel, 1972; Singer, 1976; Zaichkowsky, 1980). Most physical educators are "socialized" early in their careers to accept this as one of the goals of the discipline.

Physical education has been called, a microcosm of society (Seefeldt, 1989). The claim is made that the structure of social interaction in physical education programs sensitizes participants to the workings of society and also assists in the formation of social skills necessary for adult roles (Andrews, 1979; Oberteuffer and Ulrich, 1962; Staniford, n.d.). However there is little or no evidence to support the claims (Halas, 1987).

It is also said that the physical education experience offers the opportunity for male/female interaction (Cowell, 1960), but such interaction has been usually very restricted. Consider, for example, the relationship between male athletes and female cheerleaders. This reflects and perpetuates the different socialization of boys and girls. It is important to note that for the period investigated by this study, and throughout much of history, girls and boys were treated differently and programmed separately (Kane, 1989). French, Gilligan, Spender, and others have pointed



to the differences and difficulties females encounter in a male dominated society, and it has also been shown that similar problems exist with respect to physical education and sport for girls (Bray, 1988; Kane, 1989; Mastro, Hall, & Canabal, 1988).

Kane (1989) argues that girls, relative to boys, are still restricted in their participation in physical activity because of gender role conformity, itself a product of socialization, and because of society's and the media's perception that girls' performance, is not as good or important as boys'.

Bray (1988) and Hargreaves (1986) insist that females have been deliberately discriminated against with respect to participation in sports. However, in western society, throughout most of the twentieth century, opportunities for females in physical education have improved to some extent, though not to the same degree as that of males. In England and Manitoba, as recently as the 1940s and 1950s, and even today, certain activities and games were reserved for, and seen as girls' games (Bray, 1988; Jeffers, 1989).

In answer to the question "what is the most important objective in physical education?", Esslinger, a respected American authority, argued for the training of "the character, personality, citizenship and values of our students" (Miller, 1988, p. 75). This obviously links physical education, socialization and political

socialization. However, the link is not something that is universally accepted, for there have always been critics who have not totally accepted the belief that physical education and sport are effective agents of socialization.

Kinneman, while implying that no subject can lay sole claim to the socialization process, states that linking socialization with physical education is not to be taken seriously because physical education has no greater opportunity to develop character than any other subjects; "hence no more responsibility" (as cited in Sanborn & Hartman, 1964, p. 81).

Kinneman states that, the impression that strong muscles build strong morals was espoused in the first schools of physical education, during the two decades between this and last century, where pioneers in the discipline were simply eager to justify the subject (Sanborn & Hartman, 1964).

Some supporters of physical education felt it would significantly contribute to the socialization and control of students, in order that real learning, the three "R's", could take place. In contrast, according to Waller (1970), early critics of inter-school athletics felt they interfered with the academic goals of education.

Perhaps the strongest criticism against identifying physical education as a special vehicle for socialization, sportsmanship, or character development is simply that the

claims have not been demonstrated clearly by research.

Lucas, in writing about predictions for physical education in the year 2000, postulates:

Professionals in the discipline will rarely discuss moral, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual benefits to be derived from school and after-school physical activity. Three generations of researchers thus far in this century have not been able to amass a body of substantial and credible scientific evidence that these things occur, even in good programs (Lucas, 1986, p. 7).

Halas (1987) notes that most physical education curricula in Canada, although recognizing the importance of social objectives, offer little or no guidelines as to how to attain these objectives. For example, the current Manitoba physical education curriculum (1981), gives no specific details on how to develop "positive" social interactions. They, according to the curriculum, are to be achieved by incidental teaching, positive reinforcement, having students make up games, and complete activities; all somewhat vague directions.

The belief that physical education should be used for the good of society is well documented. However, notwithstanding the criticism that research has failed to prove that physical education is an effective agent of socialization, studies have also not been able totally to disprove the thesis that physical education does significantly contribute to the socialization process (Sanborn & Hartman, 1964).

Arnold (1986) has classified the debate into three broadly held views, which he refers to as neutral, negative, and positive, with the last being the most popular, predominant position.

A more moderate, realistic, and sensible postulate than those described by Arnold, suggests that physical education has only the potential to socialize students, but its success depends upon such factors as leadership, program design, teaching, and modelling, all accompanied by careful planning. However, there is a lack of specific information explaining just how the desired socialization is best accomplished (Arnold, 1986; Caine, 1986; Halas, 1987; Sander, 1985).

A facet of physical education which deserves special emphasis is inter-school competitive sports. In the literature on sport and socialization, and in that on the politics of sport, physical education is referred to frequently (Brohm, 1978; Cantelon & Gruneau, 1982; Hargreaves, 1986). It is sometimes difficult to determine where the line is drawn between school sport and other forms, as the concepts of socialization and political socialization are sometimes broadly applied. Physical education, and professional sports both have physical activity as a common denominator. Often they are interconnected and thought of interchangeably, in their association with socialization.

Physical education programs, particularly those that comprise inter-school sports competitions overlap with professional sport in their choice of activities, degree of competitiveness and playoff structure. The literature on sport has something to say about socialization, however, there are both similarities and differences between physical education literature and sport literature on socialization. Much of the sport literature is not relevant to concerns of this thesis.

Brohm in his work, Sport - A Prison Of Measured Time, articulates a critique of sport in state capitalist society. Although he writes from the perspective of elite sport in France, he claims that the criticisms have application to all sport and physical education, everywhere and invites others to write on the subject. However, it may be an exaggeration to make the assumption that what is in France, applies to physical education, or even to other societies, however that is Brohm's opinion.

Brohm uses an interesting and believable metaphor on sport as a stabilizing factor for existing capitalist society:

by conning people into identifying with the champions, sport has a de-politicizing effect. The champions ... who by their own efforts have succeeded in climbing the rungs of the social ladder ... justify and reinforce the social hierarchy. ... Sport sows illusions in the possibility of social advancement.... and inculcates a moral code based on effort and labour, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of the exploitation of the working class. ...

Appearing as politically neutral, sport encourages class collaboration by illustrating the possibility of a reasonable dialogue between the participants (for the two sides of industry), under the supervision of an impartial referee (the State).... Sport operates as sort of catharsis machine, an apparatus for transforming aggressive drives (1978, pp. 178 - 180).

Using Brohm's parable it is possible to substitute the school for society and physical education for sport in explaining and justifying school athletics.

Participants in school sport are influenced by professional sport, not always in a way condoned by physical educators, as is evidenced by the work of such researchers as Cantelon, 1983; Levy, 1983; Orlick and Botterill, 1975; Seefeldt, 1987 and others.

For example, Orlick and Botterill (1975) indicate that athletes as young as six and seven are treated like commodities, in ways similar to commercial athletes. Given the limited timetable space allocated to physical education, it is very difficult to determine just how much affect it has in socializing children into "acceptable" ways of winning, losing, and playing fair. There is merit and validity to the arguments of Cantelon, Levy, Seefeldt, Winther, and Orlick and Botterill, especially when one considers that the organization of competitive school sport has reached the elementary level.

Despite the claim that sport builds character, critics are quick to suggest that, instead, sports builds

"characters". Seefeldt (1987) points out that "in many instances participation in sport has done more to teach children inappropriate behaviours and attitudes than to develop desirable ones" (p. 139).

Cantelon (1983) argues that there is a comparison in the current attitudes and responses to youth sport with child labour of the last century. Cantelon's thesis argues that children are exploited through participation in sports when adults over organize and interfere. Students, increasingly, must rely upon the coach for direction on, and off the field.

Seefeldt (1987) adds that when adults overly organize, they deprive children of an important ingredient in a democratic society, that is, "the ability to settle disputes thorough discussion, arguments, and negotiations" (p. 213). Winther (1983) comments on the powerlessness of childhood in the way

many parents and teachers feel that they are totally responsible for the way their young children are 'moulded' into effective participants in society. Children are often seen as formless pieces of clay and the final shape that they assume could be ascribed to the characteristics that others decide (p. 76).

Two integral aspects of Canadian society, that are also intrinsic to school sport programs are competitiveness and cooperativeness, and they are implicit and explicit characteristics found in most physical education programs.

Much of the physical education literature in the socialization context, involves both competition and cooperation. They have always been a feature of the sports of Manitoba physical education and are seen as important components of socialization, a legacy of the nineteenth century British sports ethos.

Cooperation is necessary for the survival of any group, team or political system, and competition is widely established in Western Society. The polarizing characteristics of competition cause it to be glorified by some and rejected by others. Preschool children, in western capitalist societies, are socialized almost from birth to compete, and as they develop, when there is an opportunity to cooperate or compete, the latter is often chosen. After constantly being rewarded for great individual efforts, children may gradually lose their appreciation for communal involvement (Winther, 1983). Andrews (1979) refers to the frustration created through losing, where winners are applauded and losers are often ignored.

With respect to male-female differences in sport competition, research suggests that physical education, through socialization, sanctions physically demanding contact sports for boys, with an emphasis on the ascetic and competitive aspects, related to team effort and other qualities to do with the business world, while encouraging



nonviolent dance, aesthetic, individual activities for girls (Kane 1989; Winther, 1983).

Although physical education is comprised of individual and group activities, competition is more evident than cooperation, and that emphasis is not always seen as beneficial (Andrews, 1979; Orlick, 1979; Sanborn & Hartman, 1964; Staniford, n.d.; Winther, 1983). Seefeldt (1987) urges more equitable selection of teams to reduce unfair competition and create a healthier climate in which to teach children the values of sport (Orlick, 1979; Seefeldt, 1987).

One belief is that socializing children into a competitive way of thinking may enhance achievement in an inherently competitive society (Williams, 1954). It is, however debatable whether or not learned competition in physical education is transferable to society.

Cooperation, on the other hand, is also a feature of physical education and society, and some authors strongly encourage more cooperation and self competition in physical education (Orlick, 1978; Orlick & Botterill, 1975). Their research suggests that cooperation and managed competition can be an effective alternative to the typical winner/loser approach that has been a traditional feature of most physical education programs.

Orlick (1978), in contributing to the competition/cooperation debate, suggests that children socialized into an increasingly technical and competitive

world are in danger of losing their humanity. He feels that the rewards of physical activity will only be realized through cooperative play and games among children. His position is one that seems to be receiving increasing attention in the literature (Halas, 1987; Seefeldt; 1987).

Dreeben (1968) makes specific reference to the cooperation required of athletic team participation, especially where coordinated team effort is required. He cites Wilkinson who, while talking about athletics in the British public schools, advocates striking a balance between competition and social cooperation. Establishing a balance between competition and cooperation seems to be where both positions converge. Competition has long been a dominant feature of physical education, and any discussion about cooperation is welcomed by such authors as Halas (1987), Orlick & Botterill (1975), and Seefeldt (1987), among others.

Physical education, it appears, attempts to have it both ways, by, on the one hand saying that competition socializes for roles in society, but on the other hand, trumpeting cooperation as an important by product of the discipline.

Sports and school athletics have been, and are currently offered by some countries as a way of diverting and channelling social and political thinking, considered to be potentially dangerous to the State. Hargreaves suggests

that sport serves as a powerful socializing agent for the values of the powerful in society, because sport, unlike other forms of art and culture, lack the stage, and has limited potential to resist or protest. This is, however, perhaps too simple a view. Sport can be used to counter official values. For example, during the 1968 Mexico Olympics, medal winners, Carlos and Smith used their "stage", during the playing of the American anthem, to show their opposition of the treatment of Blacks in The United States, by each raising a gloved fist in support of the Black Power Movement.

Sugden (1989) explains that, where civil society is relatively homogeneous and self-controlled, and the state is not in danger, it is not necessary for the ruling or opposition groups to manipulate aspects of culture such as sport. However, in areas where social divisions can lead to civil disorder and widespread anti-government activities, it is likely that sport will become involved in the webbing of politics. Physical education, as will be shown, has often been drawn into this web of politics.

Gruneau (1982) in studying the political nature of play, games and sport, states that contemporary studies understate the way in which they are connected to power and discrimination. The very structure and organization of sport is itself a metaphor for western society in its power

structure, competition, cooperation, rules of play, rewards and penalties.

Physical education and sport have also contributed to the militarizing of youth with the aim of reinforcing the nation's military potential and preparedness for war. "It is worth noting that sport is held in high regard in the army and that the pioneers of physical and sports education were soldiers (Brohm, 1978, p. 180). In reality, some of the pioneers of physical education had military roots, but some others had medical backgrounds, and many others were educators (Van Dalen, Mitchell & Bennett, 1953).

Improved defence and militarism have long been a motivation to use physical education and sport for political purposes. For example, as a result of the 1864 war between Denmark and Germany, Denmark lost a great deal of territory. Some leaders encouraged a common bond to inspire the people to create a vigorous society, with the view of regaining their losses. Physical education was used as a means of endowing the population with good health and fitness, to raise their morale in order to develop a proud Denmark (Van Dalen, Mitchell & Bennett, 1953). Similarly, the German physical educator Jahn and his program of gymnastics was used to assist in the development of anti-Napoleonic, German nationalism during the nineteenth century. Other examples include Sweden and Britain of the nineteenth century and

Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, China, the United States and even Canada during this century (Brohm, 1978).

In Canada, for example, the establishment of the Strathcona Trust (1911), and the National Physical Fitness Act (1943) made no secret of the military aims of that program. During the first years of these programs, and especially in the war years, physical education was influenced by military aims such as the creation of fit, obedient soldiers.

A more recent example of the connection between physical education and militarism can be found in the United States of the 1950s. At that time, as a result of fitness testing, American children were found to be less fit than their European counterparts. That fact coupled with the impact of the Cold War, raised a concern for a national state of preparedness in the United States. President Eisenhower appointed a committee to develop a fitness program for the schools (Bucher, 1968; Fitzpatrick, 1982).

Physical education and sport at various times and in numerous countries have also been openly used to socialize youth politically for nationalistic purposes. Some countries have consciously made use of physical activity and mass sport as a means of creating a national identity. Several ideological movements emphasized physical excellence for character as well as physique and nationalism (Brohm, 1978).

The attempt to structure an individual's activities through sport in hopes of precluding alternate sources of influence is not a unique or new technique. In the past, and in contemporary times, mass sport has been used to create a sense of national identity. The Canada/Soviet hockey games serve as a recent example. In the process of establishing nation-states, sport has tended to participate in the process (Brohm, 1978).

Tunis states that "the principles of real sport are the principles of democracy and the principles of democracy are the principles of real sport" (Sanborn & Hartman, 1964, p. 86). Tunis is speaking about capitalist democracy, specifically the United States. However, sport and competition are also popular in non-democratic countries.

Nazi Germany, provides a powerful example of childhood, nationalistic indoctrination through physical education programs and youth sport clubs. Likewise, Mussolini quickly captured the sport clubs and physical education programs of Italy so he could use them to instill loyalty to his brand of fascism. A parallel in the Soviet Union is their establishment of youth clubs and camps as a way to inculcate their youth. Likewise, in England, Baden Powell's establishment of scouts and guides were also designed to instill loyalty (Rosenthal, 1986). However there is a substantial difference between Scouts and Hitler Youth.

Sport and physical education, in Communist societies, it can be argued, are even more connected to politics than in the capitalist system. In capitalist societies such as Britain, the United States, and Canada sport is primarily the responsibility of the individual, while in state socialist systems, such as the Soviet Union, China, and East Germany, it is regarded as primarily the responsibility of the state. The Soviet Union, for most of this century, has perceived sport and physical education as a way to develop will-power, teamwork, endurance, resourcefulness and other valuable qualities (Hargreaves, 1982). Thus in both capitalist and communist countries sport and physical education are clearly connected to socialization and political socialization.

At the school level, at the championship football game or a pep rally, the prevailing assumption is the same as that at the state level, that is, desirable characteristics of the school, like those of the nation, are embodied and personified in the successful exploits of their athletes. Kidd writes that Canadian high school physical education programs no longer stress "discipline", but participation in "carry-over" or lifetime sports. However, competition is still regarded very highly. At a deeper level, sport tends to transmit and reinforce the entire ideology of capitalism, thereby channelling the tremendous energy and creativity that is expended upon sport in ways that reflect and

reinforce the dominant class relations of the society as a whole.

### Discussion

This chapter has investigated the concept of socialization in relation to physical education, athletics, and sport. Since these activities are, in part, expressions of the values and norms of society's dominant institutions, it is no surprise that physical education, sports, and games reflect the predominant values of the highly competitive, production, and achievement-oriented nature of western capitalist society. However, it has also been shown that sport and physical education cut right across the ideological spectrum.

Much of what has been written on sport and physical education, from the historical and sociological perspective, is limited to benign chronological and foundational descriptions, and accounts of programs and their impact on participants. In addition, much of the general physical education literature on socialization is not particularly empirical nor predominantly sociological in orientation, although this is a growing field of study.

The literature on gender and physical activity, and the political use of physical education, is clearly more sociological and more "conflict" in orientation. Nevertheless, very little analysis of sport and physical



education has been conducted within the framework of conflict theory.

Much of the literature dealing with socialization and physical education tends to be superficial, unproblematic, and "conservative", as if it is taken for granted that children are introduced to and accept the dominant values and norms of society unquestioningly. Much of this literature is guilty of being too simplistic, as to what is subjectively termed good, bad, positive or negative socialization. Sociologists and critical theorists seek to make this more explicit.

Notwithstanding the endorsements used to promote physical education as an agent of socialization, the arguments have often been used to deliver a message in an attempt to sell the program of physical education to budget conscious administrators and trustees. Regardless, advocates for physical education and sport have succeeded in having the discipline strongly entrenched in the curriculum, with little or no attempt to determine whether or not physical education achieves its purported socializing goals.

Clearly, physical education is believed to be useful in attempting to socialize young people, including the development of "positive" character, in the hope that they will better function in society, in order to preserve it. The implication is obvious. The traits and practice of "sportsmanship" and character training, through

socialization in physical education programs are, for functionalists, transferable to and may be a safeguard for society.

The physical education literature on socialization shows that a variety of opinion exists. The belief that physical education is a special agent of socialization is widespread, long standing, and rather debatable, because most of the claims are not supported by research. Physical education and sport continue to be used as political tools. Females have been clearly socialized differently and unequally towards physical activity, and children are exploited through sport.

Proponents of the position that physical education can and does socialize students are not in agreement as to the methods of how it does so, but, in spite of this, there remains wide support both within, and outside the physical education community for the proposition that physical education is an important avenue of socialization.

The following two chapters will study the socialization goal in Manitoba public school physical education programs during the post war period, 1945 to 1958 inclusive.

## Chapter 4

### THE MANITOBA PHYSICAL FITNESS ACT (1945-1955)

#### Background

The following description of the development of public school physical education in Manitoba, coupled with an overview of social-economic conditions, and of Department of Education statistics during 1945 to 1958, is intended to set a context in which to study the concept of socialization in physical education programs, during the Post World War Two Period. The historical overview will also show some evidence that the socialization goal was a factor in the earlier development of Manitoba public school physical education.

Unorganized and organized physical activity was an inescapable part of life in early Manitoba and it was generally valued for the same sorts of social reasons as expressed in most other English speaking countries of the time. In the rapidly rising number of public schools, sports and games became a feature on school fields, at first informally, then in a more organized manner (Mott, 1980).

The first Manitoba physical education programs, during the 1880s, were in the form of military drill modelled after those in Britain. However drill exercises were not the

chief activities of these programs. Sports and games were offered to maintain the student interest, the "sugar coating" on the school "pill", designed to show people their place in society.

An important influence on physical education in Manitoba, and indeed in Canada, was a \$500,000 Trust fund, established in 1909 by Lord Strathcona, the High Commissioner for Canada, to aid a scheme devised by Sir F. W. Borden, the Minister of Militia and Defence. The purpose of the Trust was to encourage provincial departments of education to include drill and physical training, as a part of teacher education, and to incorporate these activities in the school curriculum.

The main motives for establishing the Strathcona Trust, like those of drill programs, were "to improve the physical and intellectual capabilities of the children, by inculcating habits of alertness, orderliness and prompt obedience, also to bring up the boys to patriotism" (Green, 1950, p. 13). This suggests that a desire to socialize and control "the masses" were certainly motivations for instituting the Strathcona Trust Program. In addition, as a result of the Boer War, there was a concern, on the part of the elite, about the lack of fitness in the volunteers who were rejected as unfit.

Manitoba officially included "physical culture" in the 1909 Programme of Studies, under the heading "Subjects for

all Grades" (Province of Manitoba, 1909, p. 2) and by the First World War, the Trust was firmly established in the Manitoba education system. However sports continued to be popular, even more so after World War One (Downie, 1961; Green, 1951).

In 1929 Robert Jarman, recruited from England, by the Winnipeg School District, to establish a system of physical education, acted as Director of Physical Education for the District, and for the Manitoba Department of Education until 1939, when he devoted full attention to the Winnipeg schools (Downie, 1961). Jarman, believed that physical education was not merely a set of drill exercises, but was "a phase- a most important phase- of the whole aim of the school, which is the development and training of ... the whole man or woman" (Jarman, 1942, p. 15), or in one word, socialization.

The depression and the unemployment of the 1930s led to the passing of the National Youth Training Act, designed to fit unemployed youth for gainful work. This Act was in response to a concern that youth had little else to do but "loaf in pool rooms and at street corners (Stewart, 1939, p. 7). The recreation provisions in the Act led to the establishment of the Leadership Summer School, in Gimli, attendance at which was a requirement for all prospective Manitoba teachers, until 1952. Physical education was at the centre of the Gimli Summer courses, where leadership,

through participation and increased confidence, was emphasized (Connell, 1967).

The 1943 National Physical Fitness Act was passed in response to concerns that boys and young men were not fit enough to defend the country after the outbreak of World War Two. The main motivations for the Act were military preparedness, fitness, and patriotism (Gear, 1973). Political socialization was clearly a part of the 1943 national fitness program, as it was with the Strathcona Trust.

Physical training, the Strathcona Trust, Robert Jarman, the Youth Training Act, the National Physical Fitness Act, and the long standing regard for sports and games, all had an impact upon physical education in Manitoba, prior to 1945. All were connected with a concern for youth, and with the perceived need to socialize them through physical education programs in the schools.

During the post war years of 1945 to 1958, physical education programs in many schools were considered inadequate and lacking in equipment and facilities. Support of physical education, on the part of the Manitoba provincial government and educators in general, appeared to be sporadic and sparse. Budgetary restraints were of constant concern particularly to physical education directors during the early 1950s (Anderson, 1964; Downie, 1961).

Generally, between 1945 and 1958, conditions for physical education, according to Downie (1961), improved in the larger districts, such as the Winnipeg School District, although, this should not be generalized across the province. Indeed, between 1945 and 1958, many city and rural schools still had long standing problems associated with a lack of equipment, facilities, and qualified teachers and supervisors of physical education (Province of Manitoba, June, 1958).

The period following the end of the second world war was one of large scale growth for Canada (Canada, 1961; Podoluk, 1968). North American had achieved a high level of prosperity that showed no indication of ending. There was an increase in the population, of Canada and Manitoba, due to a high birth rate and renewed immigration, as well as an increase in the number of students, teachers, and schools (Canada, 1963; Henripin, 1972).

#### The Manitoba Physical Fitness Act

The Manitoba Physical Fitness Act, the counterpart of the National Physical Fitness Act, was passed in March of 1945, in response to the Government of Canada's concern that males were unfit to defend the country at war. Funding was made available to those provinces which had parallel legislation to the National Act. All provinces with the exception of Quebec entered the plan. Quebec refused,

according to Gear (1973), because they felt that the funding was inadequate.

In the Manitoba Fitness Act, fitness included "all physical, mental, moral and cultural conditions, capacities, qualities, characteristics, skills, application, and qualifications that better fit a person to become a useful "citizen" (Statutes of Manitoba, 1945). Fitness was not viewed predominantly physiologically as it is in the 1980s. It was seen in a broader sense, and included the social aspects of citizenship.

The Manitoba Physical Fitness Council was formed as a result of the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act. The Council was comprised of a Director, the Minister, Deputy Minister, and three staff from the Department of Health and Public Welfare, one member each from the Department of the Attorney-General, the Department of Agriculture and Immigration, and Education. Amendments to the Act in 1951 and 1952 altered the composition of the council, with the addition of four citizen members (Statutes of Manitoba, 1952).

Hart Devenney was appointed director of the Manitoba Physical Fitness Program in 1945. His duties stipulated that part of his time be spent assisting the school physical education programs, through the Manitoba Department of Education. Devenney's philosophy of physical education was



much like Robert Jarman's. It embraced much more than just physical exercise and included a socialization goal.

At the time of Devenney's arrival at the Department of Education, the most comprehensive and official Department of Education statements about physical education were found in the annually distributed, often repetitious, Programmes of Studies. Citizenship was clearly stated as important in connection to physical training, and health, and all were included together in the 1944-1945 Programme of Studies, under the course Practical Citizenship.

Practical Citizenship was comprised of 160 periods a year, of which 100 were Health and Physical Training. Health and Physical Training were placed at the beginning of the grades seven to twelve syllabus,

because the first essential of a good citizen is a sound mind in a sound body. The objective of physical training is the development of a sound body, of an alert mind, and character ... which will develop fixed habits of self direction and control which in a good citizen, are part and parcel of his daily life ... The results of the course should not be measured so much by written examinations as by the degree of achievement of maximum of physical and mental well being as well as development of character. Students who fail to reach the maximum of efficiency fail to that extent in attaining personal satisfaction and usefulness in the community. To be effective this course must find expression in doing things that any good citizen does to keep himself fit, both physically and mentally, to meet these responsibilities (Province of Manitoba, (1944, p. 6,7)).

Clearly this reflects a functionalist view. Physical training, was expected to "bring to the students pride in

physical well-being, leadership, initiative, discipline, fair play, and a keen spirit of cooperation and competition--all essential in full citizenship" (p. 7).

In 1948, the Programmes of Studies changed, presumably due to Devenney's influence. The objectives of physical education were reprinted verbatim in the annual Programmes of Studies throughout the remaining period of this study. Citizenship was not specifically mentioned, but was implied. The objectives of physical education were said to be of primary importance, and they were seen as being consistent with those for all education.

The mental, social and moral qualities which may be developed will very clearly be apparent ... The techniques, methods and activities ... are designed to ensure wholesome expression and emotional control. Social standards and ideals will be developed by the realization of interdependence (Province of Manitoba, Programme of Studies, 1948, p. 103).

Four specific objectives of physical education were listed in this 1948 Programme of Studies as follows.

1. To provide opportunities for a wide range of vigorous and dynamic activity ...
2. To provide opportunities for the development of socially sound attitudes and habits for wholesome living.
3. To provide opportunities for the development of emotional control.
4. To provide opportunities for activities which will widen and extend satisfaction in the positive use of leisure time (p. 102).

Again this suggests that the goal really was to socialize students to behave and to accept society in order to conserve it. A question not answered is, what constitutes

"social sound attitudes" and "wholesome living". There is very little elaboration in any of the data that specifically defines such phrases.

A review of Devenney's annual physical education reports to the Department of Education reveals his philosophy of physical education. He habitually prefaced his reports with a preamble describing the needs, goals, purposes or objectives of physical education, and constantly focused on three recurring points. Firstly, he talked about the goals of physical education, in the spirit of the Programme of Studies. Secondly, he maintained that these goals were the same as those for all education; and he argued that finally the goals could be achieved jointly with other subjects through proper teaching (Province of Manitoba, 1952).

For example in his first detailed report (1947), aside from the physical goals, he wrote,

- In general, good physical education should provide ...
- (b) Opportunities ... for the development of sound attitudes, habits and knowledge of wholesome living.
  - (c) Opportunities for experiencing and gaining satisfaction from such qualities as co-operation, social attitudes, leadership, group membership, which give the pupil status (Province of Manitoba, 1947, p. 93).

These qualities clearly reflect a consensus view of education and society, and although they differ in wording from the objectives listed in the Programme of Studies, the functionalist position is the same.

In his 1951 annual report, Devenney emphasized the importance of physical education for the development of the whole child, intellectually, emotionally, socially, and physically. He pronounced that "in some things, physical education activities offer media by which this can be done more effectively than in other phases of the educational programme" (Province of Manitoba, 1951, p. 102). However, he seasoned this statement by indicating that sometimes physical education can be used to supplement "those phases of development enhanced by other parts of the curriculum" (Province of Manitoba, 1951, p. 102).

Devenney's final annual report, in 1954, referred to the need to develop desirable character traits as well as skills and organic (fitness) development, and he highlighted the importance of citizenship, and wrote that "physical education ... is only effective when its goals and objective are consonant with those of the school itself" (Province of Manitoba, 1954, p. 110).

The annual reports of the Department of Education usually contained accounts of the operation of the Normal School and the Gimli Summer School. Physical education was referred to regularly. Its socialization goal was usually mentioned, often in the context of character development and citizenship. For example, the preamble of the Normal School report for 1949-1950 talked about the importance of the physical education program in developing citizenship in

children: "How they accept the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship will be determined largely by their physical, mental and emotional fitness" (Province of Manitoba, 1950, p. 88).

The writing of Manitoba physical education curriculum guides were completed after Devenney was appointed Director of Physical Fitness. By 1948, all levels had access to a current, local curriculum. These curricula were available for use in Manitoba during the entire time of this study. Without exception, the socialization goal of physical education was clearly stated in all curricula, though with little elaboration.

The first statement, in the 1946 grades one to six physical education curriculum, highlighted the socialization role of all subjects, including physical education.

Every phase of education has its responsibility for playing a part in attaining the total goal of education to enable boys and girls to live more effectively in a democratic society. Because of its nature, a properly conducted, graded and integrated course in physical education can make a contribution which no other subject can make (Province of Manitoba, 1946, p. 1).

No suggestions are given as to how physical education could make a contribution which no other subject could, and, in most instances there is little elaboration or explanation of most of Devenney's foundational or philosophical statements.

A special section of the 1946 elementary physical education curriculum addressed the one-roomed rural or small

graded school. It was felt that rural children did not have the same opportunity to enjoy social contacts as their urban counterparts. Therefore specific efforts were recommended to plan physical activities, and to allow for increased social interaction for rural students.

In the 1947 Junior High, and the 1948 Senior High Curricula, the stated objectives were similar to those in the elementary guide, with the addition of a mention of the psychological and social benefits of inter-school sports. Students were encouraged to organized their own intramural programs, but under the direction of an "advisor". Through these competitions, it was expected that there would be a friendly atmosphere to provide for "social development". The specific activities designed to accomplished the objectives of physical education were calisthenics, posture training, gymnastics, ball and club drills, rhythmic, mimetics and dances, games, track and field athletics, swimming, extra-curricular activities, and self-testing stunts. Self-testing activities, according to the curriculum, helped to develop "courage, self confidence and determination" (p. 27). These are all qualities that describe manliness, character, and sportsmanship, as detailed in Chapter Three.

For the elementary grades, the same physical activities were recommended, jointly for boys and girls. However in the junior and senior high schools, the program was to be

carried on in separate classes. Girls' activity was concerned with the development of suppleness, flexibility, rhythm and grace, rather than muscular strength. They were not expected to reach boys' standards of play. Their competitions were more related to form than strenuous activity. "Girls should be watched carefully so that extreme nervous tension is not being built up" (p. 118).

This description of girls' physical education seems to support the arguments of French, Gilligan, Spender, Bray, Hargreaves, and others that refer to the differences in socialization for boys and girls, generally in society, and specifically in physical education.

Physical education also excluded disabled students, who were only to take part in the physical education program as "helpers or scorers". This shows that restrictions of the disabled, with respect to physical activity, were evident in Manitoba during the Post World War Two Period. Devenney, as Director of Physical Fitness at the Department of Education, presumably did not intentionally exclude the disabled from participation in physical education programs.

During his association with the Manitoba Department of Education, Devenney wrote monthly articles, on physical education for The Manitoba School Journal in which he often referred explicitly to the importance of the socialization goal of physical education.

In his first article, entitled "What Do We Mean By Fitness", the following definition was put forth: ". . . fitness is not alone physical. Fitness includes measurable mental and emotional adjustment . . . moral and spiritual values . . ." (Devenney, September, 1945, p. 9). He indicated that, because of the war, the physical aspect of fitness had received a good deal of attention, but it was now time to address the social values of physical education.

Devenney's writings show that he believed in the importance of the socialization potential of physical education. His philosophy with respect to the social goals of physical education is summed up in this excerpt from a 1947 article.

The respect for personality, the conception of the place of the individual in the group or community, the adjustment of individual likes and dislikes in the social life we must all lead, all of these situations will provide some opportunity in physical education activities for development. Thus physical education must not only be thought of in biological or physiological terms. It is a social science as well (Devenney, March, 1947, p. 19).

It appears that Devenney used the word "development" not only in a biological sense, but also in a societal/social framework.

Devenney talked of the socializing role of physical education by indicating that "the process of group living which can be fostered through the proper teaching of



physical education makes of it very definitely one of the essential social services" (Devenney, September, 1947, p. 12). He acknowledged that skills and vigorous activity were certainly "primary" but not exclusively the object of physical education. He explained later that, "perhaps it can be said ... that the real test of the worth of any subject of the curriculum lies ultimately in the enrichment of life for the individual pupil. Because of this, every subject has a certain social significance" (Devenney, January, 1949, p. 16).

In a subsequent article, Devenney maintained his consensus theme, when he alluded to the importance of the social development of individuals and their dependence on society, by writing that:

we know that wholesome, emotional expression is essential in the development of healthy personality, emotional stability and desirable character traits. Thus opportunities for learning in physical education which will insure wholesome expression, control of the emotions, development of social standards and ideals, and a keen appreciation of the fact that each individual is dependent on other members of society for most of the satisfactions in life, will be planned for on a controlled basis during the school year (Devenney, September, 1949, p. 10).

It appears that Devenney was implying that individuals should think of the importance of society as a whole. He later wrote that attitudes to teammates, and the welfare of the group are more important than the learning of facts and skills (Devenney, October, 1949).

Further evidence of the view of education, society, and the socialization process, during Devenney's tenure at the Department of Education, is found in the following quotation: "Teaching, broadly speaking, is the means whereby society trains its younger members as quickly as possible to adjust themselves to the world in which they live" (Devenney, February, 1950, p. 8). This conservative statement clearly supports the earlier points about wanting to maintaining society as it existed.

And in a later comment he seemed to connect socialization and physical education more emphatically to the school in general. "All of the subjects of the curriculum are teaching opportunities which permit the teacher to aim toward the ultimate generalized objective which we have called the purpose of the school. No less true is the fact that physical education can only be included in the school curriculum because it also offers teaching opportunities leading to achievement of outcomes related to this purpose" (Devenney, March, 1954, p. 23).

Devenney also stated that girls require the benefit of physical education as much as boys, though it was in different forms and for different goals and roles. He defined the benefits for girls' participation in physical education traditionally, in terms of grace and poise, while identifying the importance of strength, and endurance for boys' (Devenney, 1949).

With respect to girls' physical education, Arva Stewart (1948) a member of Devenney's staff prepared an article for The Manitoba School Journal, entitled "Strictly for Girls". Stewart clearly agreed that girls' physical education is different from that of boys, because of the physiological differences between girls and boys, making some physical tasks more difficult for females.

In addition, Stewart cited "the problem of racial [sic] experience of women; for, as home-makers and mothers, they have fewer opportunities for social co-operation and team work and therefore, differ in interest and tastes from men" (Stewart, 1948, p. 8). This is a good example of the perception held by some people, of women's place and role in society during the 1940s and its close relationship to the school curriculum.

Terms such as lightness and suppleness are cited by Stewart, with reference to girls' participation in physical education. However, she did indicate that qualities of cooperation, teamwork, strength, will-power and discipline were important for girls to receive through physical education, though not to the same extent as boys.

Devenney, in his journal articles, also associated physical education with political socialization, with frequent references to citizenship and democracy. While commenting that physical education was more than sports,

games, or exercise, Devenney expanded on the socialization role of the subject by saying that:

physical education can help the child develop not only recreational skills but social competence. Group games, team games, rhythms and yes, self testing stunts may be used to teach the rudiments of citizenship. Sometimes this part of physical education instruction is more important ... than any other benefits (Devenney, November, 1947, p. 12).

Devenney saw the physical education class as "a 'workshop' whereby the processes of democracy are practised and learned, ... May we therefore place our practice of physical education in its true perspective- alongside all fields of educational endeavour in our efforts to fully develop young citizens as future citizens?" (October, 1949, p. 6).

Devenney also pointed out that it is not subjects that must be taught, but young, malleable citizens who must be guided toward good citizenship (Devenney, January, 1947). In this regard, one may recall, the comment by Winther (1983), also in Chapter Three, on the way children are often seen as "formless pieces of clay", with the final shape that they assume ascribed to the characteristics that parents and teachers decide.

Devenney also indicated that the training of individuals as followers was a very important element in citizenship training. He felt that the whole conduct of the physical education program should become a "laboratory" for the training of good citizens (Devenney, June, 1950).

Hart Devenney claimed that there was much evidence to support the socialization potential of physical education and sport (Devenney, February, 1951). However, a review of his writing failed to locate any examples of supportive research. He did accept that the intended socialization was not always successful because "sport has been known to teach bad citizenship as well as good under poor instruction" (February, 1951, p. 4).

In 1951, Devenney submitted his most detailed definition of citizenship, which he said consisted of truthfulness, honesty, fair-dealing, loyalty, self-restraint, self-discipline, courage, and gentleness (February, 1951). He described citizenship more precisely in terms of physical education as accepting the decisions of officials, discussing and practising sportsmanship, being fair, honest, and courteous in media accounts of games, all similar to the British concept of character derived from sport (February, 1951). All this is also comparable to the descriptions of manliness, character, and sportsmanship, detailed earlier in this study. It also has a political application in the sense that obeying laws in sport might have some relevance to respecting authority.

Sportsmanship is mentioned by Devenney as a normal part of the learning process in all teaching, including physical education. He spoke often of the connection between sportsmanship in the intramural and inter-school sports

programs. He said it involved honesty, integrity, "etc", a "nebulous thing and has been variously defined", related to the business of living together, by "the 'rules of the game' both as codified and as unwritten laws of living" (October, 1949, p. 6). Devenney later listed the values of inter-school sports as, learning the positive use of leisure time; learning to accept leadership; and to practise good sportsmanship (March, 1954).

In an article titled "What do We Mean by Sportsmanship?", Devenney referred to a Vancouver conference presentation by Dr. J. B. Kirkpatrick, Director of the School of Physical Education at McGill University in Montreal, who suggested that "in no other professional grouping in education is there so much talk about the development of attitudes than is by the teachers of physical education ... Sportsmanship can be defined in exactly the same way that good manners can be defined, as a way of behaving in any given situation" (Devenney, May, 1951, p. 8). This is an example of the unproblematic usage of words such as "good", that make this quotation and others examples of a functionalist perspective.

Devenney also devoted attention, in The Manitoba School Journal, to the topic of competitive school athletics. In an early article (March, 1948) he referred to competition as "the" main object of physical education, in contradiction to other objectives statements on skills and the social goals.

He expressed a similar concern to that later raised by Seefeldt (1987), and others, cited in Chapter Two, that competition, when over emphasized, can "foster negative outcomes rather than the positive and socially constructive results" (Devenney, March, 1948, p. 12). He often spoke of the dangers of placing too much emphasis on competition in inter-school and intramural programs, where only a few participate, producing "a dog eat dog philosophy which is as destructive to the individual practising it as to those whom the process crushes" (Devenney, March, 1948, p. 12).

On the subject of competition for girls, Devenney provides another example of differences between girls' and boys' socialization through physical education, when he states that "both internal and external factors make girls' participation in competitive activities more free from some of the dangers cited than boys' (March, 1948, p. 13). He was referring to the physiological and psychological differences between boys and girls, suggesting that, since girls are not as strong or competitive as boys, they are less likely to injure themselves.

In an April, 1950, article, he indicated that competitive sports could serve as a unifying factor for a school and a community because

there are many factors which divide them- social factors, economic factors, racial or religious factors- that good organization and management of sports can help minimize ... Then, too, there are few activities which offer a better opportunity than sports for teachers to foster the development

of leadership ability (Devenney, April, 1950, p. 4).

Devenney also talked about the importance of leadership development through physical education. Leadership, according to Devenney was comprised of qualities of character such as initiative, self-reliance, decision making, likeableness, good moral outlook, best conduct, and sportsmanship (Devenney, June, 1950).

In spite of the many affirmations of the socialization value of competitive school sport, Devenney showed that he was very aware, and had a quite sophisticated and reasoned understanding, of the problems concerning competition and cooperation (February, 1951). Devenney indicated that the same problems that exist elsewhere, with respect to the value of competitive athletics, are to be found in Manitoba (April, 1952). On occasion he referred to the problems in professional sports with its emphasis on winning (September, 1952).

Devenney seemed to understand that competition did not always achieve the "desired" socialization, when he avowed that "such values do not occur automatically. Sport can be a double-edged sword. When misdirected and misguided it can be exceedingly harmful" (Devenney, February, 1951, p. 4). He described athletics as a force for good or evil (April, 1952). However the terms are relative, since one person's "good" may not be another person's.



Devenney's views of the relative values of cooperation and competition are conveniently summarized in a 1954 statement:

Many educators have expressed themselves as feeling that any emphasis on competition rather than upon co-operation has, in countless situations, had a detrimental rather than a developmental effect. ... It is rather difficult to believe that competition and co-operation are inimical human characteristics. Proper methods of procedure ... would do much to eliminate abuses. On the basis of his biological and sociological characteristics competition would seem to be native to man. ... At all events there is little positive and scientific information to indicate that it can be 'bred' out of him, or legislated out of existence or moralized away ... Given some guidance competition can ... be made to contribute something positive to society (Devenney, May, 1954, p. 10).

Devenney, in his functionalist view of education and society, gives the impression that when athletics are "conducted in schools under rules which provide for equitable competition, sportsmanship, fair play, health and safety", they could create a better society (Devenney, April, 1952, p. 10). Later Devenney expressed his belief that "athletics exist for the education of youth rather than that youth exists for the performance of athletic games" (Devenney, September, 1952). He indicated that the objectives of competitive athletics should complement and supplement the general objectives of education, the local school, and community (September, 1952). Devenney felt that the purpose of extra-curricular activities could only be discussed in light of the general purpose of the school.

Devenney, as he stated in his annual reports, felt that teachers and sound teaching were key factors in developing the social goals of physical education. But he provided little direction on the methods to be employed, other than the mention of good leadership with vision, ingenuity, foresight, skills and abilities in program promotion, somewhat vague and abstract qualities, to achieve the desired social ends.

Devenney expressed the need for directing childrens' activity.

Playing by themselves, children do not automatically acquire ... social competence ... Guidance is essential ... Character traits do not naturally accompany physical activity but have to be made part of the experience in order to become integrated with the child's personality (Devenney, 1947, p. 13).

With specific reference to how properly to achieve the socialization goals of physical education, Devenney simply asserted, without any further explanation, that "there are the strategic possibilities open to the teacher of athletic games for developing desirable social and moral traits within the individual" (Devenney, September, 1952, p. 18).

Devenney did emphasize that it was important for all to be involved, in the socialization process, participants, parents, and educators. He offered the opinion that schools have a responsibility and concern for promoting desirable changes in the pupil's way of life, and attitudes to society

(April, 1952). In one of his final articles he called upon administrators to play a leadership role in the process (May, 1954).

Most of the writing done by Devenney during 1954, his final year as Manitoba Director of Physical Fitness, centered upon the socialization goal of physical education, especially in reference to inter-school sports. His final article further reported on the Vancouver conference presentation by Kirkpatrick. The topic was, "Realizing Character Values Through Competitive School Athletics". Kirkpatrick, of McGill, had examined the question of whether or not character values could be developed through physical education.

Devenney reiterated and agreed with Kirkpatrick's position that "it is never the game itself which develops character; the game simply sets up a situation in which 'learning' leading to the possible development of positive character habits can be stressed ... through participation in athletics, ... and that it can 'carry over' into later behaviour (Devenney, December, 1954, p. 9). The role of the teacher in guiding students in physical education is once again stressed. The conclusion of this article is classic Devenney. He outlined his philosophy of character development through sports participation by stating:

all sorts of foolish excesses in the promotion of athletic competition exist in this respect. If there are values, and there is no doubt about this, let

us concentrate on those which study, observations and experiment have proved. Let us see also that good, practical worthwhile teaching and organization can be carried on (1954, p. 10).

Devenney was taking the position that physical education was important, not as a frill, but as an avenue of socialization, and to that end one should be clear and precise about its social value, and then deliver the program properly with trained teachers.

This article concluded Devenney's contribution to The Manitoba School Journal. As a result of the repeal of the National Physical Fitness Act, in 1954, federal funding for the Manitoba program ceased. The bill to repeal the National Physical Fitness Act, according to Gear (1973), was passed with almost no discussion. Orban suggests that the Act was repealed because it was due to "ill-conceived legislation, ill-defined objectives, and lack of leadership and direction (Orban, 1965, p. 242).

The National Physical Fitness Act had come about during war time in response to a concern that young men were unfit to defend the country. By 1954, the war had been over for almost ten years; so that the concern for defence had subsided. The Manitoba Physical Act was repealed in 1955, mainly due the withdrawal of federal funding (Statutes of Manitoba, 1955).

Thus a definite period in the history of physical education in the province of Manitoba was closed, because,

with the lapsing of Manitoba's Fitness Act, the operation of the Physical Fitness Division and the work of Hart Devenney at the Department of Education terminated. As a result, there was considerably less written on physical education in journals and in Reports of The Department of Education, probably because there was no longer a central figure to address physical education.

It was not until 1957, that Andrew Currie was appointed Director of Physical Education at the Department of Education, in response to lobbying by physical education advocates. Currie's appointment suggests that the Government of Manitoba was somewhat interested in physical education, however it was almost three years since Devenney's position at the Department was terminated, and Currie's job was only half time.

### Discussion

Competition, development, character and citizenship are concepts that Devenney frequently used in his writing about physical education. Much of what he said on these concepts is similar to the views of other authors writing about the socialization goal of physical education. This suggests that Devenney was aware of the common wisdom of the physical education community on these matters.

Devenney often used the word "development" in reference to the social objectives of physical education. He saw it as important in a social sense, if not more so that the

learning of physical skills and fitness. Development implies a change in an individual. Devenney's use of the word development suggests that he saw physical education's socialization role as something that was cultivated through participation in the program.

Devenney's view of the socializing role of physical education was consistent with the overall goals of education articulated by the province of Manitoba, and reflected a consensus view of socialization. His writing was consistent with the socialization role of physical education, as found in Programmes of Study, Annual Reports, physical education curricula, and other official, and unofficial documentation examined, from the period associated with the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act.

During his tenure, as Director of Fitness and Physical Education, at the Manitoba Department of Education, Hart Devenney consistently trumpeted the socialization goal of physical education. However his view of socialization through physical education is somewhat unproblematic and conservative.

The following chapter will investigate the origin of the 1950s fitness movement in Manitoba and will investigate events leading up to and including the 1958 study of physical education and recreation in Manitoba.

## Chapter 5

### THE 1958 STUDY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION IN MANITOBA

Aside from the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act, and the 1958 Study of Physical Education and Recreation in Manitoba, a phenomenon that deserves mention, in the context of this study, is the influence of the modern fitness movement on Manitoba physical education programs, during the early 1950s.

Fitness as a concern and a focus has had a long connection with physical education. Devenney's work with the Manitoba Department of Education, as discussed earlier, made frequent reference to the importance of fitness as one of the goals of physical education. The 1950s represent a time where the fitness goal of physical education began to receive increased attention based upon more research and knowledge than had been previously available (Fitzpatrick, 1982).

The beginning of the fifties fitness movement, according to Orban (1965), can be traced to the publicity that arose in the United States from the announcement in 1954 that American children, as measured by the Kraus-Weber tests, were less "fit" than European youth. Eventually,

there was a spill over of the American concern to Canada, and from then on, fitness, began to receive a good deal more attention, in physical education programs. However, in spite of this publicity, the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act was repealed. This was mainly due to the fact that federal funding was withdrawn, and before the publicity about low levels of fitness made an impact on governments. Manitoba did not want to assume the cost. However fitness did begin to receive increased attention.

For example, in 1955, the Manitoba Branch of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, hosted the national convention of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation. A review of the conference agenda shows that physical fitness was very much a focus, more so than in the past (Fitzpatrick, 1982).

Even though fitness became a more evident feature in accounts of physical education, the socialization goal was still present (Dobson, 1958; Keefe, 1957; Royal, 1958). For example there were those who expressed concern about too much an emphasis on fitness, to the exclusion of the social goals of the physical education. Cautious progress was advised: "Let us view with alarm infringements on our other accepted objectives such as the development of ... social and emotional development" (Howell & Morford, 1960, p. 5). This is consistent with the Devenney philosophy where



fitness was broadly viewed, with social and moral values considered very important.

The emergence of a fitness movement in Canada can be seen in an increase in the distribution of fitness literature (Dobson, 1958; Keefe, 1957; Royal, 1958); the hosting of more physical education conferences with fitness as a topic; as well as an increased interest in the testing and grading of physical education programs, perhaps in an attempt to place physical education on the same plain as the academic subjects (Fitzpatrick, 1982; Winnipeg School District, 1955, 1957).

There was even a desire to quantify the social goal of the physical education program as were the fitness components. In an article on testing in physical education, in The Manitoba School Journal, Keefe (1957), of the University of Saskatchewan, listed measurement of social and emotional factors, such as character and personality, as one of six important measures of physical education because "we all feel that a well-conducted programme of physical education contributes to these behaviour traits and a good deal of interest has been shown in trying to prove this point" (p. 17).

Physical fitness testing programs became popular in Manitoba schools, during the 1950s, mainly through the efforts of Doris Plewes, who remained as a fitness consultant with the national Division of Fitness in Ottawa,

after the demise of the National Physical Fitness Act. She designed a battery of fitness tests, and administered them to selected schools in Canada, including some in the Winnipeg School District. The results, which indicated low levels of fitness, were cited in annual reports to school boards in an attempt to convince trustees to spend more on physical education programs (Winnipeg School District, 1957).

Despite the increased interest with fitness, socialization retained its importance. In a 1958 Royal Bank of Canada Newsletter which featured as its topic the problem of low fitness in Canada, the social goal was stated as a by-product of fitness. According to the newsletter writer, fitness, "tends to ... reduce violent emotions ... contributes to our courage in tackling problems, and gives us vigour to do things of consequence ... A physically fit person easily finds his way out of difficulties ... he gives birth to business ideas as no ailing man can " (Royal Bank, 1958, p. 4).

The fitness movement, through an increased emphasis on the physiological justification for physical education, did not eclipse the socialization goal, even though physical education had embraced a more quantitative justification for the subject. As will be shown, the social objective was never totally disregarded, in fact it was very much in evidence.

Even before the repeal of the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act, the Manitoba Physical Fitness and Recreation Council, began to lobby for Manitoba legislation to address physical education, fitness and recreation programs. The Council probably realized that the Manitoba Fitness Act was doomed once the National Act was discontinued. The council submitted a brief to the Manitoba government, in an attempt to stop the "proposed legislation which will profoundly affect the life of the Act" (Brief, 1955, p. 1).

The goals of physical education as listed in the Fitness Council brief include its contribution "to the development of desirable social habits and attitudes" (p. 1). The brief, serves as an example of "socialization with a vengeance" in its definition of physical education as, "that phase of the school program in which, through ... physical activities ... the pupil is guided to the successful solution of many of the persistent problems of daily living" (Brief, 1955, p. 1). This is an ambitious aspiration for physical education, but the council did temper it by saying that it depended upon good instruction and leadership, as Devenney had also often argued.

In offering a rationale for their request to the Government of Manitoba to continue a provincial physical education program, the Council mentioned the role that physical education could play in dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency. However, they "did not suggest that

merely by having physical fitness and recreation programs the problems relating to juvenile delinquency will disappear ... There is need for this type of program as one of the many therapeutic measures" (p. 4). They also recommended the need for Manitoba research in many areas of physical education including "character development in respect to athletics" (p. 11).

After the repeal of the Manitoba Fitness Act, lobbyists in the physical education community, and others in Manitoba, continued to seek government action to restore provincial support for physical education and recreation. In December, 1955, a Manitoba Recreation and Physical Education Committee was formed on the initiation of the Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg, an independent social service agency comprised of various organizations, sharing a common interest in recreation and the general well-being of the population. The Council concern for the population embodies a functionalist position, which is not unexpected, given the fact that the Welfare Council represented those who wished to preserve society.

It is not surprising that physical educators in Manitoba would align themselves with groups not involved with the education system or their discipline. Since there were few Manitobans with degrees in physical education at the time, and the Manitoba Branch of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation

was a small group in its infancy, these physical educators must have realized that it was necessary to seek public support for their needs, through established channels. In fact some members of the Welfare Council were very politically astute, and had frequent communication with Manitoba Premier Campbell and probably represented the elite position.

After consideration, the committee decided that a provincial study was necessary to determine the needs and actions required to respond to the problems of physical education and recreation. After lobbying with representatives from the Manitoba government, a resolution authorizing a provincial study of physical education and recreation was passed in 1957.

While planning took place to devise the provincial study of physical education and recreation, the McFarlane Royal Commission on Education in Manitoba was under way. This commission affected physical education in Manitoba by leading to the decision to consolidate school districts in Manitoba into forty eight school divisions, with the resulting construction of larger schools, particularly in the rural areas. The increase in the number of facilities included new and larger gymnasiums, for the better delivery of physical education programs.

The Manitoba Education Association, representing the teachers of Manitoba, made a presentation to the McFarlane

Royal Commission on Education, on September 23, 1957. The submission acknowledged that physical education contributes to both improved fitness, and socialization. The Manitoba Branch of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation also submitted a brief to the Mcfarlane Commission. Along with the fitness and skill goals of physical education they asserted that,

physical education contributes to improvement of social behaviour. Behaviour is learned through participation in social groups. In games and sports the child learns to practise qualities that are essential for a successful and happy life (Brief, 1957, p. 36).

The qualities are specifically listed as generosity, fairness, friendliness, tolerance, cooperation, leadership, initiative, perseverance, self-control, and loyalty. In addition the brief claimed that selfishness is "revealed in games and sports ... [but] ... through guidance, efforts are made to correct such unrewarding behaviour ... You are aware that the planning for and teaching of physical education should be as definitely concerned with social and moral values as those of skill and fitness (p. 36). In other words, if children are taught to play by the rules of the game, they will be better able to play by the rules of society, a example of socialization from the consensus perspective.

The 1958 Study of Physical Education and Recreation in  
Manitoba

The committee to study physical education and recreation in Manitoba included only one female, Arva Shewchuk, a YMCA Women's Physical Education Director. The rest of the committee was comprised of male, middle class, insiders such as, chairman Frank Kennedy, from the Athletic Department of the University of Manitoba, an advocate for school physical education programs; Andrew Currie, newly appointed Director of Physical Education at the Department of Education; George Nick, from the Normal School; and Kas Vidruk, Director of Physical Education in the Winnipeg School District. These positions, with the exception of the Director of Physical Education for the Department of Education had been in existence for some time. The Kennedy study was conducted under the auspices of the Manitoba Government.

For the purpose of the study, physical education was defined as participation in a planned program of vigorous physical activity to achieve five stated goals: improved health; increased muscular and organic growth and development; the acquisition of athletic skills; increased knowledge of the human organism; and "the development of wholesome attitudes which are expressed in patterns of behaviour acceptable to society" (Province of Manitoba, June, 1958, p. 2). The social goal of physical education

was definitely a consideration in the work of the Kennedy Committee.

The Kennedy Committee realized that in order to gain government acceptance of their report, it had to be supported by the thoughts, beliefs and actions of the communities of Manitoba, particularly influential groups. The committee planned and conducted the study of physical education and recreation in Manitoba, through information gathered from formal hearings, written submissions, briefs, expert opinion, interviews and correspondence (Province of Manitoba, June, 1958).

In gathering information for the Kennedy Report, the group travelled throughout Manitoba, advertised and invited presentations at scheduled hearings, for recommendations to improve Manitoba physical education and recreation programs. Eighteen centres were selected on a geographic basis. There were a total of 91 briefs submitted, from a variety of groups, with and without a connection to physical education. There were 50 submissions specifically related to physical education. The remainder focused on community recreation, however physical education was referred to throughout the hearings.

In spite of the number of submissions, it should not be assumed that there was widespread support for physical education, or that all people in Manitoba were even interested in physical education. For example, a



submission from the Steinbach Local of the Manitoba Teachers' Society indicated that "there is in some places a definite lack of support from the parents in the promotion of physical education" (p. 124). This feeling, evident in less than five briefs, was not characteristic of the majority.

It also should be mentioned that approximately half the submissions made no reference to the socialization goal at all. Twenty, or so briefs focused only on descriptions of physical education programs, and/or recommendations on how to improve their particular situation. The need for more attention to physical education in the public school system was stated in over eighty percent of the submissions. There were at least 30 briefs of particular interest and relevance to this study. The fact that "he" and "his" are found throughout the accounts may be a reflection of the writing style of the time, however it also, again, reflects the differences in boys' and girls' socialization expectations in physical education.

The original briefs presented to the Kennedy Committee are a unique primary source of information on the perceptions, opinions, and beliefs of some Manitobans, on the role, needs, problems and solutions related to public school physical education. The significance of the Kennedy report to this study lies in the fact that, in over one third of the briefs presented to the committee, the

socialization role of physical education is evident as a justification for having physical education included more, than it was at the time, in the province's schools.

Some of the strongest endorsements for the social goal of physical education came from physical education associations, physical educators, school boards, and teachers themselves. The Kennedy Committee received presentations from several school boards, principals' and teachers' groups, and physical education associations, including the Manitoba Branch of The Canadian Association for Health Physical Education and Recreation who reiterated their presentation to the McFarlane Commission. However, at least a dozen submissions from non-educators also supported the socialization goal of physical education.

A brief from the St. Vital Local of the Manitoba Teachers Society was particularly articulate in expressing the social goal of physical education. Referring to John Dewey, the St. Vital presentation stated,

the chief characteristic of youth is activity ... All the restraining influences of school life are contrary to the nature of the child but nonetheless are molding factors that socialize and breed the co-operation characteristics necessary to develop harmony essential in our democratic way of life. If then, activity is the nature of the child and organization ... the nature of the adult, what better would serve in the transition than organized physical activity? ... This quality of social adjustment in youth and later in the adult ultimately reflects the degree to which a community

or a nation has learned the true meaning of social responsibility (Province of Manitoba, May, 1958, p. 250).

A Junior High School Physical Education Teachers' Committee of the School District of Winnipeg No. 1, presented comments from a panel discussion on physical education at an earlier teachers' convention. They stated that "physical education contributes more to the mental and physical welfare of the student than any subject" (p. 227).

The Suburban Collegiate Athletic Association recommended that a "marking system be devised to give teachers some guidance in measuring the students progress in physical skills, mental and social adjustment" (p 262). One is reminded of the earlier reference to Keefe who, in recommending the same point did, not show any evidence that any measure existed for socialization goals in physical education.

The presentation by the Physical Education Supervisors' Association of Greater Winnipeg claimed that, if the goals of physical education "are realized the pupil may have the opportunity to get 'something out of life' and 'to have the opportunity to behave as a responsible, considerate, contributing citizen" (Province of Manitoba, May, 1958, p. 232). All of this relates to the consensus idea of the role of education, which is founded upon the concept of meritocracy, where the premise is grounded upon people being

allocated unproblematically to their place in society, based on talent and effort.

Similarly as above, the Young Mens' Christian Association focused both on the fitness and social goals of physical education. In reference to socialization they stated:

We believe that such qualities as courage, fairness, emotional control, consideration for others, modesty, and honesty, can be developed in physical education classes under the guidance of an understanding teacher. The acquiring of such qualities as these make children better able to grow to be useful members of our democratic society (p. 36).

John Devine, who submitted an individual brief, said "that games will foster leadership, team-spirit, and obedience to rules, only inasmuch as they are carefully controlled by a teacher" (pp. 275, 276). The use of the words "obedience" and "controlled" are reminiscent of the goals of former physical training programs in Canada and Britain of the nineteenth century.

A half dozen presentations to the Kennedy Study Committee specifically trumpeted the cause effect relationship between citizenship and physical education. For example, the Brandon School Board spoke of the encouragement of citizenship through physical education, and recommended the use of a manual of civics and citizenship as a model for construction of a physical education curriculum. They declared that "emphasis on physical education should

serve all aspects of school life and thus it will enhance ... the mental and moral development of youth (p. 21).

The City of Brandon began its presentation with a reference to citizens who must be challenged to grow in ability to accept responsibility in a democratic country, another familiar theme in the Kennedy briefs. They expressed concern over "reports of the doings of our aimless youth", and the contribution of physical education in considerably reducing these situations "by introducing these citizens to worthwhile activities in physical education" (Province of Manitoba, May, 1958, p. 16). They recognized that physical education could not provide the entire answer to the problems of youth, however, they contended that it can be a major "tool" to "prepare our citizens to meet the increasing demands of their lifetime" (p.17).

The brief from the staff of the Beausejour School based their recommendations on the premise that a well balanced educational program, which includes physical education will contribute to the aim of the school system to prepare every child for the time when he or she will become an adult and a full fledged member of our community, an often repeated assertion.

The Virden Local of the Manitoba Teachers' Society prefaced their communication by stating, "if our education system is to achieve its prime objective -- that of developing sound, well-informed individuals capable of

living well adjusted lives -- then certainly Physical Education must play a prominent part, for good physical development is synonymous with good mental development" (p. 127). Those briefs submitted to the Kennedy Committee, that refer to socialization, show that it was viewed much the same way as many of the references cited in Chapter Three, that is, natural, top down, straight forward, and uncontested.

A lengthy brief by the Junior High Principals' Council of the School District of Winnipeg No. 1, while proclaiming support for physical education per se, were not able to express agreement as to whether the social, or the fitness goal was more important. Most principals, then as now had little professional background in physical education.

Special interest organizations who presented briefs to the Kennedy Committee on physical education came from associations representing such diverse interests as agriculture, business and women. For example, the presentation given by the Ladies Auxiliary of the Manitoba Branch of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada represents an important link to the way women have been socialized and portrayed, as seen by the Auxiliary, similar to that described in Chapter Two and Three of this study. Their presentation referred clearly to the problems of women in society. They began their presentation by stating that woman had won the right to vote, participate in politics,

business, industry, and sport and emphasized that these rights "SHALL NOT BE TAKEN FROM HER" (P. 365). Their presentation articulated their view of the benefit of physical education for girls and women. They indicated that because of the lack of opportunity for girls to participate in physical activity,

juvenile delinquency and too-early marriages are on the increase. Athletic ambition can take credit for the postponement of marriage to a more mature age, with its capacity for better judgment in the choice of a mate. For this reason alone teenagers should be encouraged to develop interests which will engross them until such time as they are emotionally and financially able to cope with marriage and the problems it brings. Sport helps them to gain poise and self-confidence ... too busy to act selfconscious or silly around the boys, and ... gives them something to talk about and eliminates the need to stand around acting silly or making fools of themselves to get attention (p. 366).

Another womens' group, the Manitoba Provincial Council of Women, gave one of the most comprehensive presentations. They provided an extensive discussion of their perception of the role of physical education as an agent of socialization.

The level of physical fitness possessed by the people of any nation is a factor of major importance in determining the rate of industrial and agricultural production, the incidence of emotional instability, and the effectiveness of the armed forces ... further, ... recreation can improve physical fitness and morale. It can be of therapeutic value in mental disorders. It can help to prevent juvenile delinquency (p. 184, 185).

This presentation also addressed what it perceived as the special needs of Natives and the Metis and strongly suggested that better physical education and physical activity programs might prove the turning point in more healthful living and social adjustment for Manitoba Indians. "Certainly, it would be enormously less costly than the present expenditure on police arrests, court trials for drunkenness [sic], vagrancy and prostitution, welfare costs for family care, hospitalization for T.B., venereal diseases and low vitality" (p. 200). The women's group recommended that special consideration be given to the needs of Native Indians.

Near the conclusion of their brief, the Provincial Council of Women strongly endorsed the social goal of physical education. It states that physical fitness "is fundamental to the mental, moral, and emotional welfare of every girl and boy in every school in Manitoba" (p. 190).

Along with the traditional attitude towards women's differences in ability to participate in physical activity, the discrimination is also evident for the disabled, as was evidenced in the following recommendation from the Morden District of the Manitoba Federation of Agriculture and Co-Operation. "Physical Training should be compulsory unless physically handicapped" (p. 279).

From a review of those briefs, to the Kennedy Committee, that mentioned socialization, it appears that



most of the presenters agreed with the provincial Federation of Agriculture and Co-operation that "through participation in physical education, pupils could be guided to successful solutions of many persistent problems they would ultimately face in daily living" (p. 202).

The theme of juvenile delinquency, as noted in some of the above accounts, was a frequent reference in the Kennedy briefs. The way in which physical education could offer an alternative to the problem was voiced. This relates directly to the concern for youth and the desire to use physical education as a means of control, as discussed in Chapter Three. It also suggests that those presenting to the Kennedy Committee wanted to protect and conserve society as it existed in 1958. With respect to references to physical education's effect on controlling delinquency, the Mayor of Beausejour felt that because that town had "a considerable amount of physical education and recreation activity ... juvenile delinquency is not of any consequence" (p. 289). Physical activity was still seen as a preventive measure for mischievous youth. "Young people hanging around street corners and restaurants making a general nuisance of themselves, are no asset to any community ... looking as sloppy as they possibly can, dragging feet, stooped shoulders, and generally poor approach" (p. 118).

The Carman School Board, suggested that physical education was more than a way to control juvenile

delinquency, but that it could teach the student to serve as a total safeguard for society. "The core of the idea here is to strengthen the individual character growth, that they may not be a cause of rotting out our society from within, and that they may also be able to mobilize his maximum potentialities to meet the dangers from without" (p. 38).

In reference to controlling youth, the Morden Chamber of Commerce may remind the reader of Winther's critical view of children as "formless pieces of clay". It argued, that proper training and direction of youth will do much to harness their energy and direct it into productive channels. In other words, children should learn to do what they are told and accept their place in order to maintain society.

According to the submitted briefs, a program of physical education could contribute to improving the lives of Manitobans and contribute to the solution of just about every major problem of society, such as those associated with economics, delinquency, crime, arrests, court costs, drunkenness, illegitimate pregnancy, problems of natives, welfare, vagrancy, prostitution, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, hospital costs, and antisocial behaviour. Collectively the briefs suggested that, as a result of a comprehensive physical education program, there would be improvements in agriculture, business, industry, the effectiveness of the armed forces, citizenship, and the democratic way of life.

The hoped for outcomes of a physical education program were varied and included relaxation from strain and tension; release of energy and pent-up feelings; making friends; the development of well-being; health habits; wholesome attitudes; cooperation; sportsmanship; carriage; grace; social and moral values; personality; emotional control; leadership; courage; fairness; modesty; honesty; character; self-discipline; self-reliance; mental alertness; morale; poise; confidence; as well as more measurable factors such as fitness, skill acquisition, and posture. This list of the social and other benefits of physical education just about covers every reason and justification for the inclusion of the discipline as a subject in the public schools throughout history. The frequent endorsement of the social goal of physical education in the Kennedy briefs, shows how enduring the socialization role of physical education was held, in the Manitoba of 1958.

Common themes in the submissions to the Kennedy Study Committee were the role of physical education to: foster citizenship, preserve democracy; prevent crime and juvenile delinquency; improve character; develop sportsmanship; and a host of other qualities and traits, as has been mentioned.

The report of the Kennedy Committee was released in booklet form in June of 1958. In the introductory section of the Study Committee's report, Kennedy pointed out that, the Manitoba public education system, was designed to

prepare youth for civic, social and economic responsibility. Physical education, Kennedy indicated, is an integral part of over-all education and shares identical general goals. This is consistent with Devenney's remarks about the similarity between the goals of physical education and those of education. In defining physical education, Kennedy stated, it also "utilizes activity as a tool to realize objectives of physical, social, emotional and moral competence" (p. 9). The social values related to physical education are reiterated throughout the report, not in a dominant way, but consistent in association with the other stated goals of fitness and skill acquisition. The socialization goal was not articulated in every brief however, it was not ignored either, as has been shown.

After the Kennedy Study on physical education and the McFarlane Commission on Education, over the next ten years, there were many improvements in physical education in Manitoba. The McFarlane Commission, did not make any recommendations about physical education because it was known that the Kennedy Report would deal with the subject. However, the McFarlane Report affected physical education in Manitoba by leading to the consolidation of forty eight school districts in Manitoba, with the resulting construction of larger schools, which included new and larger gymnasiums, for the better delivery of physical education programs.

It is difficult to say how much of an impact the Kennedy report had, but it was submitted to the Manitoba Government, as requested, in June of 1958. Many of the recommendations found in the report have come to be. For example, a degree program in physical education at the University of Manitoba was initiated in 1964. Support for physical education at the Manitoba Department of Education of Education has remained in place since the days of the Kennedy Study.

This completes the study of socialization in Manitoba Public School Physical Education from 1945 to 1958 inclusive. The social values related to physical education are consistently reiterated throughout this study of socialization. The conclusion of the study follows, with specific reference to the themes described in Chapter 1.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

This study has examined the subject of physical education in the Manitoba public school system, during the years 1945 to 1958, in an attempt to assess and elaborate upon the role that it was expected to play in the socialization of students.

Chapter One introduced the study and described its purpose. Chapter Two examined the concept of socialization from a generic perspective, while Chapter Three surveyed the literature on the role of physical education as an agent of socialization. The study of the socialization goal of Manitoba public school physical education, between the years 1945 and 1958, is chronicled in Chapters Four and Five.

The study focused only on public school physical education programs in Manitoba, and said nothing about private school programs. The study examined, for the most part, the records of professional physical education leaders. It was their statements that were analyzed. The focus was completely on the arena of policy, ideology, and philosophy, not practice. The study made no attempt to connect the two. It was limited to official, and other written records of Manitoba physical education, including

government actions, during the Post World War Two Era.

Furthermore, since there was a male bias in the readily available data, and during the period identified by this study, boys' physical education was more fully developed than was the girls' program, much of the study was in the context of male programs. The evidence, in the available data, poses problems for a feminist analysis of physical education.

As a result of the investigation of the socializing role of the subject of physical education in Manitoba public schools, between the years 1945 and 1958, the author has found evidence that socialization was an explicit goal of physical education. There are many references to socialization, both explicit and implicit in all facets of the program of physical education, the instructional, intramural and the inter-school parts of the program.

The socialization goal was found to be continually unchallenged and to be the same as that for all subjects of the curriculum, during the years 1945 to 1958.

Socialization, as far as physical education was concerned, consisted of a variety of traits and qualities such as social and moral development, character, cooperation, emotional control, leadership, courage, fairness, modesty, honesty, self-discipline, morale, carriage, grace, poise, confidence, and sportsmanship.

These findings were not unanticipated, since

socialization has been an explicit factor in physical education programs throughout the development of physical education in Manitoba, and indeed throughout history. Along with other subjects, physical education has consistently held up socialization as one of its goals. Public schooling has always been expected to perform a socializing role and it is difficult to imagine a public school system that was not expected to prepare children for adult life.

The socialization goal of physical education was described, officially and unofficially in a multiplicity of ways, in numerous references. It was stated officially in annual reports of the Department of Education, in the programmes of study, and in physical education curricula, as well as in the 1958 Report on Physical Education and Recreation in Manitoba. Unofficial statements about the socialization role of physical education were found in articles of The Manitoba School Journal, and in many submissions to the committee studying physical education and recreation in Manitoba.

According to the data, the specific socialization and socializing roles articulated and embedded in the different official and unofficial policy and philosophical statements of physical education, were predominantly aimed at the inculcation of various habits, traits, characteristics, attributes, qualities, and values which contributed to the most prominent goal, that of citizenship, which in turn was



seen as fundamental to the conservation and maintenance of the functionalist view of society.

The writing in physical education curricula, and that by Devenney and Stewart, as well as in some presentations to the Kennedy Committee showed, that during the period of this study, as throughout history, there existed gender differences between the socialization of males and females. Boys' physical education was different than girls'.

There were specific references relating to individual or personal qualities such as social and moral development, alertness, character, well-being, cooperation, personality, emotional control, leadership, courage, fairness, modesty, honesty, self-discipline, self-reliance, mental alertness, morale, carriage, grace, poise, confidence, and sportsmanship. In addition, other consequences of the socializing potential of physical education included the release of energy and pent-up feelings, relaxation from strain and tension, and the opportunity to make friends.

A program of physical education, according to the data, could and should contribute to enhancing the lives of Manitobans, and to solving many concerns and problems of Manitoba society during 1945 to 1958, such as those associated with the economy, delinquency, crime, arrests, court costs, drunkenness, illegitimate pregnancy, problems of natives, welfare, vagrancy, prostitution, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, hospital costs, and antisocial

behaviour. Not all or even most groups subscribed to all of these claims. Some of them were very unique to specific groups.

This list of the social and other benefits of physical education is comparable to many reasons and justifications for the inclusion of the discipline as a subject in schooling throughout history. The frequent endorsement of the socializing goal of physical education, by Hart Devenney, and by other individuals, and from groups in their submissions to the committee studying physical education and recreation in Manitoba, showed how enduring socialization, as part of physical education, was held by some, in Manitoba between 1945 and 1958.

As indicated, the most frequent reference to the socializing role of physical education was to do with the desire to develop citizenship in students. The first cited reference in the 1944-1945 Programme of Studies talked about the objective of physical training as the development of a sound body, "of an alert mind, and character ... which will develop fixed habits of self direction and control which in a good citizen, are part and parcel of ... daily life (pp. 6, 7). Physical training was expected to "bring to the students pride in physical well-being, leadership, initiative, discipline, fair play, and a keen spirit of cooperation and competition-all essential in full citizenship" (p. 7). The above citations refer to several

themes and key words related to the socialization goal of physical education, and these themes and terms were cited consistently, in documents throughout the period of the study.

Other socializing roles of physical education concerned the improvement of character, the formation of sportsmanship, and the prevention of juvenile delinquency. However, all of this was directed toward the strengthening of citizenship, and the preservation of democracy, which all relates to similar references of the socializing role of physical education throughout history, and to the consensus view of socialization, education, and society.

The data suggest that, during the years 1945 to 1958, the belief existed that physical education could contribute to the development of citizenship, which could lead to improvements in many areas of life, such as agriculture, business, industry, and the effectiveness of the armed forces. Citizenship and the maintenance of the democratic way of life were not only stated to be objectives of physical education, but also of schooling in general.

With respect to the extent to which socialization through physical education received a consistent and agreed upon view, it seems that generally it was accepted that physical education was believed to be an agent of socialization. The message was expressed in various ways using many different terms. However, what was meant,

identified, and articulated by socialization was not generally spelled out, which suggests that it was taken for granted, unproblematic, and conservative.

Officially, as indicated in the Manitoba Department of Education, physical education curricula, and statements in the annual Programme of Studies, the socialization goals ascribed to physical education were virtually unchanged during the period of this study. However, there is evidence, in the study, of debate regarding the validity of the belief that physical education could achieve the intended socialization.

The fifties continued to see physical education in a social sense, as contributing to the general good of society. When the fitness movement began, social values were still seen as part of the make up of a physically fit individual. The decision to repeal the Manitoba Physical Act was a judgment based upon federal and provincial politics and economics, not on a devaluation of the socialization goal of physical education. As a result of lobbying efforts, by physical educators and others, within three years of the legislation to repeal the Manitoba Act, the Manitoba government restored support for physical education at the Department of Education. Arguments, based upon the socializing role of physical education, were used to persuade the government to act.

The years following the Second World War saw slight

growth for physical education. Even so, from the time of Hart Devenney to the repeal of the Manitoba Physical Fitness Act, the social goal of physical education was always evident. It was more apparent during Devenney's tenure as Director of Physical Fitness and less obvious during the years when there was no provincial consultation for physical education.

It is important to note that, in spite of the consistent references to the socialization goal of physical education, there is very little specific reference as to how to achieve it, other than vague statements about good planning and teaching. There is also no evidence of research to prove that physical education was or was not an effective agent of socialization.

The conflict theorist approach offered a perspective from which to analyze and shed some light upon the study of socialization, in relation to Manitoba public school physical education programs during the Post World War Two Period. The study showed that, the views that were articulated and embedded in the official and unofficial physical education documents, during 1945 to 1958, clearly represented a consensus view of education and physical education, where the intention was to preserve society as it existed at that time, based upon the assumption that it was fair, and equal for all.

A key problem, in the application of conflict theory to

this study, lies in the fact that, conflict theory holds that there are those with power who control things, however there is no evidence that physical education, between 1945 and 1958, was a tool of the Manitoba establishment. The political and business elite of Manitoba said little about physical education, suggesting that they did not see it as important as did physical educators. Where consensus theorists and conflict theorists differ is: in their analysis of the nature of the socialization process; how socialization is done; what are the knowledges, skills attitudes, and values that are required; who decides; and who gets what skills?

Since the study focused only on policy, and ideology, further research might determine if there was a difference between rhetoric and reality, with respect to the socialization goal of physical education. Did physical education programs in the public schools of Manitoba, in their practical application actually seek to socialize students? If so, to what extent did they succeed, and how was the socialization accomplished? The answer to these questions might verify or refute Hart Devenney's statement that, physical education is not simply exercise and games and "must not only be thought of in biological or physiological terms. It is a social science as well" (Devenney, March, 1947, p. 19).

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