The Emergence of Multi-Sport Holiday Programmes: How Organised Sport has become a form of Childcare

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Doctor of Philosophy

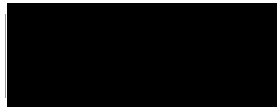College of Sport and Exercise Science

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Doctor of Philosophy Student Declaration

Doctor of Philosophy Declaration

"I, Caitlin Honey, declare that the PhD thesis entitled "The Emergence of Multi-Sport Holiday Programmes: How Organised Sport has become a form of Childcare" is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work".

Signature ██████████   Date: 18/12/2018

Abstract

Multi-Sport Holiday Programmes (MSHPs) are one of the most popular and prevalent styles of holiday programme for Victorian children. To date, no research has explored MSHPs, and the research on holiday programmes within Australia remains vague. Analysis of MSHPs will contribute to the future direction of children's organised sport, socialisation, and childcare research. This thesis explores the emergence of MSHPs and considers 1) what political and social factors support their emergence, and, 2) What knowledge and practices pervade MSHPs.

This thesis begins by exploring the privatisation of the childcare market in Australia, and how the advancement of children's sport and physical education policy contributed to the emergence of MSHPs. Although the amount of political commentary surrounding how and why children should engage in sport has progressed, the literature review alludes to a lack of research on holiday programmes in Australia. Considering that 25% of children aged 5-9 years engage in formal care during the holiday period, this poses a significant gap.

To address this gap, an examination of MSHPs practices and procedures occurred. The findings show that MSHPs are sites of socialisation that reproduce narrow perspectives of health, gender, and the body. These findings are similar to past research conducted in playground environments, physical education, and junior sports programming. MSHPs do not exist in a silo, and future research should consider them as part of broader children's sport and physical activity research which investigates discourses of meritocracy, masculine hegemony, and healthism.

Thus, recommendations arising from this thesis are twofold: 1) Consider the effects of socialisation within MSHPs alongside research undertaken in schools, sports clubs, and

the playground. 2) Analyse and provide recommendations on the juxtaposition of children's sport/physical education policy and the distribution of federal and state funding for elite sport.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Multi-Sport Holiday Programmes (MSHPs) are organised sport spaces for children aged 5-12 that run during school holidays periods around Australia. Children can participate in a range of organised sports and activities at these sites. MSHPs are a relatively new phenomenon in Victoria, with the first emerging in 1985. Since this time, there has been a rapid increase in the number of MSHPs operating. Three pivotal social and political changes from the 1970s have shaped the emergence and continued popularity of these spaces. The three moments include: the Australian government's increased interest (both economic and social) in elite sport and subsequent development of the Australian Institute of Sport (Bloomfield, 1973; Coles, 1975); the rise of neoliberalism as an economic and social agenda that has led to the privatisation of the market (Connell, 2010; Western et al., 2007); and finally, the emergence of healthism, where the consideration of health largely focuses on the physical body and negates many other aspects (R. Crawford, 1980).

This thesis explores how the change in political and social conditions over the past forty years in Australia has allowed the emergence of MSHPs, and whether these dominant political and social discourses align with the knowledge and practices within MSHP spaces.

Purpose of the Study

To date, no research has critically reflected on the structure, organisation, and daily running of MSHPs. It is unclear how policy and social change have affected the establishment of these programmes. Further, my personal experience with an MSHP (see Getting with the Programme, below) briefly highlights that discourses and

knowledge focusing on elite sport and gender norms may come to dominate such spaces. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore the emergence and significance of MSHPs in Victoria, Australia. This exploration occurs through a review of policy relating to children's sport from the 1970s, and case study research at three MSHPs in Victoria. The specific aims are as follows:

1. Establish a narrative of the political and social conditions that have assisted in making MSHPs possible in Australia from the 1970s and include

   a. A synthesis of the major political moments that relate to sport, health and physical education, and healthcare from the 1970s

   b. The scope and breadth of holiday programmes operating in Victoria to contextualise MSHPs as one of the most popular formats

2. Explore the structure of three MSHPs and analyse the practices and knowledge that emerges through interactions with staff members and children

Getting with the Programme

Sport was a large part of my childhood; I played and competed in many sports through my youth. I remember my final day of primary school; teachers who had never taught me were wishing me luck in my sporting pursuits and hoping to see me run in the Olympics. As a 9-year-old, I remember getting to school early to play bat tennis (a variant of tennis played with wooden bats) in the gymnasium. I would also rush home to play outside once school was over. Although my childhood consisted of sporting pursuits, I never attended a holiday programme, let alone a sport-based one. I seemed to grow up in a similar way to others in my neighbourhood: we came home from school and played sports outside until it became dark. On the school holidays, we rode our bikes to our friends' houses and played outside until it was time to ride back home for

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dinner. Our parents never knew exactly where we were, and we had no way of contacting them, as mobile phones were not around until I was in high school.

In my final year of high school, I felt incredibly uneasy about my future. I enjoyed sport, but I never thought that sport was a career option. However, leaving school one day, I chanced upon a flyer advertising the Certificate III in Community Development at Victoria's premier swimming and sports centre, MSAC. I was curious to know more about MSAC. Could this be an opportunity for me to work and learn about sport at Melbourne's sporting hub? To complete the certificate, I had to choose a pathway: learn about venue operations, lifeguarding, or running children's programmes. The choice was easy for me; I loved entertaining children, and I had a passion for sport. Running sport-based children's programmes, such as birthday parties and multi-sport holiday programmes, became my area of expertise. I was part of a team that organised structured sports activities and promoted sport as a lifestyle choice for children. We aimed to have children walking away happy and healthy, and we believed the best way to achieve that was through structured sports.

MSAC had ignited a passion inside of me; I thought that children needed to learn about healthy lifestyle choices and that I was going to teach them in these sports programmes. Of course, being only 17 years old, I was idealistic in my endeavour to help children understand health through sport, and I knew I needed more knowledge to achieve this. Therefore, after twelve months at MSAC, I enrolled in a Sport and Exercise Science degree. The degree gave me knowledge and skills that helped me become more confident with my approach to junior sport, and I considered myself a junior sports practitioner. At MSAC, I saw nothing wrong with our approach to engaging children in sport, and could not fathom why other parents were not lining up to enrol their children in our sports programmes; surely, this was an easy choice?

Although I considered myself a junior sports practitioner; in reality, my role was vastly different. Looking back, I think a better term might have been a sport and fitness facilitator. The following is a reflection from my time as a staff member at the holiday programme, long before this thesis had even come about.

1.   The hour allocated to lunch was ending, and all the children are beginning to get a little boisterous. They finish eating and are getting ready to go downstairs and play games. The supervisor of the day calls everyone to sit down in the middle of the floor. He explains that we are going to separate into our three age-based groups (little kids 5-7 years, middle kids 8-9 and big kids 10-12) and head downstairs to play basketball. Because there are many children, the staff organise three activities, and the groups are to rotate through them. The next five minutes goes quickly as I organise the groups by asking the following questions: 'have you got your shoes on?' and 'can you get in one line, please?' Then I take my group downstairs to the basketball hall. I walk at the front of the group, and as I get halfway down the stairs, I feel a gentle tug on the back of my jacket. It is a girl, no more than eight years old. She timidly looks up at me and asks, 'what are we doing?' I tell her we are going to play basketball, and with no other sound, she re-enters the line.

As we enter the basketball hall, the echo of rubber balls hitting the court is almost deafening. The children are excited and begin to run past me, their feet stamping onto the court. The other staff member with me points to the far court where our equipment is. I call out for the group to head in that direction, and they run, some of them as fast as they can, to the far court. I can feel my voice breaking even before I start to explain the games we are playing. The moment the children get to the court, Dave, the other staff member, line the children along the baseline to play a game. I stand in line with the children, knowing what game is about to be played. Dave shouts enthusiastically over the group that we are playing octopus to warm up. Most of the children cheer, and change their stance to a running position, ready to take off. I mimic them, and some of the children laugh and hold me back, telling me they are going to beat me. As the game begins, I run, and dodge, and spin away from the children chasing me, and encourage the other children to do the same. Two minutes into the game, a girl tells me she does not want to play anymore – she says she is tired. I offer a solution. I put her on my back and piggyback her across the court, still dodging the children that are chasing me. She giggles and cheers, and after doing this twice, re-enters the game on her own. After ten minutes, and three rounds of octopus, the children walk toward the bathroom to get a drink.

Now it is time for the sports.

Dave and I set up four cones horizontally in the middle of the basketball court and place a basketball atop each cone. We divide the children into four groups by giving them a number between one and four. Two of the boys notice our number allocation quickly and separate from one another in the hopes of playing on the same team. After I have allocated all the children, I get them to sit in a line behind their cone. I explain the aim of the game - to bounce the ball down to the ring and shoot the ball in the hoop. Once you get it in, you bounce it back and pass it to the next person in the line. Essentially, it is a relay race with basketball components. Some of the children gasp at this, and others begin chattering excitedly. One boy at the front of his group begins to physically move other children in the line, based on his perception of their ability, before putting himself last 'in case they need to catch up to win'. Dave stands near the ring to catch wayward basketballs, and I stand at the cones ready to get the children playing. With a blow of my whistle, the children are off and running, slapping the basketballs to the ground, some of the balls rolling away from their little hands. I cheer along with the children and encourage everyone to bounce the balls and keep shooting until they score a goal.

At the end of the game, I get the children to get a drink of water. As I say this, I notice three children sitting out on the sideline – a boy and two girls. One of the girls was the one who asked me what activity we were playing today on the stairwell. I ask them why they did not join in, and they each tell me they do not like basketball, and that they are happy just sitting out. I do not question it and tell them if they want to re-join, they can.

The above typifies a standard session at the holiday programme. At the beginning of my career, I never questioned my role as a practitioner/facilitator. I assumed that all the children wanted to play sports and games, and, in the beginning, I did not understand why children would want to sit out. I also rarely reflected on what I was saying, or not saying to the children. I assumed all the children loved sport and physical activity in the programme.

Further, I took for granted my position in the programme, including the opportunities I had to play sport while growing up. It was not until I completed the Social Dimensions of Sport and Exercise unit of study in my undergraduate degree, that I began to reflect on what I, and the broader sport-based holiday programme team was providing to children and parents. I had never thought about some of the social factors that may

affect parents and children, such as access to MSAC, cost of the programme, location, and previous experience with sport. The Social Dimensions of Sport and Exercise class helped me to reflect on some of these social factors and think about what my experiences mean concerning participation, gender, and socialisation into sport. Using the above reflection as an example, why did I assume everyone knew how to play basketball, wanted to play or had the confidence to play? What implications could have arisen when I let that boy rearrange the group based on his perception of others' ability? Moreover, how did the children, parents, and staff see me? Did they think I was an athlete? Alternatively, was I just a kid trying to make money on the weekend?

These questions led me to develop an awareness of my presence in the holiday programme space. I began to reflect on the sporting opportunities I had as a young woman. Feeling competent and having confidence in many sports came as second nature to me. Further, I held many assumptions about sporting ability (my own and others'), and I often took for granted the position I was in – that of a physically strong, white female, who had a high level of athletic prowess. I grew up playing and competing in sports, and it never crossed my mind that I had come from a very privileged position. My father took me to AFL games when I was young, and my brother kicked the football with me outside after school. I was told I could not play AFL and Cricket competitively, but it did not stop me from playing with my brother in the park. I thought this was normal. In addition to my skill, I have always looked athletic and knew that I held physical capital in the sporting space. At MSAC, looking this way seemed to be part of the deal, even if it was not in the contract. The men I worked with were often boasting about their gym accomplishments, while several women were national swimmers or water polo players. We were the faces of children's programmes: fit, athletic, young adults, most of us studying at university. The position I was

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beginning to see myself in made me uncomfortable for many reasons. First, I had been assuming for a long time that everyone would have the same enthusiasm toward organised and structured sport as I did, and second, I assumed children wanted to learn the specific skills to become the 'best' in their chosen sports. Finally, my position as a young woman in the space emerged as a point of contention for me personally.

Gender was not something I had thought about growing up, as my brother and I played sports together from a young age. We had similar sporting opportunities (although I could never live out the dream of playing junior cricket and football), however, as time passed at MSAC, I became aware of the gender roles and expectations of women and men. The second reflection below gives insight into how gender roles were playing out in the programme.

2. I was organising an activity for my children on the basketball show-courts. Usually, we had one of the general courts to play games on, but today we have the show-courts booked, which means all children in the programme can play in the same space. About 100 children are running around on two large courts, with staff members spread out around them. There are around ten staff members today, and an even spread of men and women. I take my group to the top of show court one and organise a game of tag to warm up. There is so much noise in the private show-courts, so it is hard to hear what other staff members are saying. Children are screaming and cheering, their feet are stamping on the ground as they run, and balls are banging against the walls. I turn around to see the other staff member for our group is carrying a football, even though we are playing cricket today. He is chatting with one of the other staff members while they are watching the children. They are standing about 5 meters apart and begin to kick the ball to one another. After the game of tag ends, I gather my group, and in all the commotion, I hear a child crying. I do a scan of my group and notice that the crying is not coming from near me. A young child from another group has fallen over and is holding his knee. Two female staff head over to help the young child, while a male staff member takes over the activity to keep the other children away.

The above reflection describes a familiar situation; the female staff members walk off to help an injured or unwell child, and the male staff members stand around and chat to one another. Also, it became almost commonplace to watch the male staff stand around

and kick a football while the children played games. It became a male practice embedded in the culture at MSAC. That is not to say all male staff were like this, nor were the women who worked at MSAC always taking care of children in an almost motherly way. These situations emerged with such regularity that it became commonplace. A further example of the gendered space within the holiday programme includes the organisation of traditional male sports considered the male staff member's responsibility and vice versa. I distinctly remember organising an afternoon of netball having had no prior experience in playing the game myself. A small number of male staff watched on and discussed their own experience with mixed netball, which at the time frustrated me.

Male staff organising traditionally male sports was one of three distinct gendered behaviours/occurrences that became normalised in the holiday programme. The second includes the number of boys' birthday parties booked compared to girls' parties. The birthday parties ran in two formats: a pool party and sports party. It was rare for a girl's party to be sport based, or for girls to be involved in the sport-based parties. The third example includes the ways young boys would control the sports by only throwing to one another, often excluding the girls from playing games. Without realising it, we, the staff members were commending sporting performance and ignoring disengaged children, often young girls. There were never any deliberate attempts to ignore the disengaged children; we all enjoyed sports and often played them ourselves. However, I grew uncomfortable with the increasingly structured environment I was finding myself. We would praise children for engaging in skill development and competitive behaviour.

I did not realise it at the time, but MSAC became the birthplace of my thesis. What started as a part-time job became a passion for finding out as much as I could about

sport-based childcare programmes, and why these programmes had saturated the childcare market. In my time at MSAC, I witnessed a shift in society's expectations of childcare in metropolitan Melbourne, where it became commonplace to enrol children in holiday programmes. Further, multi-sport holiday programmes are one of the most popular spaces for children to attend during school holiday periods. Several social factors have allowed the emergence of multi-sport holiday programmes. These factors include the change in what it means to be a good parent, where parents must make decisions on how to develop their children into active citizens (Nichols, Nixon, & Rowsell, 2009); the perceived fear of the outside world as dangerous (Timperio, Crawford, Telford, & Salmon, 2004); and the increased concern of children's sedentary behaviour, and their resultant health and well-being (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003; NHMRC, 2003). These social factors underpin my thesis as I investigate the emergence of MSHPs and examine three case studies to explore the structure and meaning ascribed to each space.

The Effects of Neoliberalism in Australia

An understanding of the ways neoliberalism can influence and shape social spaces assists in understanding the MSHP phenomenon. Neoliberalism is a set of economic principles that include the deregulation of the market, minimisation of government intervention, the commodification of products and services, and the privatisation of the public sector (Connell, 2010). For Connell (2010, pp. 22-23), this means "the agenda of economic and social transformation under the sign of the free market that has come to dominate global politics in the last quarter century".

Neoliberalism is more than economic principles; in Australia, the privatisation of education, prisons, and welfare systems, along with the commodification of services all

show signs of a neoliberal agenda (Connell, 2010). Following Connell, I will reflect on how the privatisation of sectors in Australia, including the childcare sector, can exacerbate social inequity. For example, criticism of neoliberalism surrounds the deregulation of pricing on products and services. When the government funds public services, many people can reach a product. However, privately funded systems and services can price people out of the market, thus creating social inequity.

Neoliberalism frames privatisation as 'individualism', 'choice', and 'competition' (Braedley & Luxton, 2010). According to a society's value system, there is a line between good and bad behaviour, and individuals can *choose* to do good or bad things, such as *choosing* to eat healthily[1]. Further, there is a belief that individual freedom (both in the market, and socially) of choice is "maximized through competition" (Braedley & Luxton, 2010, p. 18), and competition is a naturally occurring good. This neoliberal individualism (through 'choice' and 'competition') provides conditions that support meritocracy.

Is Meritocracy a Just Social System?

Meritocracy is a hierarchical social system where people are rewarded based on merit or talent (Castilla & Benard, 2010). Opportunities are afforded to all in a meritocratic system, with the system producing social mobility, "because talent, unconstrained by social origin, rises to the top" (Alon & Tienda, 2007, p. 489). Merit and individual

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[1] The choices we make concerning health have in recent years become focussed the body, with the body becoming the cultural and social marker for measuring one's own, and others' health (R. Crawford, 1980; Gard & Wright, 2001; Murray, 2009). The premise of healthism lies in the neoliberal conduits of 'choice' and 'individualism' (R. Crawford, 1980). Murray (2009) critiques healthism through a discussion of the modern medical practice of pathologising fatness as immoral, and questions the moral value associated with thinness. She asserts that in modern society, the "'normative', 'healthy' body (which is most often represented in public health discourse as a 'thin' body) speaks to its society of adherence to tenets of purity and maintenance of the body through self-control and managed desires" (Murray, 2009, p. 87). Thus, the body, including its physical maintenance, becomes a personal responsibility, and is tied to the moral character of the individual. Here, we can begin to see the neoliberal problems of choice, and individualism. The body shows off the *choices* we have made in regard to health, and labels us before we even speak.

ability underpin the theory of meritocracy, with factors such as race, class, and gender

believed to be irrelevant (Castilla & Benard, 2010; Son Hing et al., 2011). In practice,

however,

> …merit-based outcome allocations might be enacted in a manner that reinforces
> the status quo and favors dominant groups because the latter tend to control the
> evaluation process. In addition, factors such as inheritance, social advantages,
> and discrimination interfere with true merit-based outcome allocations" (Son
> Hing et al., 2011, p. 433)

According to Littler (2013), three key points underpin the current understanding of

meritocracy. First, meritocracy is based on the assumption that talent and intelligence

are traits formed at birth, with success related directly to one's opportunities. Second,

the system of meritocracy is inherently hierarchical – there is always a top and a bottom

of the social ladder. Finally, certain professions hold more value than others. The

systems of merit in society reproduce a social order that normalises these three points,

through narrow notions of educational 'success', as the social ladder is something to be

climbed alone, with communities and groups struggling to climb it together (Littler,

2013).

Several issues arise with these assumptions. First, the assumption that intelligence and

talent form at birth ignores the notion of intelligence as evolving as someone grows and

as something affected by the external environment (Littler, 2013). In his critique of the

inequities inherent in the school system, Bourdieu (2012, pp. 37-38) notes that

> "…to penalize the underprivileged and favour the most privileged the school
> has only to neglect, in its teaching methods and techniques and its criteria when
> making academic judgements, to take into account the cultural inequalities
> between children of different social classes. In other words, by treating all pupils,
> however unequal that may be in reality, as equal in rights and duties, the
> educational system is led to give its *de facto* sanction to initial cultural
> inequalities. The formal equality which governs pedagogical practice is in fact
> a cloak for and a justification of indifference to the real inequalities with regard
> to the body of knowledge taught or rather demanded…

As Bourdieu surmises, the education system may not take into account a person's social milieu, and intellectual aptitudes formed at birth. Further, he notes that the means to acquire these gifts are only "given to children of educated classes, our own pedagogical tradition is in fact…only there for the benefit of pupils who are in the *particular position* of possessing a cultural heritage conforming to that demanded by the school" (Bourdieu, 2012, p. 38). Legitimising cultural heritage and economic capital reinforces meritocracy as natural and dismisses cultural, social and economic disadvantage as something to merely overcome.

Second, the hierarchy of social order always supposes there is a top and a bottom of the social order. As Lister (2006) notes, those dealing with poverty may find it increasingly difficult to climb off the bottom rungs of the meritocracy ladder. For example, parents facing poverty may lack the resources to provide their child with a quality education. Further, the endorsement of a "competitive, linear, hierarchical system" will always leave people behind (Littler, 2013, p. 54). Finally, the value placed on certain professions brings up the question of what holds value in society, and why there is a value placed on those people (such as celebrity and fame). These assumptions highlight that success is not merely a product of hard work, with many people facing social and economic inequities which they may never overcome.

One such example includes the system of entry into higher education. Standardised tests, such as those administered in the final years of schooling, determine successful entry into higher education. Several papers cite the problems arising from the meritocratic system of standardised testing as the main marker for intelligence, and entry into higher education (Alon & Tienda, 2007; Cawley, 1996; Mijs, 2016). Most critics acknowledge that these tests do not measure motivation, imagination, intellectual curiosity, nor are they predictors of future academic success (for a detailed discussion of the emergence

of the gold standard of testing and its relationship to higher education entry, please see Alon and Tienda (2007)). Further, various social inequities and barriers that people may face when entering into higher education are largely ignored, such as one's gender, class, ethnicity, and ability (Alon & Tienda, 2007; Braedley & Luxton, 2010; Connell, 2010).

At the core of meritocracy is individual responsibility. Social inequity thus becomes an individual's problem, rather than a problem solved with government support (Littler, 2013). In recent years, the meritocratic rhetoric has extended to parenting, with parents encouraged to instil values of aspiration and hard work[2] onto their children, while pushing aside the potential economic and social barriers that they may face along the way (Littler, 2013). The following section explores neoliberalism in childcare and the positioning of the good parent as responsible for children's development.

Neoliberalism in Childcare

Neoliberal ideas and politics began to emerge in Australia in the late 1970s, but it was the Bob Hawke/Paul Keating ALP era from 1983 where neoliberalism took centre stage (Western et al., 2007). The float of the Australian dollar at the end of 1983 and the Reserve Bank of Australia's control of interest rates are two of the biggest economic shifts toward neoliberal, small-government rhetoric (Western et al., 2007). These two changes allowed deregulation of the international trade market, with less government intervention. Through the deregulation of international trade, private companies can control sectors of the market, and it allows the government to spend less money, providing what they believe to be equal competition (Fairbrother, Svensen, & Teicher, 1997). The commodification of childcare spaces provides an example of the

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[2] See Littler (2013) for a discussion of David Cameron's 'Aspiration Nation' – and the increasing rhetoric of parent's sole responsibility for children's brighter futures.

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deregulation of the market. To understand this commodification, it is first important to understand why the government enacted the Child Care Act in 1972.

The Australian government first provided financial assistance for childcare services in 1972, and the majority of these services were publicly funded (Brennan, 2007a; Department of Education, 2010). The original increase in federal funding for childcare services was a result of more women entering the workforce. At this time, a global change was occurring where "childcare was strongly identified with employed mothers and women's liberation [and] largely as a result of feminist mobilisation for services" (Prentice, 2009, p. 687). The global feminist movement shaping childcare also occurred in Australia, with the government acknowledging that

> [The] expansion of childcare services is largely explained by a number of broad societal changes which were occurring at this time [1972] - a growing feminist movement accompanied by more women entering the workforce, better education levels and growing demands across the board for more government involvement and funding in areas such as health, education and childcare (McIntosh, 1997, p. 3).

Between 1954 and 1970 in Australia, the number of women in the workforce more than doubled from 826,700 to 1,661,700 (ABS, 1955, 1970). In 1954, 23% of the Australian workforce was female and 77% male (ABS, 1955). By 1970, women comprised 31% of the total workforce (ABS, 1970). Figure 1 shows the increase in the number of women in the workforce compared to men from 1954-2014.
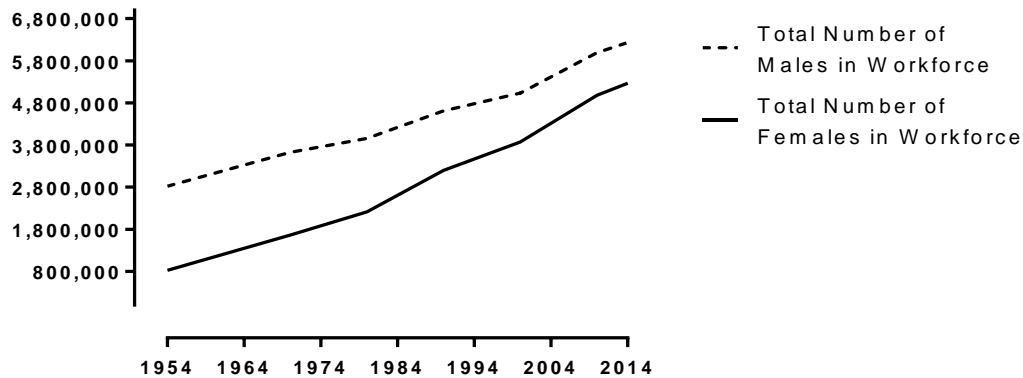
Figure 1: Trend of Female and Male participation in the Workforce[3]

Second-wave feminism in Australia provided more opportunities for women in the workforce (Department of Education, 2010). Thus, the government saw a need to increase the number of childcare centres to facilitate this influx (Department of Education, 2010).

The government heavily subsidised childcare centres established in 1972 (Department of Education, 2010). The privatisation of the childcare market steadily occurred from the 1980s, with the establishment of new privately run centres, and the purchase of public centres by private organisations (Brennan, 2007b; Department of Education, 2010; Van Egmond, Baxter, Buchler, & Western, 2010). In proportion to the number of providers, government funding and control has declined, but the number of services available to parents has increased. The increase in the number of services implies that parents have a choice, and the "child care discourse relies heavily on the concept of 'choice'" (Kershaw, 2004, p. 928).

The introduction of private organisations into the childcare market has led to a saturation of choices for parents. Between 1991 and 2010, the number of childcare

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[3] From 1970, female participation in the workforce increased by 5% per decade (ABS, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010b, 2014). As at 2014, the total composition of the workforce is near equal (46% female, and 54% male) (ABS, 2014). See Appendix 6 for a breakdown of population data.

centres grew by over 200% (Department of Education, 2010). By 2010, there were over 13,000 childcare services to choose from (Department of Education, 2010)[4]. For these programmes to remain relevant, the type and structure of programmes have broadened to include education, sport, or artistic components. Parents are thus encouraged to choose programmes they think are going to provide the best opportunities for their children (Nichols et al., 2009). Although the best opportunities may be at the forefront of parent's minds, several factors can impact choice of childcare, including practicality, quality of care, learning opportunities, and cost-effectiveness (Kim & Fram, 2009). Research suggests the biggest factor influencing parents' choice is socioeconomic status. A study showed that parents with higher incomes rated quality of care highly, with little concern for cost or practicality.

In contrast, those who are deemed to be the most disadvantaged socioeconomically rated every factor listed above as important (Kim & Fram, 2009). Parents facing disadvantage saw importance in affordable, convenient care that assisted in development goals for children. However, parents in this group had the least resources available when purchasing childcare. Therefore, with less opportunity to tick all the boxes, they may be limited in their choice of childcare (Kershaw, 2004; Kim & Fram, 2009). Thus, choice becomes a middle-class privilege, where you can only engage in the market if you can afford it.

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[4]In 1991, the number of children enrolled in programmes equates to 1 programme for every 63 children (1:63) (Department of Education, 2010). The ratio in 2010 is similar, at 1:64 (Department of Education, 2010). Therefore, when comparing 1991 data to 2010 data, we can see that there was a need to increase the number of programmes operating, to accommodate the number of enrolments. However, when the data of the total population of children aged 0-14 for both periods is included, it becomes more complex. In 1991, 6.9% of all children aged 0-14 years were enrolled in childcare, compared to 20% of 0-14-year old's in 2010 (ABS, 1991a, 2010a; Department of Education, 2010). Although the ratio of children enrolled in formal care is relatively similar, the proportion of children enrolled has nearly tripled in the 20-year period. This information poses two questions. First, what happened that has led to a tripling in the proportion of children enrolled in programmes? Second, what sorts of programmes are emerging to support the growth in enrolments?
Further information that focuses on holiday programmes is in Chapter four.

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The middle-class privilege of choice is also tied to the notion of the good parent, "a figure frequently invoked in discussions of how to give children the best possible social and educational chances in life" (Nichols et al., 2009, p. 65). The good parent has responsibility extending beyond caring for their child/ren; rather, they must provide rational provisions for children to become active members of society (Nichols et al., 2009). These provisions may be in the form of services and extra-curricular programmes. As Gillies (2005) notes, "the good parents are seen as fostering and transmitting crucial values to their children which protect and reproduce the common good" (p.76). The good parent becomes a normalised identity that embodies current neoliberal values. Thus, the good parent is a facilitator of the diversification of products and services, all in the name of child development. Options may include: ensuring children are in spaces that provide expert care outside of school hours and in holiday periods.

Holiday Programmes in Victoria

How we have cared for children over the past forty years in Australia has changed significantly. Children today have access to a vast number of programmes and organised activities outside of school hours. Activities include organised sports, summer schools for education, after-school care, and school holiday programmes. The holiday programme market has boomed in recent decades, with over 1000 programmes operating in Victoria. These programmes provide formal care for children in work hours (between 8am-5pm) during the holiday periods, allowing parents to work. In 2014, the national household survey (HILDA) reported that 25% of children aged 5-9, and 19% of children aged 10-12 were enrolled in formal care during the school holiday period (Wilkins, 2014).

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Holiday programmes are not a new phenomenon in Australia. Scouts and YMCA have run holiday camps for more than 50 years (Scouts Victoria, 2015). From the early 1990s, the modern form of holiday programmes emerged as a prominent childcare setting. Today, government and private organisations run various types of programmes, including arts and crafts, engineering, sport-based, and general childcare. The social, economic, and political changes, which have occurred in the past 40 years, have provided the impetus for holiday programmes to emerge. The desire to have children in safe environments, an increase in structured environments for children and concerns of the outside world as dangerous constitute the need for holiday programmes in Australia.

Social Values and School Holiday Programmes

School holiday programmes promote many ideas that the good parent may find attractive. However, with the glut of different programme styles in the market, parents must choose what they believe will benefit their children's development. Two basic values, the provision of a safe environment, along with structured activities, underpin the premise of holiday programmes. Research shows that parents are increasingly concerned with children's unsupervised time (Alexander & Stafford, 2011; Carver, Timperio, & Crawford, 2008; Timperio et al., 2004); and consider the outside world as dangerous for children (Karsten, 2005; Moussa, Hamid, Elaheh, & Reza, 2013; Timperio et al., 2004). Parents cite stranger danger, poor traffic conditions, distance to local parks, and road safety as the primary reasons for not allowing their children outside (Karsten, 2005). Structured environments have also emerged as important for many parents. Research suggests that parents are less concerned with children's free play, *in lieu* of more structured play (Hirsh-Pasek, Michnick Golinoff, & Eyer, 2004).

Children's safety is a concern for parents and the community. Apparently, there is a relationship between unsupervised time, and the potential for delinquent behaviour to occur (Flannery, Williams, & Vazsonyi, 1999; Snyder, Sickmund, & Poe-Yamagata, 1996). For unsupervised children, time after-school, and before dinner is widely regarded as the most dangerous when the greatest risk for delinquent behaviours are likely to occur (Flannery et al., 1999). Thus, after school programmes are a

> …potential benefit for youth because they provide a "safe haven" off the streets; supply structured, supervised, productive, and fun activities; introduce children to adult role models; and offer academic assistance and community opportunities. Such programs may also prevent school dropout, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, victimisation, and juvenile delinquency (Gottfredson, Gottfredson, & Weisman, 2001, p. 62).

These reports of decreased delinquency and improved behaviour often come from secondary sources. For example, research has reported on parent's perceived benefits of structured activities, rather than the outcomes of the programmes on children themselves (Timperio et al., 2004). Government leaders also report similar findings, such as the need for structured programmes for children to decrease delinquency (Bloomfield & Harris, 1988). The government leaders, however, offer very little scientific evidence, rather, citing sports pundits and anecdotal evidence to support their stories (Bloomfield & Harris, 1988; Whitlam, 1972). Government leaders are the public voice for many social issues, and often offer commentary that resonates with many people.

As stated above, the good parent not only looks for a safe environment but also chooses one that provides services to enable the best opportunities for their child. Sport based holiday programmes offer specific childcare values and services, including health benefits, and sporting competition.

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The reported values and benefits of sports have helped shape the emergence and popularity of MSHPs. Sport plays a major role in Australian society, as evidenced in a nation-wide survey of social attitudes, where 82% of respondents rated sporting heroes as influential in how they view themselves as Australian's (Tranter & Donoghue, 2007)[5]. As Rowe (2017, p.1475) notes, Australia's "attachment to sport is constructed both as a defining characteristic of being Australian and as the 'common ground' on which otherwise diverse social subjects are brought together". The referral of Australia as a sporting nation is echoed by politicians such as Whitlam (1972), in the media (Rowe, 2017), and through the appointment of sporting heroes as Australians of the Year (National Australia Day Council, 2016). This reverence shows that "sport is an arena of cultural importance while simultaneously being both work (economic industry) and leisure (arena for social interaction and emotional engagement)" (Sherry & Shilbury, 2007, p. 418).

Although sport has been an integral part of Australian society for such an extended period, coordination of organised children's sport was *ad hoc* until the 1990s (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). Government reports from the 1990s promote organised sport as a way to improve children's health and physical fitness, increase self-esteem, develop social skills, and improve academic performance (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). Further, broader community benefits were said to be embedded in children's organised sport, such as positive personal interests, decreased

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[5] Tranter and Donoghue (2007) posit that that the notion of sporting heroes in Australia is likely to be embedded in traditionally masculine, aggressive concepts. Further, they suggest that the sporting heroes are males who dominate popular culture and media (such as Don Bradman) (Tranter & Donoghue, 2007).
In addition to this point, Rowe (2017) notes that although sport can be a unifier and relationship builder (especially for newly migrated individuals), particular sports hold more cultural value than others. For example, Australian Rules Football is often viewed as the national sport, and those who have never seen the sport, or understand it, may feel effects of social exclusion while trying to integrate and understand the Australian values.

delinquency, and promotion of civic engagement (Australian Sports Commission, 1994; Bloomfield & Harris, 1988).

In relation to the health benefits reported, children's weight has been of concern. Several reports and papers cite concerns for children's overweight and obesity levels (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003; NHMRC, 2003; Spinks, Macpherson, Bain, & McClure, 2006). In order to combat this health problem, researchers and government officials proposed physical activity and healthy eating (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003). Governments were beginning to focus concerns of children's health on their bodies, neglecting other aspects of health, such as social, emotional, and mental wellbeing (Gard & Wright, 2001).

The concern for children's health, specifically, the concern for the weight of children is one of the key social pillars that may guide parents toward one type of holiday programme over another. Other societal concerns include programmes that offer a safe space and spaces that engage their children in sport and physical activity. Multi-sport holiday programmes (MSHPs) have emerged as a site that promotes all three ideals and are the most common type of programme in Victoria, with over 130 operating. MSHPs are unique as they offer a range of sports daily. This is unlike single-sport programmes that offer skill-development for one sport. Further, and dissimilar to single-sport programmes, there is no membership needed to participate in MSHPs.

The popularity of MSHPs and their recent emergence in Victoria, have all contributed to a specific childcare phenomenon, one that supports health, physical activity, and good parenting practices. It is with this in mind that my PhD focuses on the emergence of MSHPs, from both a recent policy and an in-depth case study, perspective.

Thesis Outline

Aims one and two are distinctly different from one another; aim one looks to explore the *what* (what conditions made MSHPs possible?) and aim two looks to examine the *how* and *why* (how do they operate and why are they so popular?). With this in mind, the thesis is split into two sections, before a final discussion weaves the what and the why together. Following this introductory chapter (chapter one), the methodology employed to answer aim one is detailed (chapter two). This section includes a framework for collecting and analysing documents.

Chapter three outlines the emergence of MSHPs using a political lens. Several political documents and changes in government are integral to understanding how MSHPs have emerged in Melbourne with such popularity. Therefore, this chapter traces the political literature that concerns children's sport, education, and health from the 1970s to 2005. This section explores the changes from Liberal to Labor Party and back again, and the impact on sport, health, and education.

Document analysis again occurs in chapter four with a presentation of MSHP data in Victoria. A brief overview of holiday programmes operating in Victoria introduces the chapter before data on the location, cost, and format of MSHPs running in Victoria provides contextual significance.

The first four chapters present the political and social factors leading to the emergence of MSHPs within Melbourne, Australia. To understand the broader holiday programme phenomenon, chapter five reviews the literature on summer camps and holiday programmes around the world. Six prominent themes emerge in the literature review, including the history of summer camps, getting back to nature, character development at camp, peer groups in camps, healthy children at camp, and sporty children at camp.

Gaps in the literature review also emerged and include gender-based research in holiday programmes, ethnicity-based research, and child-directed research.

In addition to these gaps, there was a lack of critical work on holiday programmes and no established field of research on holiday programmes in Australia. Therefore, a second literature review contextualises Australian junior sport, and the values underpinning it. The topics include socialisation, the emergence of organised youth sport in Australia, positive youth development, healthism, and the good parent.

Chapters one through five answers aim one through the contextualisation and establishment of a gap in the literature concerning holiday programmes. Chapter six introduces the research methodology undertaken in to explore aim two, including the case study research, observation and semi-structured interview methods.

Chapter seven details the case study/data collection sites. The first half includes the geographical and population data of each site to assist in understanding the subtle differences between each location. Although there are geographical and economic differences between each suburb, the case study research showed very few differences between the MSHPs operationally. Expanding on this, the second half of the chapter considers all the data collected at the sites and reads as a 'day in the life' at an MSHP.

The narrative style of chapter seven allows the reader to feel fully immersed in the MSHPs. My experiences, observations, and interactions with people at the three sites provide a descriptive picture of MSHPs. As I do so, I elucidate the three themes that emerged at these sites. The narrative of chapter seven leads into the analysis chapter (chapter eight) and includes healthism, meritocracy, and gender and sport.

Chapter nine discusses the three thematic and contextualisation chapters and includes the role of MSHPs in society, the impact that policy, social factors, and economics have

played in the emergence of MSHPs. The implications of research, including the significant part that policy can play in shaping how MSHPs could look in the future conclude the thesis (chapter ten).

Chapter Two: Methodology for Document Analysis

The following four chapters (two, three, four and five) address aim 1 of this thesis: Establish a narrative of the political and social conditions that have assisted in making MSHPs possible in Australia from the 1970s. In doing so, these chapters illustrate the social and political significance of MSHPs within Victoria, Australia. This chapter addresses the methodology employed for the document analysis and literature within chapters three, four and five.

Document Analysis

Document analysis provides an opportunity to contextualise the emergence of MSHPs and assists in the triangulation of ethnographic data presented in the second half of the thesis. There are several advantages in undertaking a document analysis, including the efficiency in data collection and analysis, cost-effectiveness, the relative availability, and the exactness of data within a document (exact names, details and events) (Bowen, 2009). Rather than consider documents and texts as accompaniments to ethnographic data collection (such as the interviews and observations presented in chapter eight), I utilise Prior's (2003; 2008) research and see documents as informants in their own right.

Prior (2003) provides a useful foundation in understanding texts as a legitimate form of data. Understanding the creation and consumption of documents and texts is an important function of social science research (Prior, 2003). Further, documents assist in structuring or reaffirming social settings and organisations and can shape how we construct, manage and understand particular spaces (Prior, 2003).

The two key areas of document analysis that Prior (2003) discusses include: meaning and reference. Understanding the meaning of texts can be challenging as it brings to the fore a question of author/subject. For example, where do you take meaning from, what

the author means, or your interpretation of the content? These questions often lead back to epistemological debates about what constitutes knowledge. Referencing, in contrast, is more logical in its approach and is closely related to ontology and what things are. For example, referencing can include counting times that phrases appear or the number of documents released within certain periods.

Prior (2003) provides a summation of the meaning of texts, through the historical changes in phenomenological thought. She presents this shift in meaning over time, from Dilthey to Weber, to Mead with symbolic interactionist theory, to Schutz and finally to Gadamer. This shift highlights the transition of meaning away from the author (Dilthey) to the interpretation of the text within a cultural context (Gadamer). Gadamer's work (as seen in Prior, 2003) shows that people's experiences, both at the time of writing and at the time of interpretation, are equally important in understanding the meaning of texts.

Analysing text based on the 'meaning,' whether that is the meaning derived from the author's original thought or that of the interpreter, can be quite subjective. Therefore, Prior (2003) believes that conducting a content or discourse analysis (referencing) may prove to be a more rigorous method of data collection. Methods may include finding the number of documents within a period, or references made within documents. Further, there is a benefit in focussing on references rather than meaning, as the meaning of words, phrases, and paragraphs can only teach us so much. According to Prior (2003), strength in analysis lies in the operational work of counting and referencing the 'what' and 'how many' rather than the 'why'.

There is great value in the method of referencing within document analyses. However, it would be remiss of me to ignore my role and experiences leading up to and throughout this project, and the meaning of texts that I analyse. Therefore, I include an

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interpretation of the meaning of texts alongside the referencing of content in the following two chapters. My choice to do so lies in my understanding that, as an investigator, my knowledge and life experiences will influence the way I understand and interpret the texts.

I do acknowledge that when interpreting text, a purely phenomenological stance has its limitations. Phenomenology is agent-based, with some theorists (such as Weber and Schutz) overlooking the complexity of structuralism and the role of structure vs. agency in society (Inglis, 2018). For example, Berger & Luckmann (see Inglis, 2012) believe that social phenomena occur at the root of social consciousness. They argue that what is real, and what constitutes knowledge is different for every individual. The phenomena that you are exposed to on a daily basis affects your understanding of the two (Inglis, 2012) Phenomenology assists in developing an understanding of experiences, however, I argue that my experiences and knowledge have been shaped by the structures around me (such as education, home-life, etc.), alongside the social interactions and phenomena of my lived experiences. This is of particular importance in chapter three, as I not only reference and disseminate political texts released within each governance period from 1970-2005, I interpret direct quotes and comment on the absence of text or information within the documents.

The following section covers the specific method for uncovering and analysing the political and social texts and moments that relate to sport, health and physical education, and healthcare from the 1970s.

Study Design

Policy and Economic Analysis 1970 - 2005

> Never look at documents in organizational settings as isolated tools, but seek to discover how a document is linked into the wider information storage and retrieval system of which it will form a part (Prior, 2003, p.87)

Chapter three focuses on policy and economic reforms that relate directly to children's sport, healthcare and education from the 1970s to 2005. Public policy documents are recognised as an integral form of data, as they reflect the "complex behaviours, needs, systems and cultures" (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002, p. 173) of any given society. Further, the use of policy and document research supports the triangulation of qualitative data collection, such as interviews and observations (Bowen, 2009).

Two frameworks were employed to ensure both rigour and validity of data collection. The first included classifying the type of policy research undertaken, and the second included a specific data collection method. One of four social policy categories (Context, Diagnostic, Evaluative, and Strategic) was chosen to classify the type of research undertaken (see Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). The context category involves "identifying the form and nature of what exists". Diagnostic includes "examining the reasons for, or causes of, what exists". Evaluation supports "appraising the effectiveness of what exists," while strategic identify "new theories, policies, plans or actions" (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002, p. 174).

To date, no research has examined Australian children's sport, education and healthcare policy in relation to one another. Therefore, Ritchie and Spencer's (2002) context framework was utilised, as it allowed for initial investigations into a previously

unexplored space. To complement this framework, the purposive sampling technique of snowballing informed the data collection process (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, & Namey, 2005). Snowballing is often used to locate key informants that a researcher may not have initial access to (Mack et al., 2005). However, a similar premise can be used to locate key data sources and documents. For example, a researcher may choose several participants to engage in interviews, and within the interviews, ask the informants about other people who may provide valuable information. The following outlines the snowballing process that occurred to gather political data:

1. Data Selection: Collection of the policies and documents relevant to this thesis began as data selection, as key policies in the three overarching fields (sport, healthcare, and education) were already known. These key policies became the backbone of a chronological table. As policies referenced different periods, politicians and officials, data collection began to snowball.

2. Internet search: The initial snowballing from the known documents led to an internet search that was useful in finding policy and document titles and key periods when changes occurred

3. Data sourcing: Once titles and key periods were known, all policies, books and references were sourced from the State Library of Victoria

4. Document interpretation: Documents were skimmed, read, and then interpreted (Bowen, 2009). This was an iterative process and included documenting policies referencing the organisation of elite sport, the emergence and growth of junior sport, changes to health and childcare policy, and children's sport and physical education for the period 1970-2005

A total of 58 documents, policies and reports for the period 1960-2005 are in the political analysis chapter.

Social Analysis of Holiday Programmes

As noted above, content analysis and referencing are useful tools in collecting textual data (Prior, 2003). Chapter four builds on the political analysis by contextualising MSHPs as the most prominent holiday programmes operating. To do this, data collection of the number and type of holiday programmes occurred. Quantifying the number of programmes provides the second element of triangulation to the data in this thesis, similar to the policy research in chapter three (Bowen, 2009; Mack et al., 2005; Prior, 2003, 2008).

Similar to chapter three, the snowballing method was utilised to gather data with the following steps taken:

1. Internet Search 1: Data collection began with an initial internet search on the Victorian government website for school holiday activities (State Government of Victoria, 2015). The website assisted in establishing a starting point for finding holiday programmes. An excel spreadsheet was used to collate each sport-based school holiday

2. , Internet Search 2: Following the initial search, a Google search with the key terms, "School Holiday Programme[6]*", "Holiday Programme*", "Holiday Camp" "Holiday Activit*", and "Vacation Care" occurred. Each of these key term searches was then used again with each of the following: "Sport" (for example, "Sport Holiday Camp", "Sport Holiday Programme", etc.,) "Engineering", "Art", "Art and Craft", "Council", and "General"

3. Internet Search 3: As the general sport search yielded a high volume of results, a second search included all single sport categories: "Cricket", "AFL*", "Rugby Union", "Rugby League", "Tennis", "Swimming", "Soccer", "Netball", "Gymnastics",

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[6] Please note: the asterisk beside any search terms indicates that a variation of spelling was utilised. For example, both 'Programme' and 'Program' were included in the search.

"Dance", and "Basketball". These sports rank as the most common sport and leisure activities for children (ABS, 2012). Each Google search had a limit of ten pages, with only Victorian programmes selected.

4. Contact Councils and Local Government Areas (LGAs): LGAs were contacted via email and phone to find any programmes operating that did not show up online. The majority of LGA's were not able to provide data on the number of holiday programmes operating in their region. Most LGAs noted that school holiday programmes were not council run; therefore, they had little knowledge of the activities within their localities.

Excel spreadsheets were used to store the holiday programme information, with the following included in each sheet: name, opening date, the age range of children, cost, location, and type of programme. A total of 1014 holiday programmes were running (in at least one of the four holiday periods) in Victoria as at January 2015. The following section gives relevant information on these school holiday programmes operating in Victoria, and specific to MSHPs, their location, how much they cost, and when they emerged.

Thematic Literature Review Criteria

Part one of the literature review traces the research conducted on school holiday programmes/summer camps and below is a brief overview of the method and rationale employed.

Data Sources and Search Terms

During October 2016, I searched for the following key terms: child* AND "school holiday program*" or "school holiday" or "holiday program*" or "summer camp" or "summer school" or "vacation program*" or "vacation care" or "holiday camp" or "holiday activit*" AND participat*, from the sources: EBSCOHost, Scopus, Web of

Science, SPORTDiscus, PsycINFO, and the Cochrane Database. There were no restrictions on year published[7].

Study Inclusion Criteria

The inclusion criteria are as follows,

- *Peer-reviewed (and original) research*
- *Qualitative and Quantitative (observational or interventional) studies (e.g. pre-post, control trial, randomised controlled trial)*
- *Research must involve, or acknowledge children aged 5-12 years (some leniency was afforded to this, where research may have been conducted with children just outside of, but including, that age-range)*
- *School holiday programme/activity must be structured and does not require parental/guardian participation*

Exclusion Criteria

The following includes the exclusion criteria,

- *Research that did not include children aged 5-12 years*
- *Research conducted on clinical populations*
- *Papers that were not 'research' (including no data collected/disseminated, and no peer-review)*
- *Research on holidays/vacations for families (must be specific for children only)*
- *Research on programmes that were not organised and/or structured*

The initial search yielded 4450 articles. Title and abstract screening reduced the number of articles to 651. Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis method informed the creation of thematic folders (detailed on pages 132-134). Re-reading the 651 articles allowed the development of a list of themes based on the content and research questions. In total, 33 themes emerged, and of those, the six most salient themes relating to the research question are in this review. A total of 56 papers are in this review. The themes include a history of summer camps and holiday programmes, getting back to nature,

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[7] The search term 'Program*' includes both spelling iterations of program/me.

character development at camp, peer groups in a camp setting, healthy children at camp, and sporty children at camp.

Currently, camps and holiday programmes are in two formats: overnight/residential and day camps. Since the 1970s, research in the field of summer camps and holiday programmes has grown exponentially. Much of this research has focused on the growth of summer camps and holiday programmes as sites of education – in particular, Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) based camps. The articles based on the STEM/education field review holiday programmes for children who have failed or are behind in school. Some of these programmes are compulsory, and others evaluate learning for gifted children. Both, I would consider as specific populations, so this review will not include STEM-based camps.

Chapter Three: Politics and the Emergence of MSHPs

The next two chapters outline the socio-political factors that allowed MSHPs to emerge and become popular in Melbourne, Victoria. Specifically, this chapter traces public policy and economic reforms over the past 45 years to understand the shifting political conditions that support an intersection of sport and childcare. Policy and economic reforms outside of the period 1970-2005 are absent for the following reasons. Between 1972 and 1975, Gough Whitlam served as Prime Minister and his term is the turning point for organised sport in Australia (Green, 2007; Hogan & Norton, 2000; Stewart, 2004). Probably because of Whitlam's initiatives, the numbers of MSHPs steadily increased during the 1980s, becoming a regular part of the childcare market by the mid-2000s.

The following includes 58 documents, policies, and reports for the period 1960-2005. The period 1972-75 opens this section, as it is the government's first coordinated effort to support organised sport in Australia.

1970-75: The Whitlam Era

The Liberal Party held office from 1949-1972. Government interest in elite sport was minimal at this time, with funding for athletes *ad hoc*, and insignificant (Houlihan, 1997). Athlete funding came from private sources in this period, however, poor performances by athletes led to money drying up (Green, 2007). In 1972 a change of government from the Liberal Party to the Labor Party occurred. Researchers cite this change in government as integral for elite sports funding in Australia (Green, 2007; Hogan & Norton, 2000; Houlihan, 1997; Stewart, 2004). The following table (Table 1) shows the sport and health policies and major political events that occurred in Australia for the period 1970-1975.

Table 1: Integral Political Moments 1970-75

Year	Curriculum	Sport Policy	Health Policy	Other Major Events
1970				
1971				
1972		• *Department of Tourism, Recreation and Sport* • *Capital Assistance program, Sports Assistance program, Fitness Australia*		
1973		• *Bloomfield Report*		
1974				
1975		• *Coles Report* • *Dismantling of Sport and Rec Portfolio* • *Life Be in It (VIC)* • *Liberal Party (Malcolm Fraser)*	• *Medibank established* • *Life Be in It Campaign in Victoria*	

When Gough Whitlam and the Labor party took office at the end of 1972, they immediately increased federal spending in many areas including sport, healthcare, and the arts, (Hocking, Land, Campo, & Tayton, 2016). Whitlam enacted several policies that focused on the needs of middle-class Australians (Hocking et al., 2016). This included 40 key decisions in his first two weeks as Prime Minister, such as ending

conscription and re-opening the equal pay debate (Hocking et al., 2016). Whitlam's

leadership was unique and seen as ground-breaking for the time[8].

Whitlam's passion for social justice included addressing the health care inequalities of

everyday Australians. In his opening address, Prime Minister Whitlam cited the

importance of an individual's quality of life and the threat of urbanised landscapes.

Whitlam believed; however, both problems could influence children

> One of the major concerns for many families today is the wellbeing, both physical and mental, of young children. The concern is highest in new areas or where both parents are working, leaving children unattended for long periods after school. Figures on the growing increase in juvenile crime, on drug-taking among youth and on physical fitness show there is real ground for concern (Whitlam, 1972, p. 1).

To improve the welfare of the nation, Whitlam (1972) believed there was a need for

better-designed health provisions and active leisure initiatives. The first change to

improve welfare was the establishment of a government-funded compulsory health

insurance system – Medibank (De Voe & Short, 2003). With funding from income tax,

Medibank provides equal healthcare for all Australians (De Voe & Short, 2003). A

second way to improve welfare was to address the sport and leisure opportunities

provided to Australians[9] (Whitlam, 1972).

Sport and leisure became integral to Whitlam's campaign, with two important sport and

recreation changes made in his first twelve months of office. A cabinet for Tourism and

Recreation was established, which led to an inquiry on the state of recreation and sport

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[8] Whitlam's leadership contributed to Australia's art and cultural landscape. This included the purchase of Jackson Pollock's 'Blue Poles' art piece, in 1973, the largest art purchase in Australian history at the time (Hocking et al., 2016). The purchase of the piece caused much controversy, both in and out of parliament, with opposition leaders lambasting Whitlam's purchase (Hocking et al., 2016). Although shrouded in controversy at the time, the piece is today considered one of the "greatest works of abstract expressionism in the world" (Hocking et al., 2016, p. 17).

[9] Whitlam's Labor government was heralded as progressive, for example, implementing a series of amendments abolishing the White Australia policy. However, the policies and rhetoric surrounding sport largely supported white, middle class Australians. The policies lacked nuance and detail around social issues that may impact entering sport, for example, the cost, distance, and the consideration of sport as 'safe' space for persons of colour and women.

(Stewart, 2004). The Department for Tourism and Recreation created two reports that showed the government's priority of mass participation for all Australians – The *Capital Assistance Program,* and the *Sport Assistance Program* (Stewart, 2004). The *Capital Assistance Program* provided grants to the state governments to build community sports facilities, while the *Sport Assistance Program* provided financial assistance to programs for travel to international events (Jolly, 2013; Stewart, 2004). In addition, the government commissioned an inquiry into the state of sport in Australia and placed sport at the forefront of federal politics and funding. The inquiry, *The Role, Scope and Development of Recreation in Australia*, is one of the integral political documents for sport in Australia. The document became known as the Bloomfield report, after the author, John Bloomfield.

The inquiry detailed the state of recreation in Australia and made several recommendations to engage more Australians in active leisure (Bloomfield, 1973). The perceived dire situation for many Australians led to the recommendations, with Bloomfield (1973, p.1) citing that

> "there is no doubt that Australians are facing unprecedented physical problems as a result of this physical inactivity. The number of very obese people, often quite young, whom one sees in Australia, is an indication in itself of the state of the nation's health".

Bloomfield's opening remarks make clear his intentions to establish mass sport and active leisure participation. In addition to mass participation, Bloomfield made a commitment to an elite sports model including a focus on establishing recreation centres for all Australians, increased support for cultural activities throughout Australia, increased opportunities for coaching development, talent identification, and building an institute of sport (Bloomfield, 1973).

Although Bloomfield had made several recommendations promoting mass participation alongside the elite sport recommendations, the government saw the establishment of an elite institute of sport as a way forward for Australia. Thus, the government commissioned a second report to assess the feasibility of an institute of sport. *The Coles Report – A Report of the Australian Sports Institute* – argued that an institute of sport was integral to build up mass participation and develop elite athletes (Coles, 1975). Naturally, elite athletes and competitive sport would benefit most from a national institute of sport through coaching, training, research, and coordinated sports organisation (Coles, 1975). Elite athletes and sports management were integral to international success, with mass participation hypothesised to occur through a model of emulation, where young people would consider elite athletes as heroes (Coles, 1975). The emphasis on elite athlete development, however, came with a caution.

> High-performance sport, for instance, has become an ideological phenomenon, potent because of the suggestion that superiority in sport reflects superiority of the nation of its ideology. The increasing use of sport as an instrument for extrinsic rewards – money, medals, media fame or whatever – tends to encourage bio-chemical and psychological manipulation of the individual in the quest for success. This is particularly alarming in the case of the young (Coles, 1975, pp. 20-21).

In order to stay away from extrinsic rewards based sports systems, Coles contended that the focus needed to be on "what the person becomes through sport" (Coles, 1975, p. 20). The implication here is on character development and is clear when Coles (1975) stated, "sport will also serve as an instrument for … purposes such as nationalism, commercialism, delinquency reduction, character development or physical development" (p.17). The intersection of character development and sport can be traced to days of muscular Christianity in the UK and the USA (Watson, Weir, & Friend, 2005). However, research suggests the correlation between character development and sport is thin at best (Coakley, 2011; Shields & Bredemeier, 1995). The lack of evidence

available did not deter experts and sports pundits professing the developmental benefits of sport to the masses at this time. Bloomfield (1973), Coles (1975), and Whitlam (1972) all cited sport as inherently good for a person's development. Further, the two reports and Whitlam's opening speech all posit that delinquency in youth will decrease if the government offers sporting opportunities to those in need. Whitlam's speech and the sports policies and documents up to this point reported on the positive social effect that sport could provide. However, there is little evidence of the physical achievements of these effects in the documents.

The Victorian state government echoed the vision of a healthy and fit Australia promoted by the federal government (Fullagar, 2002). In Victoria, the minister for sport, Brian Dixon, surveyed people's interest in physical activity and found that over 50% did not feel the need to participate in any active recreation (Bloomfield, 2003). The poor results led to a state-wide health campaign, 'Life, Be in It!' (Bloomfield, 2003). Life, Be In It! was characterised by 'Norm,' the average Aussie bloke, who quickly became a national icon (see figure 2 below) (Bloomfield, 2003).
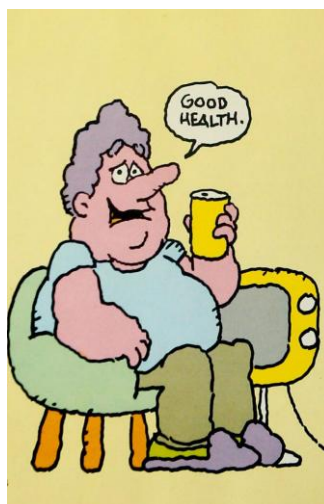
Figure 2: Norm from the Life. Be in It Campaign

Life, Be In It! promoted individual fitness and healthy behaviours through an advertising campaign running in print and on television (Bloomfield, 2003). The campaign was a success, with Life, Be in It! becoming a nationally recognised programme.

At a state and federal level, the discussions focused on community sports access and resources for most Australians. However, the professionalisation of sport received most of the funding. In the year 1973-74, the federal government spent $6.2million on sport and recreation, with $4.4million spent on development and facilities, and $1.8million spent on community sport and leisure (Jolly, 2013). In addition, Whitlam (1972), and Bloomfield (1973) mention children's health and physical activity, however no specific policy or report detailed what resources would be provided directly to children's sports programming and participation during 1972-75.

Whitlam's tumultuous early exit from office in 1975 signalled the end of a brief overhaul of many systems in politics, including the funding of sport and leisure. In his short time as PM, Whitlam changed the way the public understood healthcare and leisure. Whitlam's legacy shaped compulsory health insurance, sports funding, and sports policy in decades to come. This included the establishment of the Department of Tourism and Recreation, introduction of two sports funding schemes - *Capital Assistance*, and *Sport Assistance*, and the commissioning of two sports reports – the *Bloomfield report*, and the *Coles report*. These changes have had long-term effects on the way sport is organised in Australia. The following section details the re-entry of the Liberal party into power and highlights the diminishment of funding for sport between 1975 and 1983.

1975-83: Malcolm Fraser and the AIS

The Fraser Liberal government came into power at the end of 1975 and quickly
decreased funding and resources to many social policies and agendas established by
Whitlam. Malcolm Fraser's term as Prime Minister lasted six years. The following table
(Table 2) demonstrates Fraser's apathy toward sport and healthcare.

Table 2: Integral Political Moments 1975-83

Year	Curriculum	Sport Policy	Health Policy	Other Major Events
1975				
1976		• *Sport and Recreation-A discussion paper (AUS)*		• *Montreal Olympic 'failure'* • *Junior Football Council of Victoria implement school football*
1977		• *Life Be in It (AUS expansion)*		• *National Soccer League formed* • *World Series Cricket established*
1978				•
1979				• *NBL established in AUS*
1980		• *ALP Sport and Recreation Policy*		
1981	• *School Sport Aus.*	• *AIS Opening*		
1982				

In the first twelve months of his term, Malcolm Fraser and the Liberals cut funding to
many areas of government. Fraser's focus on 'small government' and minimal spending
led to the scrapping of many of Whitlam's earlier political accomplishments. These
include a Medicare levy, the introduction of private health insurance (Biggs, 2004), the
abolishment of the Department of Tourism and Recreation, and the sports portfolio
shuffled into the Environment, Housing and Community Development Department
(Daly, 1991; Stewart, 2004). With the sports portfolio moving to a different department,
funding for sport decreased significantly (Daly, 1991; Stewart, 2004). Experts believed

Australia's poor performance at the Montreal Olympics to be a product of the Liberal government's decision to slash funding for elite sport (Daly, 1991; Green, 2007; Stewart, 2004). According to experts, funding was required as "there was a need for better coaching, improved facilities, pre-games international competition and the freedom both financial and temporal – to train as hard as the Europeans were now doing" (Daly, 1991, p. 6). The public also echoed the sentiment to increase sports funding. However, it took a collective lobbying effort by 42 National Sporting Organisations for the federal government to acknowledge the lack of provisions in place for sport (Stewart, 2004).

The 42 National Sporting Organisations formed the Confederation of Australian Sport (CAS), and in the first twelve months of their establishment created a White Paper document outlining the financial plight of sport in Australia (Confederation of Australian Sport, 1977). The CAS believed Australian sport to be in a dire situation and used the paper "to convince the Federal Government that Australia is the poor relation of the international sporting world" (Confederation of Australian Sport, 1977, p. 1). The CAS noted that sport provides many positive benefits for the community, including keeping youth away from delinquent acts such as drugs and alcohol. Sport was said to improve the general welfare of the community (Confederation of Australian Sport, 1977). For example, "… in Australia it is difficult to understand why sport and recreation do not receive financial support from health funds – such is their contribution to the nation's welfare" (Confederation of Australian Sport, 1977, p. 7). According to the Confederation, if the minimal funding were to continue, none of those benefits would occur.

The White Paper, expert commentary, and public outcry of Australia's dismal 1976 Olympic performance led the federal government to invest in several sport and leisure

provisions (Stewart, 2004). Provisions included the formal education of coaches, funding allocation for the Moscow Olympics (in 1980), Brisbane Commonwealth Games (in 1982), surf lifesaving and water safety, and a national rollout of the Life, Be In It! campaign (Stewart, 2004). Along with funding investment, the sports portfolio moved to a new department, The Department of Home Affairs. In the years to come, the Minister for Home Affairs, Bob Ellicott spearheaded many changes to the sporting landscape in Australia, including the opening of the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS).

Before the opening of the AIS, the Labor Party (ALP) released its report on sport and recreation, with many recommendations echoing the policies put in place in Whitlam's term. The ALP released the report, with the hope that the coalition government would adopt some of Whitlam's earlier sport and leisure policies. The report stated that both Labor and Liberal party "need to encourage more Australian's to get off their butt and participate [in sport]" (Australian Labor Party, 1980, p. 12). The report focused on many areas of community sport and recreation but paid particular attention to young Australians. For example, the report made claims about the benefits of sport and reductions in delinquency.

> Research linking the level of the provision recreational facilities for young people and levels of juvenile delinquency is limited … Whilst there is no definitive evidence to suggest that the provision of recreational facilities will prevent such acts from occurring, I am quite convinced that the provision of appropriate recreational facilities in deprived areas … would give many young people a non-violent outlet for the energies and angst (Australian Labor Party, 1980, pp. 62-65).

Although the Labor Party document acknowledged the lack of evidence available to correlate delinquency and use of recreation spaces by youth, the ALP still presented recreation centres as sites of salvation for children and teenagers. Further, they stated that children who do not have adequate supervision were likely to go out and engage in

delinquent behaviours. The report echoed earlier comments on childhood delinquency proposed by Bloomfield (1973), Coles (1975), and Whitlam (1972).

Along with the proposed development of recreation centres to curb childhood delinquency, the report also put forth the idea of compulsory physical education. According to the report, physical education should not be an optional subject as,

> …the main problems for an effective implementation of physical education courses in primary and secondary schools are: lack of time allotment, misuse and abuse of time for PE, lack of practical curricula, lack of continuity, vague objectives, lack of resource and specialised teachers as well as consultants and supervisors, lack of challenge for highly skilled children, inadequate facilities and equipment, good outdoor activity facilities available, [and] lack of swimming pool and rinks (Australian Labor Party, 1980, p. 95).

At the time of the report, school curriculums were a state government priority, making it difficult for the federal department to establish a national physical education curriculum. Although the Fraser government did not take up the policy objectives laid out by the ALP, they did partially fund School Sports Australia (SSA). SSA formalised the previous ad-hoc school sports system into a national sports competition for both primary and secondary public school students (School Sport Australia, 2013). School sports programmes had been in operation for over 50 years before the establishment of SSA; however, a formal association meant that "gifted and talented students [have] the opportunity to participate in higher levels of sporting competition" (School Sport Australia, 2013, p. 1).

The Fraser government's choice to fund SSA was interesting for two reasons. First, SSA's goal was to offer children already engaged in sport more opportunities to excel. Second, in the year prior to funding SSA, the government axed the national Life, Be in It! programme from the federal budget. The establishment of SSA, and removal of Life,

Be in It! from the federal agenda showed a coordinated movement toward organised and structured sport.

The Liberal Fraser government was initially reluctant to introduce the institute of sport recommendations from Bloomfield and Coles. However, the CAS released a second report in 1980 that provided further evidence for an elite institute, making it almost inevitable for the development of a national institute of sport in 1980-81 (Stewart, 2004). The institute of sport was to benefit all Australians, with elite athletes having direct access to excellent facilities and the public to benefit from a trickle-down model of emulation. At Ellicott's insistence, Canberra became the home of the institute of sport, giving the institute a feeling of national character (Daly, 1991). The institute opened on Australia Day in 1981, to mixed responses. Ron Clarke, ex-Olympian decreed that State-based facilities would be far more practical and economically viable (Daly, 1991). Other critics believed that the federal government was buying athletes, coaches, and political votes by building a national institute of sport (Daly, 1991).

Although some coaches and pundits were critical of a centralised institute of sport, the wider community enjoyed the idea (Daly, 1991). Don Talbot, previous head swimming coach for the national Olympic team, became the first director of the AIS, which some said to be an ill-considered choice (Daly, 1991; Stewart, 2004). Talbot had no managerial experience and lacked knowledge beyond swimming coaching; however, he was able to enlist some high-profile athletes and coaches within the first twelve months (Daly, 1991).

Malcolm Fraser's time as PM included some distinct changes in government funding for sport and recreation. The initial reduction in funding, and a renewed focus on an elite sports model, which included the AIS, showed how the Liberal Party valued sport.

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Further, by structuring the approach to an elite sports model, the Fraser government was able to "set the parameters for its conduct" (Stewart, 2004, p. 56). Although Fraser reduced the funding to sport and leisure, he will always be the PM who built the AIS.

1983-91: Bob Hawke

The federal election of 1983 saw the Labor Party return to power under the leadership of Bob Hawke. Before detailing the specific political moments in the Hawke era, it is important to preface the broader social and economic changes that were occurring around the world at this time. Market deregulation was occurring in a bid to improve international trade relations (Fairbrother, Svensen, et al., 1997); the government floated the Australian dollar, which subsequently supported local supply/demand chains and improved international relations (Fairbrother, Svensen, et al., 1997); and deregulation of international trade provided opportunities for private companies to gain control of certain sectors. The government considered deregulation as a positive move as it minimised government spending while increasing competition in the market (McGregor, 2001). These early economic changes were a form of neoliberal governance, where there was a minimisation of government intervention in the market (Fairbrother, Svensen, et al., 1997)[10]. The global economic changes influenced sport and health in Australia because they supported privatisation and deregulation of what were once public services.

The following table (Table 3) highlights the major political (and non-political) changes that occurred during Hawke's leadership.

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[10] An example of this includes the approval of Commonwealth Bank privatisation in 1990. The Commonwealth Bank was the only government owned bank and the Hawke government believed privatisation would increase profits, reduce government spending and stimulate the stock market (Otchere & Chan, 2003).

Table 3: Integral Political Moments 1983-91

Year	Curriculum	Sport Policy	Health Policy	Other Major Events
1983		• *Labor Bob Hawke* • *The Way We P(l)ay* • *Sport and Recreation – Australia on the move* • *Reinstatement of Sport, Recreation and Tourism*		• *America's Cup win*
1984				
1985	• *Curriculum Framework: An Introduction (VIC)*	• *ASC created*		• *Children's Physical Activity Survey* • *First Active Holiday Programme opens in VIC*
1986	• *AUSSIE SPORT School Resource* • *Implementing Ministerial Paper no.6*		• *Ottawa Charter*	• *VicKick in schools*
1987			• *VicHealth established*	• *Inaugural rugby union world cup played in AUS and NZ*
1988	• *The school curriculum and organisation framework: P-12*		• *Australia's Health First Biennial Report*	• *VicKick created VIC (Auskick)*
1989	• *The Hobart Declaration (AUS)*	• *Merger of AIS and ASC* • *Parliament inquiry into the structure of sport* • *Going for Gold – (AUS)* • *Aus. Sport the Next Step*		• *Permanent internet access in Australia*
1990		• *ASC Strategic Plan 1990-1993*	• *Australia's Health*	• *Mandatory use of bicycle helmets in VIC* • *VFL becomes AFL* • *Privatisation Commonwealth Bank*
1991		• *National Health Curriculum Framework*		• *Camp Australia established*

		• *Junior Sport: A Time to Deliver*		• *Life education privatised*

Table 3 shows several changes to policy and curriculum in the Hawke era. Sport, health, and education policies all emerged within the eight-years of governance. The following section shows the intersection of sport and health policy.

Sport and Health Policy

The economic market reform felt in Australia was just one of the many changes of the 1980s. The reintroduction of the Labor Party led to several of Whitlam's earlier sports policies and agendas being re-tabled (Stewart, 2004). In 1983, as a result of the 1980 *ALP Sport and Recreation Policy*, the Department of Sport, Recreation and Tourism was established, and two sports policies were released (Australian Labor Party, 1980). The policies, *Sport and Recreation – Australia on the Move* (Brown, 1983), and *The Way we P(l)ay: Commonwealth Assistance for Sport and Recreation* (Standing Committee on Expenditure, 1983), outlined funding and resource changes required for future sports development.

The Way We P(l)ay explored the expenditure on youth sports and recreation. Specifically, it described the economic impact of sports funding for children (Standing Committee on Expenditure, 1983). The authors critiqued the pattern of government spending, citing that recreation services often received very little support, with elite athletes receiving the majority of funding (Standing Committee on Expenditure, 1983). Further, the emulation model of elite sport was still considered to be a relevant method of getting children and youth into sport, with an aspirational focus on competing in elite sports (Standing Committee on Expenditure, 1983) [11].

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[11] Several points outlined in the report show the minimal consideration children and youth sport had at the time. The following provide a brief snapshot of the report.

5.7   From the evidence collected by the Committee, it would appear that the participation and success rates of individual Australian athletes and national teams have improved; opportunities for up-to-date coaching have

Following on from the two sports policies released in 1983, the ALP established a sports commission to coordinate the decision making of sport in Australia (Stewart, 2004). The Australian Sports Commission (ASC) opened in 1985, and its main function was to control the administration of elite and community sport. The ASC quickly became the dominant authority on all sport-related matters (Stewart, 2004). It was to be an independent authority designed to support government policy while also providing sporting leadership at a national level (Stewart, 2004). The ASC had two goals: excellence in sports performance, and increased participation in sports and sports activities (Hogan & Norton, 2000). The federal government initially funded the ASC, but part of their role was to find private backers for sporting associations, which would minimise the federal expenditure greatly (Houlihan, 1997). The initial Labor policies released in 1983 and the establishment of the ASC in 1985 signalled the Federal Labor Party's focus on elite, and organised sport in Australia.

At a time when the federal government's focus was with elite sports provision, the state government of Victoria was aligning with the global public health movement of the

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increased; sports science and sports medicine techniques have been widened; there has been some increase in the international standard sports facilities available to athletes; and a national strata of professional administrators has begun to augment largely state-based voluntary associations. However, the striking feature of these achievements was that their effects have predominantly been limited to assisting athletes who have already achieved a high level of excellence in a sport: the major effect has been, in other words, to help athletes who are already outstanding to achieve at a higher level. The Commonwealth Government has not done a great deal to increase the proportion of Australians who have the opportunity to excel in their chosen sport nor has it directly encouraged a younger generation of Australians to commit themselves to achieving high levels of performance in sport (Standing Committee on Expenditure, 1983, p. 105)

5.8   The Department of Sport, Recreation and Tourism stated in its submission that it 'considered that assistance channelled towards the objective of encouragement of excellence will "spillover" to encourage participation… by all Australians in sport to the best of their ability. The Committee agreed that outstanding achievements by Australian athletes could have this effect… However, the Committee could not help but ask whether such incentives would be more effective if, for example, they were supported… by a Commonwealth funded scheme which paid in full or part for professional coaches at local levels (Standing Committee on Expenditure, 1983, pp. 105-106)

5.15   Many witnesses before the Committee argued that the most significant gap in Commonwealth Government programing in most fields was the absence of any form of assistance for recreation. Neither so-called 'active' recreation nor 'passive' recreation was seen to benefit under existing Commonwealth Government programs (Standing Committee on Expenditure, 1983, p. 107)

1980s, led by the World Health Organization[12]. Spurred by the movement, the Victorian government created VicHealth in 1987. VicHealth is a health promotion service, established after the Tobacco Act 1987 passed in state parliament. The Act taxed the sale of tobacco, and the revenue raised helped to fund VicHealth (VicHealth, 2005). One of VicHealth's first actions was to buy out all tobacco sponsorship at sporting events and replace it with their QUIT smoking campaign (VicHealth, 2005). By 1988, the Australian Institute of Health (AIH) released its first biennial report into the health of the population (AIHW, 1988). The report focussed on the health of indigenous Australians and the impact European colonisation had on indigenous health (AIHW, 1988) and highlighted the federal government's intention to adopt the WHOs new public health agenda.

At the same time as the release of the AIH report, the AIS and ASC published a report citing a need for additional funding for sport in Australia (Bloomfield & Harris, 1988). Bloomfield and Harris (1988) believed that funding for sports was minimal and identified three key areas where sports funding could assist the population. The key areas included health (physical, cardiovascular, low back pain, decreases in smoking, and benefits to the health industry), economic, and social (improved self-esteem and scholastic achievement, and lower delinquency rates) wellbeing of the population (Bloomfield & Harris, 1988). The report stated that a greater commitment to sport at all

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[12] The World Health Organisation (WHO) released an agenda for global public health in 1986. Public health was in a state of transition from the first two waves of health care, where satiation, and vaccination were the primary concern (World Health Organization, 1986). The third wave was dubbed New Public Health, and was considered as a movement of 'health for all by 2000' (World Health Organization, 1986). In this time health care was being repositioned from an individual problem to a community driven pursuit (Kickbusch, 2003). Further, the new public health model was to be actioned by government sectors, including education, local government, agriculture, and housing (World Health Organization & Ncayiyana, 1995).

levels in Australia would lead to all of these benefits reaching more people (Bloomfield & Harris, 1988).

The Hawke government reinstated Whitlam's project for community sports facilities and introduced *The Australian Sports Kit* – a blueprint for sports funding (Australian Sports Commission, 1989). Two reports: *Can Sport be Bought?* And, *Going for Gold* (Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration, 1989a; 1989b), were also published. Both reports assessed the funding for sport in Australia, including potential options of external funding (Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration, 1989b). The reports supported private funding to move forward in sport and any federal funding "should concentrate on those sports where Australia has established it can be internationally competitive" (Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration, 1989a, p. 46). Although the reports cited Bloomfield and Harris (1988) and proposed positive effects of sports participation for the general population, they showed that federal funds focussed on elite sport (Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration, 1989a; 1989b). Therefore, it is unlikely that the goals, stipulated by Bloomfield & Harris in 1988, for the general population would be achievable. These reports and inquiries led the Hawke government to merge the ASC and AIS at the end of 1989, to coordinate and streamline the administration of sport.

After the merger of the ASC and the AIS, the ASC released its strategic plan for the period 1990-1994 (Australian Sports Commission, 1990). The strategic plan discussed both elite and community recreation and clarified that the AIS was a division within the ASC from that time forward. Compared to 1989, 1990 was a quiet year for sport policy in Australia. The second biennial Australia's Health document was released, building on the original document by providing statistics of health epidemics and strategies for addressing them (AIHW, 1990). The health report also noted that "lifestyle and

behaviour based health promotion programs introduced in the 1970s and 1980s failed to improve the health status or the risk avoidance behaviour of socioeconomically deprived groups as much as those of advantaged groups" (AIHW, 1990, p. 79). The lifestyle programmes included Life, Be in It! the population-based programme to get people off the couch. Monitoring of individual progress would be essential if any health promotion programme were to continue. However, monitoring and even access to health promotion services, may not be feasible for the general population as the increase in funding for private healthcare services outstripped the public system by 3.5% p/a for the period 1976-1985 (AIHW, 1990). Although Australia's Health report posited that those in 'deprived groups' require the most health-care services, there was an inequity of services available to the public sector, with those people able to access the private sector benefitting more than those having to rely on public services.

Interest in children and youth sports policy continued to grow throughout the 1980s and led to the first National Junior Sport Policy Conference in 1991. The conference was the first coordinated event focussing on children's sport in Australia. The conference was a response to the lack of sports opportunities for young Australians and consideration for a "proliferation of [junior] sports providers [resulting] in duplication and conflicting standards. More importantly, it leaves gaps in the delivery of sport which can mean a less-than-complete experience for many young people" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 2). The conference aimed to apply a "systematic and coordinated provision of junior sport in Australia" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 2), through the use of educators, experts, coaches, and academics.

Education Policy

Along with interest in children's sport from the federal government, the state government of Victoria was also making changes to sport, health, and education policy. Although not a government policy, it is worth noting that researchers conducted Australia's first survey on children's health and physical activity in Victoria in 1985 (Salmon, Timperio, Cleland, & Venn, 2005). The survey examined 557 children's modes of transportation to and from school, their physical education in school time, and engagement in school sport. The results showed that 51.7% of children surveyed participated in two or more physical education classes per week, and 21% participated in school sports (Salmon et al., 2005). The survey was the first coordinated effort to measure children's physical activity in Australia.

Complementing the survey in 1985, the Victorian Curriculum Branch introduced an update to their curriculum framework, originally written in 1960 (Curriculum Branch, 1985). The update was a preliminary report outlining the proposed changes needed to keep primary education relevant, moving into the 1990s. It was Victoria's first curriculum document to include physical education (Curriculum Branch, 1985). The report supported the inclusion of physical education (PE), but it did not consider PE to be a core, or a stand-alone subject, rather, one that is bundled with health more broadly (Curriculum Branch, 1985). Although PE did not enter schools at this time as a core subject, school sports initiatives adapted to become more coordinated programmes.

The ASC and Australian Council for Physical Education and Recreation (ACHPER) school sports initiative: *AUSSIE SPORTS* (Australian Sports Commission, 1986) provides evidence of the coordinated approach to sports programming in Australia. *AUSSIE SPORTS* was a resource provided to primary school teachers, with the goal of

engaging children in a variety of competitive sports (Australian Sports Commission, 1986), and aimed to reach all children in primary school, rather than the gifted few that the SSA reached. *AUSSIE SPORTS* also provided information on addressing issues in sport such as drugs, poor sportsmanship, and the historical and social significance of sport in Australia (Australian Sports Commission, 1986). This period in Victorian schools is significant, as it marks the beginning of a more organised sports space in schools. Sport was already in many schools; however, the consideration of PE as a subject, and the introduction of competitive games such as *AUSSIE SPORTS*, signifies a more coordinated approach to sport in Australia.

The momentum of updating schooling practices continued through to the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s. By the end of 1988, the State Board of Education (in Victoria) released an updated curriculum, based on the 1985 curriculum report. Physical education was included in the thematic framework of "personal development" (Ministry of Education, 1988, p. 22). In the following year, all state, territory, and federal education ministers met to create a nation-wide framework for schooling (Australian Education Council, 1989). This meeting and subsequent document (termed the *Hobart Declaration*), set the foundations to build a national curriculum that aimed to reflect differences in children's schooling around the country (Australian Education Council, 1989). The *Declaration* outlined ten goals all schools should adopt, with potential collaboration between state and territory education departments. All ten goals aimed to "enhance the capacity of all Australian schools to meet the challenges of the 21st century" (Australian Education Council, 1989, p. 1). One of the ten goals included physical education "to provide for the physical development and personal health and fitness of students, and for the creative use of leisure time" (Australian Education Council, 1989, p. 1). The *Hobart Declaration* was not a binding policy, but it shaped

the curriculum policy in years to come. An example of this included the introduction of health and physical education as core subjects from the mid-1990s in Victoria.

The Hawke (and John Caine Jr in Victoria) era of government changed sport in Australia, and education in Victoria. Although children's sport received little funding, it became acknowledged as an area of importance. The release of the report, *The Way We P(l)ay*, was significant for children's sport, as it was the first stand-alone report considering the structure and funding of youth sport in Australia. At the same time, the federal government began investigating youth sport funding; the Victorian government began to update the curriculum framework. The earlier curriculum (released in 1960) included no consideration for physical education; however, the updated document included physical education as part of the developmental framework. Along with the curriculum, many schools introduced *AUSSIE SPORTS* to coordinate and structure physical activity.

The platform that Whitlam established in 1972 was beginning to re-emerge throughout the Hawke era. Both federal and state governments were placing value on physical activity, something that had never happened with such intensity before. The following section details Paul Keating's term as Prime Minister, the successor to Bob Hawke as the national Labor leader.

1991-1996: Keating and the Junior Sport Policy

After a successful leadership challenge, Paul Keating became Prime Minister in December of 1991.

Table 4 details the integral political moments that occurred during Keating's time as PM, including the first dedicated junior sport policy in 1994.

Table 4: Integral Political Moments 1992-96

Year	Curriculum	Sport Policy	Health Policy	Other Major Events
1992	• *Physical and Sport Education Senate Standing Committee report (AUS)* • *National Statement on Health*	• *Maintaining the momentum (1992-1996)*	• *Australia's Health*	• *Tobacco Advertisement Prohibition Act*
1993	• *Aussie Sports – School resource*			• *Successful Olympic Bid Sydney 2000*
1994	• *Curriculum Standards Framework (VIC)* • *CSF HPE Document* • *A Statement on Health and Physical Education (AUS)* • *Curriculum Standards Framework (VIC)*	• *National Junior Sport Policy Framework*	• *Australia's Health*	• *The bare bones of the CSF (VIC)*
1995			• *NPH and the WHO's 9th general Programme of work discussion paper*	
1996				

Children's sport and physical activity remained a key political topic for the period 1992-1996, with nine policies and inquiries undertaken at this time. A Senate inquiry into physical and sport education commenced in 1992, in order to identify the status of children's physical and sport skills, the current training practices of teachers, the resources allocated to sport and physical education, and the consistency of physical education across the states and territories (Senate Standing Committee, 1992). The inquiry reported an increase in the number of obese and overweight children and a decline in the time spent in physical education in schools (Senate Standing Committee, 1992). Further, the authors posited that sports education needed to be consistent nation-

wide, rather than the ad-hoc state-based system in place (Senate Standing Committee, 1992). They argued that physical education had several benefits, both in and outside of the classroom.

For example, physical education should be considered "an educational end in itself, [as when it is] properly supervised and taught, [can lead] to both increased performance in other areas of the curriculum, and the development of skills which enable lifelong physical activity" (Senate Standing Committee, 1992, p. xiv). The inquiry cited several recommendations including the increased provision of structured and comprehensive physical education programmes; a minimum weekly allocation of time for physical education in schools; consultation with the ASC and the Department of Education and Training; and a definition of outcomes for a physical education curriculum (Senate Standing Committee, 1992). This inquiry highlights the federal government's continued commitment to physical education for children and is just one of the important government movements involving children's sport to occur from 1992[13].

At the same time as the Senate inquiry into physical education, the Department of Arts, Sports, the Environment and Territories released an updated sports policy for 1992-1996 – *Maintaining the Momentum* (Department of Arts, 1992). *Maintaining the Momentum* declared the 1980s a success for elite sport in Australia with several sports

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[13] At a time when the federal government was supporting the addition of physical education, and an update of education services, the state government of Victoria was cutting $150million from the public school system (Parkinson, 2000). This included the closure of over 50 schools, and amalgamation of a large number of others (Parkinson, 2000). The school closures were a result of the newly elected Liberal-led state government, with Jeff Kennett at the helm. Jeff Kennett entered government and brought with him a Thatcherism style of governance (Fairbrother, Svenson, & Teicher, 1997; Parkinson, 2000). He immediately drafted a mini budget, which aimed to cut costs across the board. This included "slashing the size of the state's public sector, closing and merging schools, cutting country rail services, withdrawing almost $400 million from the state's public health system and introducing an industrial relations reform agenda" (Parkinson, 2000, p. 139). Kennett also began what is considered the largest privatisation of the public sector in Victoria (Fairbrother, Svenson, et al., 1997). This included the privatisation of electricity industry over three years between 1995 and 1997. Privatisation of the health care sector also occurred in this period, with the sale of Ambulance and other health care services.

teams claiming international accolades, such as the inaugural Rugby World Cup, the America's Cup win, Olympic success in 1992, and the Australian men's cricket team flourishing throughout the 1980s. As a result of the policy, the Prime Minister pledged AUD 5million to elite sport, in order to assist with the successful 2000 Olympic bid (Jobling, 1994).

In relation to children, *Maintaining the Momentum* cited the success of the *AUSSIE SPORTS* programme, as there were "two million children, in 88 percent of Australian primary schools, involved" (Department of Arts, 1992, p. 1). It is unclear how the Department gathered this information, as the *AUSSIE SPORTS* programme is merely a resource offered to schools, with the onus on individual teachers to use it. It would have been difficult to quantify the number of children taking part, and the regularity with which they participated in the programme. Nonetheless, the federal government supported the expansion of the programme and proposed a sports programme for children aged three-five to do in the home (Department of Arts, 1992). The government continued their "increasingly familiar" position of supporting the idea of funding grassroots junior sport alongside elite development (Stewart, 2004, p. 68). Their position did not, however, match their practice. Sherry and Shilbury (2007, p. 424) further contextualise the goals of government funding for sport,

> "Investment in sport manifests in a variety of ways. Most clearly via the role that government plays in hosting major sporting events, such as the Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games, and other major international sporting events. Governments invest significant amounts of taxpayers' money into bid preparation, infrastructure, and hosting the event itself in an attempt to obtain a positive impact for both the city and the state, via increased spending, tourism, and promotion to international business".

With the Olympics to run in 2000, the government invested significant amounts of money into elite athlete development. Much like the rhetoric of the Whitlam era,

children would be impacted positively through a trickle-down model of emulation.

Evidence of the trickle-down model is below in Table 5, Table 6, and

Table 7.

Table 5: ASC Funding for sport in Australia 1990-93

	Total Budget (ASC)	AIS	Sport Development
1990-91	$55 Million	$20 Million	$21 Million
1991-92	$59 Million	$22 Million	$24 Million
1992-93	$60 Million	$21 Million	$25 Million

The ASC provided funds for AIS funding and sports development. Sports Development includes five sub-groups, Grants, Liaison and Review, Sports Participation, Coaching, Policy, and *AUSSIE SPORTS* (Source: Australian Sports Commission, 1991, 1992, 1993b). Two of the five Sports Development sub-groups relate to children's participation in sport: Sports Participation and *AUSSIE SPORTS*. Table 6 breaks down the funding to these sub-groups.

Table 6: ASC funding for junior sport 1990-93

	Sports Development (total)	Sports Participation	AUSSIE SPORTS
1990-91	$21 Million	$1.89 Million	$5.12 Million
1991-92	$24 Million	$1.53 Million	$5.25 Million
1992-93	$25 Million	$1.47 Million	$5.50 Million

The funding for children and youth sport goes toward payment for staff to organise and deliver programmes, and payments to organisations such as the AFL, to run programmes (Source: Australian Sports Commission, 1991, 1992, 1993b). *AUSSIE SPORTS* aimed to reach all children aged 5-12 in primary school. Therefore around 15% of the population (ABS, 1991b), received less than 10% of the total ASC funding for the year 1990-93. In contrast, The AIS received just under 50% of the ASC budget, where less than 1% of the population train (see

Table 7 below).

Table 7: Percentage of total population training at AIS

	AIS Scholarship holders	Total Population	Percentage of population training at AIS
1991	506	17,281,100	0.0029%
1992	482	17,486,300	0.0028%
1993	464	17,627,100	0.0026%

Tables 5, 6, and 7, show minimal funding for children's sport when compared to elite sport. Despite this, funding continued for children's sport, through a reinvigorated *AUSSIE SPORT* programme in 1993. The new resource kit stated that *AUSSIE SPORT* was more than physical activity; it was an "initiative committed to the development of young people through sport" (Australian Sports Commission, 1993a, p. 2). This logic of personal development through sport is not new, but it is worth noting, considering the number of policies and reports citing that everyone can achieve it, with very little scientific evidence to support those claims.

Through the redevelopment of *AUSSIE SPORT,* Paul Keating and the Labor government had made progress toward children's sport funding in 1992-1993. 1994 is the most important year for children's sport, both nationally, and in Victoria. The first *National Junior Sport Policy* framework, released in 1994 (Australian Sports Commission, 1994), was the first dedicated junior sport policy in Australia, outside of curriculum documents. After consultation at the National Junior Sport conference in 1991, several key stakeholders including education council members, committees for sport and recreation in Australia, members of the CAS, the school sports council, and the ASC, combined to produce the policy (Australian Sports Commission, 1994).

The policy was as a timely document, "with the strong focus on sport in Australia, and the Olympic games to be held in Sydney in the year 2000… [The document]… will set a solid foundation for the participation in sport by all young Australians" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 1). The policy identified the connection of school sport

and club sport as an essential step forward for junior sport, as it enabled the learning of similar skills and rules between both (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). The policy also proposed several benefits for children when they engage in organised sport, including

- Improved physical fitness, health and self-confidence
- Opportunity to develop social, organisational and leadership skills
- Improved academic, and other skilled activity, performance
- Learning how to handle success and failure
  (For Australian Society)
- A healthier population with an active lifestyle
- Promotion of group and community identity
- Understanding the need to adhere to codes of practice
- Development of positive (rather than anti-social) personal interests
  (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 6)

Coaches and sport educators engaged in training to "foster positive attitudes towards sport … help young people developing sports skills, and … recognise exceptionally talented juniors and give them the opportunity to develop their full sporting potential" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 12). In order to implement the policy, agencies, both internal and external to the government, had a responsibility to achieve the aims of resource allocation, training, safe space, encouraging equity through sport, and talent identification (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). This meant that federal agencies, including the ASC and Australian Education Council, were involved, as well as each state education board, and sports council.

The Australian Education Council (AEC) released a statement on health and physical education in Australian schools (Australian Education Council, 1994) at the same time as the *Junior Sport Policy*. The statement aligned with the commitments outlined in the junior sport policy, and of the Senate Standing committee report on *Physical and Sport Education* (Australian Sports Commission, 1994; Senate Standing Committee, 1992).

The statement was a result of goal nine of the *Hobart Declaration*, in relation to physical health and development (Australian Education Council, 1989). The AEC was looking to implement health and physical education as a core subject in Australian primary schools. They emphasised the value of physical activity in society…

> The health and physical education area has a major concern [for] the promotion of physical activity and the examination of factors that influence people's attitudes towards and participation in physical activity. These include people's access to resources, community attitudes and values, cultural beliefs, and personal experiences of success, failure, enjoyment or frustration (Australian Education Council, 1994, p. 3).

Health and physical education were to address many structural and social differences that may play out in everyday society. Further, the advent of health and physical education in primary schools would allow children to

- Take an active part in creating environments that support health and participation in physical activity, and contribute to community debate and discussion on these issues
- Develop the knowledge and skills to make informed decisions on nutrition and dietary practices
- Evaluate the influence of diverse values, attitudes and beliefs on personal and group decisions and behaviour related to health and physical activity
- Develop an understanding of how individuals and communities can act to redress disadvantage and inequalities in health and access to health care and resources
- Appreciate the impact of human behaviour and endeavour on the environment and the consequences for the health of individuals and populations
- Accept themselves as they grow and change, and promote their own and others worth, dignity and rights as individuals and as members of groups (Australian Education Council, 1994, p. 7)

Each state curriculum board was to implement the goals at their discretion. The goals aimed to reflect the diverse experiences of health and physical education in Australian society. The statement allowed each state or territory to determine dominant themes of health and physical education that may be pertinent to their geographical location. For

Victoria, the Board of Studies controlled the implementation of goals. Aligning with these goals, the Victorian Board of Studies released an updated school curriculum by 1995.

The Board of Studies in Victoria released the *Curriculum Standards Framework* (CSF) in 1995 to replace the 1985 curriculum framework (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995). The *CSF* consisted of eight key learning areas considered core subjects for Victorian school children, with health and physical education cited as one of the eight. Health and physical education were to include "understanding movement patterns and skills, identifying growth and development stages, physical activity, the concept of fitness, food, nutrition, and identity" (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995, p. 9). Physical activity was a sub-field within this and included two components for measurement

- Sport is a form of physical activity that involves competition against oneself or another, or challenging interaction with natural elements
- Sport education is a component of physical education that includes the development of sport skills, an understanding of the origins and rules of various sports and an appreciation of codes of behaviour (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995, p. 9)

The *CSF* supported the quantification and measurement of children's physical activity. For both health and physical education, students progressed through levels of learning. The levels consisted of physical skill development and health knowledge (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995). For example, children must be able to "describe what it means to be healthy" (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995, p. 67) in level one of the health component, in order to progress to level two. Level two includes students "learn what people do to stay healthy and how they can look after their own health" (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995, p. 69). Along with measuring children's physical activity, the *CSF* allowed a further intersection of health and sport to occur.

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The policies released in the period 1992-1996 shape children's sport and physical education. At both the federal and state levels, children became a focus of many documents. Although elite sport received most of the funding, the conversation had progressed toward children's health and physical activity. The following section will detail key sport, and education and health documents through John Howards' term of government, until 2005.

1996-2007: John Howard era

John Howard's election win came after thirteen years of a Labor-led government. As I have detailed earlier in this chapter, Liberal-led governments have traditionally minimised spending and promoted private sector growth. For example, Fraser cut much of the funding to sport and community leisure set up by the previous Labor/Whitlam government. Howard however committed to maintaining funding for NSOs and the AIS (Stewart, 2004). This was a bold move, but one considered necessary with the upcoming Sydney Olympic Games in 2000 (Stewart, 2004). Table 8 highlights the major policies released throughout Howard's time as Prime Minister.

Table 8: Integral political moments 1996-2005

Year	Curriculum	Sport Policy	Health Policy	Other Major Events
1996		• *Sporting Partnerships ALP* • *Encouraging players, developing champions LIBERAL*	• *National Public Health Partnership*	
1997		• *Active Australia: A national participation framework*		
1998	• *Australia's Common and Agreed goals for schooling in the 21st century (AUS)*			• *NSWRL becomes National Rugby League* • *NBL moves to Summer season roster*
1999	• *The Adelaide Declaration (National Goals for Schooling)*			
2000				• *Sydney Olympic Games*
2001		• *Backing Australia's Sporting Ability (AUS)*	• *WHO – Executive Board on Diet, Physical activity and health*	
2002		• *Getting Australia Active – A national participation framework*	• *55th WHO Assembly – Agenda item: Diet, Physical Activity and Health* • *Getting Australia Active* • *National Obesity Taskforce (Initial focus children/youth)* • *Walking school bus (AUS)*	
2003			• *Healthy Weight 2008 (Children and Youth)*	
2004	• *Healthy and Active school communities (AUS) school resource*		• *Global Strategy on Diet, Physical Activity and Health (WHO)*	• *NSL rebranded as A-League*
2005		• *Active After School Communities*	• *Be Active Australia framework*	

Table 8 illustrates Howard's focus on sport in the early stages of his governance. The release of *Active Australia* – Australia's first participation framework with key stakeholder commitment from the sport, health, and recreation industries - continued the rhetoric of participation for all Australians (Australian Sports Commission, 1997; Stewart, 2004). *Active Australia* was one of the first coordinated strategies on physical activity by the health department, and it symbolised the Liberal Party's strategic intent of physical activity for health (Bellew, Schöeppe, Bull, & Bauman, 2008). Reports and policies (for example, Bloomfield, 1973; Coles, 1975) had already established the health benefits of physical activity and sport; however, *Active Australia* had stakeholder commitment, something which never seen before. Along with *Active Australia*, the state, territory, and federal health ministers established the *National Public Health Partnership* (NPHP). The *Partnership* had an advisory group of non-governmental organisations and other peak bodies invested in public health (Mead, 2002). Their role was to focus on several priority public health areas, with physical inactivity identified as one of the main concerns (Mead, 2002).

The rhetoric of improved healthcare and sport provisions from Hawke and Keating continued into Howard's term with *Active Australia* and the *NPHP*. However, the monetary investment into sport and physical activity began to decline over this period to 2000 (Stewart, 2004). Following *Active Australia*, policies drafted between 1997-2000 that focussed on health and physical activity for the general population did not receive backing (Bellew et al., 2008). The government rode the Olympic wave through the millennium, hoping that people's interest in the Olympics was enough to spur participation. In 2001, they refocused their sports agenda to elite development with the report, *Backing Australia's Sporting Ability* (BASA) (Department of Sport and Tourism, 2001). *BASA* had two objectives, "assist the best athletes to continue to reach new peaks

of excellence and to increase the pool of talent from which world champions will emerge" (Department of Sport and Tourism, 2001, p. 1). *BASA* promoted sport at grassroots levels, however like previous funding initiatives such as division of ASC funds, elite athletes continued to benefit most with the majority of money put toward sporting excellence (Department of Sport and Tourism, 2001). $32million was allocated to children, youth and adult participation in sport, and establishing talent pathways for the young (Department of Sport and Tourism, 2001).

In contrast, the ASC and AIS shared a $122.2million allocation to Australian athletes and high-performance sport (Department of Sport and Tourism, 2001). The Howard government's commitment to elite sport continued for four years with this economic boost. Although much of the funding focussed on elite sport, a political move toward children's health and physical activity occurred in the early 2000s.

During their ninth plenary meeting, the WHO released an agenda item for diet, physical activity, and health, in light of rising noncommunicable diseases in the new century (World Health Organization, 2002). The WHO proposed that all member states establish strategies for combatting poor diet and sedentary behaviour (World Health Organization, 2002). In response to the WHO proposals, the *NPHP* in Australia released its first report on health promotion through physical activity (Bauman, Bellew, Vita, Brown, & Owen, 2002). The report cited the importance of physical education and activity in school settings, while also noting that,

> Outside of school, students have at least 30 hours of discretionary time each week, estimated conservatively, and not including holidays, in which there may be opportunities for them to be active. It is important that this area of potential for promoting physical activity be pursued thoroughly (Bauman et al., 2002, pp. 61-62).

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The WHO and the *NPHP* saw out of school hours' care spaces as potential sites to monitor and improve children's health. Considering the WHO and NPHP strategies, the Australian government established the National Obesity Taskforce at the end of 2002. The task force aimed to develop an action plan to combat the declining health of the population (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003).

The National Obesity Taskforce released a four-year action plan in 2003 with a focus on children and young people (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003). *Healthy Weight 2008* aimed to involve the entire community, as "healthy weight is everybody's business" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 4). The framework proposed nine settings for active involvement in promoting healthy weight by 2008. These settings include childcare services (including out of school hours care), primary and secondary schools, family and community services, maternal and infant health services, neighbourhoods and community organisations (including sports clubs), workplaces, food supply services, and media and marketing services (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003). The outcomes for the childcare settings were "improved environments and learning experiences in early childhood care/education settings, which promote healthy eating and active play" and, "enhanced use of childcare settings as an avenue to strengthen the knowledge and skills of parents and carers about physical activity and health" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 7). These outcomes represented the earliest evidence of childcare services reconsidered as health promotion spaces.

As noted above, schools were also integral to the *Healthy Weight 2008* framework, through improved education and good practices of health and physical activities (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003). A result of the healthy weight framework and the *NPHP* report was *the Healthy and Active School Communities* resources kit (Commonwealth of Australia, 2004). The resource kit provided strategies and examples

for good practice and suggested that schools adopt the policies on participation and duration of physical activity (Commonwealth of Australia, 2004). One specific example included shaping the curriculum around fundamental motor skill development and promotion of all-abilities participation (Commonwealth of Australia, 2004). The government's response to all of this was to create *Active After School Communities* in 2005 (AASC).

AASC was a free after-school programme that provided primary aged children daily structured physical activity (Australian Sports Commission, 2007). It predominantly ran on school grounds, but registered care providers could also offer the *AASC* programme (Australian Sports Commission, 2007). The crowded curriculum became a major factor in running *AASC*. Schools were still technically adhering to daily guidelines by offering physical activity, but nothing needed to change in school time (Australian Sports Commission, 2007). *AASC* targeted "traditionally non-active children" (Australian Sports Commission, 2007, p. 3). Participation in *AASC* programmes was voluntary, making it unclear how the programme intended to capture data on who was or was not active.

At the same time the *AASC* was emerging, the *NPHP* began iterations to the *Getting Australia Active* report. The second report provided further evidence supporting the need for more physical activity for adults and children (Bull, Bauman, Bellew, & Brown, 2004). This update led to the *Be Active Australia* five-year plan (National Public Health Partnership, 2005). The five-year plan included specific aims for children's services such as childcare and out of school hours' care (OSHC). These spaces "play an important role in supporting and encouraging children to be healthy and active. They should complement the role of families" (National Public Health Partnership, 2005, p. 17). Four key outcomes for OSHC centres included

1. The health sector provides coordinated support to the childcare sector in relation to physical activity.
2. Sustainable partnerships between the health and child care sector.
3. Child care sector staff have increased knowledge and skills about promoting physical activity.
4. Children (and their parents/carers) are supported to be active through the child care sector (National Public Health Partnership, 2005, p. 18)

The outcomes and aims for childcare services showed the government's intention to align physical activity with healthcare for younger Australians. The *Be Active* plan was not in any way binding, but when considered alongside *AASC*, and the in-school resource kit, we can begin to see a strategic concern for how children spend their time outside of school. Through the government's eyes, physical activity outside of school hours became a panacea for children's perceived poor health.

Conclusion

This chapter provides context for understanding the relevant political and economic conditions that have helped shape junior sport, physical education, and some childcare provisions. The findings from this chapter support previous research that also highlights the Australian government's significant commitment and investment into sport for adults, through various economic, political, academic, and media avenues (Sherry & Shilbury, 2007; Stewart, 2004). The documents and policies reviewed promote sport as a bastion of hope for delinquent and unruly children (Bloomfield, 1973; Coles, 1975), yet, two issues emerge here. 1) Especially in the earlier documents, it was unclear how children were to engage in sport if they were not yet doing so. 2) The evidence supporting positive development through sport was scarce, mostly coming from sports pundits and ex-athletes.

Further, three key findings emerged from this historical overview. First, policy documents cited the importance of children's and grassroots sports development.

However, the economic focus remained on elite sport through the period 1970-2005. This juxtaposition affected the initial opportunities that children had to play sport and physical activity, as there were fewer pathways for children (especially those in public schools) to join an activity.

Second, from the 1980s, there was an increased concern seen in policies and documents for how and where children spent their time, with an emphasis on their health and weight. This key finding has two implications, 1) organisations and companies had greater opportunities to create outside of school hours' care that focused on sport and physical activity (such as *AASC*). 2) Both in and outside of school, the activities/education provided to children began to include health and physical education (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995).

Finally, the intersection of sport and healthcare policy has allowed a reimagining the look of sport and physical education spaces. The release of *Healthy Weight 2008* and the *AASC* promote the use of sports programmes that incorporate health education. Where once the mention of junior sport included discussion of physical ability and character development (Bloomfield, 1973), now, through the development of policies and curriculum, it has begun to incorporate healthy behaviour and lifestyle education (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003).

The three key findings, concern for how children spend their time, the rhetoric of elite sport, and sport/physical activity for health, have all been integral in the emergence of one childcare space: Multi-Sport Holiday Programmes (MSHP). MSHPs would not be as valued as they are today if it were not for the original changes to policy and funding. The following section shows data on the rise of MSHPs in Victoria, including the range and type of programmes available.

Chapter Four: Holiday Programmes

MSHPs are one type of holiday programme currently operating in Victoria. Other holiday programme formats include art and craft, single sport, engineering and general (where a range of activities run throughout the day). This chapter provides information on the number and types of holiday programmes operating in Victoria and assists in contextualising MSHPs as one of the largest types of holiday programme operating.

Chapter three highlighted the political conditions that have allowed MSHPs to emerge in Victoria. Chapter four builds on this political knowledge, by contextualising MSHPs as the most prominent holiday programmes operating. The following section gives relevant information on these school holiday programmes operating in Victoria, and specific to MSHPs, their location, how much they cost, and when they emerged.

Current Holiday Programmes

The following section details the emergence and prominence of school holiday programmes in Victoria. Table 9 includes a list of programme types.

Table 9: Number and type of School Holiday Programmes in Victoria

Programme Type	# Of programmes
Rugby League	3
Rugby Union	4
Dance/Gymnastics	19
Netball	19
Art & Craft	31
Council Run	31
AFL	37
OSH Club™	41
Cricket	45
Basketball	53
Soccer	56
Swimming	59
YMCA	66
Tennis	73
Multi-Sport	139
Misc.[14]	338
Total	**1014**

Three examples of the earliest programmes include the Australian Sports Camps, which is a single sport enterprise running from 20 sites (sports include hockey, soccer, AFL, netball, basketball, and cricket), established in 1984; VicSwim, established in 1976; and the LeMans school holiday camp (basketball), established in 1987. The school holiday programmes (Table 9), including MSHPs, did not open in one burst.

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[14]The miscellaneous programme type includes programmes that offer various activities daily. Some programmes referenced playing sport, but it was not a major component of the days. For examples, Youth Leadership Victoria (2018) host several school holiday programmes around Victoria that offer "picnics, group games, excursions to the movies, laser tag, bowling, trips to the zoo, arts & crafts, cooking, themed costume / dress up days and many more activities; your child's holiday will be filled with excitement, fun and new experiences!"

Programmes began to emerge sporadically through the late 1980s and early 1990s. To understand the emergence of holiday programmes in Victoria, it is first pertinent to trace the changes to childcare services from the 1970s. This includes changes in society, reflecting a need for more childcare services and the role of government in facilitating these changes.

The Need for Childcare Services

Childcare services have evolved as the needs of society have changed (Van Egmond et al., 2010). Stigma surrounded the use of childcare services in the 19th century, with the consensus that children should be cared for in the home (Van Egmond et al., 2010). Much has changed since that time, with people now utilising childcare services daily. Further, conversations about childcare now focus on the type of service that will best suit a child's educational needs (Van Egmond et al., 2010).

The number of childcare services in Australia has grown since the 1960s and is largely attributed to an increase in the number of women in the workforce (Prentice, 2009; Van Egmond et al., 2010). Childcare became a need for parents as more households were becoming dual income. An important consideration includes *who* work at these centres – with women disproportionately over-represented as staff in these spaces (Van Egmond et al., 2010). Therefore, childcare centres served a dual purpose: a labour market where women could enter for gainful employment, and a space for children while more women (their mothers and guardians) took up part and full-time employment. The government saw childcare services as essential for supporting the growing labour market for women with children (Department of Education, 2010), and with that, began increasing the financial assistance available for childcare services (Department of Education, 2010).

Childcare in Australia originally aided dual-income families, but in the rising neoliberal context of the 1970s and 80s, several social and economic factors affected how people used childcare and the value they placed upon it (Qu, 2003). Economically, this has been through privatisation of the market, the commodification of products and services, and the minimisation of government intervention (Connell, 2010). The social factors impacting the popularity of such programmes included the perception of the outside world as dangerous (Carver et al., 2008) and increased concern with children's idle time (Bloomfield & Harris, 1988). From the 1990s, these social and economic issues, largely prompted by neoliberalism, shaped the immense growth of childcare services, including school holiday programmes, in Australia (Gibson, McArdle, & Hatcher, 2015).

At a time when school holiday programmes began to emerge in Victoria, membership to organisations like Scouts Victoria began to decline (see Figure 3 below).

Figure 3: Cub Scouts and Scouts Victoria membership 1971-2015[15]
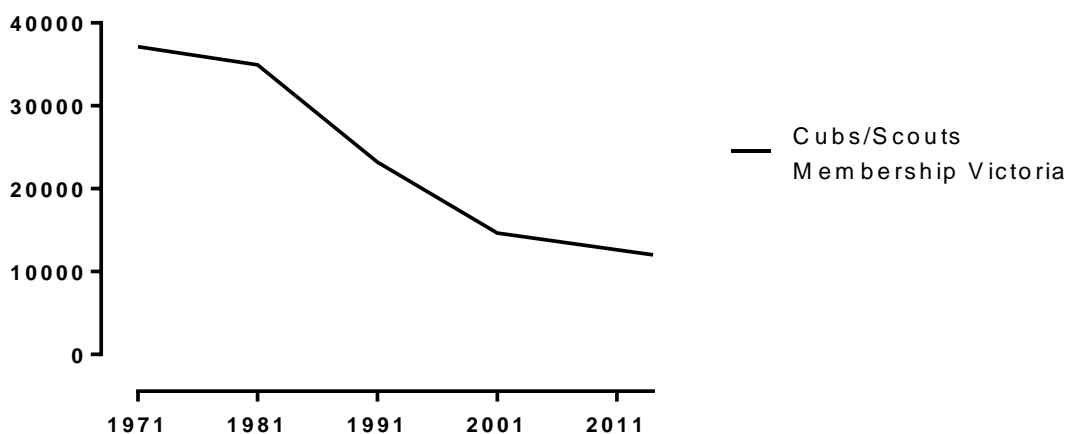
Organisations such as YMCA and Scouts Victoria operated camps and programmes prior to the 1970s but are separate from the holiday programme phenomenon. Scout programmes require yearly memberships and running holiday camps/activities is not the sole purpose of the organisation. The steep decline in Scouts membership from the

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[15] See Scouts Victoria (1972; 1982; 1992; 2002; 2010; 2014) annual reports for more information.

1980s is one example of the changes to how children spent their time. It is likely that the various social and political factors influenced the establishment of organised programmes in school holiday periods. The following section provides details on the government's involvement in childcare services.

Government Intervention in Childcare Services

In the 1990s, the government investment into childcare shifted from direct programme funding to parent payments (Brennan, 2007a; Wilkins, 2014). The decision to offer subsidies to parents, rather than offer more not-for-profit childcare services is a sign of the marketisation of human services (Brennan, 2007a). The marketisation of childcare services was said to increase efficiency and effectiveness, thus giving parents a choice to work and to find the most appropriate service for their children (Brennan, 2007a).

The system for payments in the 1990s was uncoordinated and still included payments to some not-for-profit entities (Brennan, 2007a). In the 2000s, John Howard restructured the parent payment system into two claim systems, the Federal Government Child Care Rebate (CCR), and Child Care Benefit (CCB). The Rebate (CCR) is not income tested and covers up to 50% of out of pocket expenses related to childcare outside of school hours (Department of Human Services, 2016), a percentage that has remained constant throughout its implementation in Australia. To receive the Rebate, you must apply for the Child Care Benefit, which is an income-based test. You may be ineligible for the CCB if your income is too high; however, you will still receive the CCR (Department of Human Services, 2016)[16]. The government scraped both the CCR and CCB on July 2018 for a single income-based test – the Child Care Subsidy

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[16] For example, a dual-income family with a combined income of $100,000 would receive a rebate of $21/child/day regardless of childcare cost. A dual-income family earning $50,000 would have $41/child/day of their cost covered (Deparment of Human Services, 2016).

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(Department of Human Services, 2019). The subsidy is similar to the CCB and includes a battery of questions. The questions begin with basic information surrounding rental, relationship, and work status before details of specific personal circumstances and hours spent in work are calculated (Department of Human Services, 2019). Where dual or single income exceeds $187,000 per annum, the claim per child is capped at just over $10,000 a year (or around 50% of the total cost of a $75/a day school holiday program). Anything under this amount does not incur a cap, and parents can claim a rebate of around 75% of their child's school holiday program fees (Department of Human Services, 2019).

The government invested in the childcare scheme, through the subsidisation of services for parents. Thus, government assistance was just one form of state and federal intervention[17]. Several regulations established in the late 2000s supported privatisation of the sector and made it difficult for general, council-run programmes to continue operating. The following is personal correspondence with a regional council worker discussing why their council closed their programme.

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[17] This contrasts with the premise of neoliberalism, where less government intervention occurs. Here, government intervention occurred on the family, not on the operation of the programmes.

> Hi Caitlin
>
>
>
> Anyway council used to run a school holiday program for several years until it was closed in February 2010. It was a well run and well attended program, however, one of the local childcare service providers, ███████, had expressed interest in running a program themselves. I was council's school holiday program coordinator and was finding it increasingly difficult to comply with childcare licensing provisions, particularly the need to recruit and use qualified childcare staff.
>
> In this regard council considered that ████████ might be better placed to run the program due to the fact that it employed qualified staff and, subsequently, we closed our program at the completion of the January 2010 holidays.
>
> ████████ continues to run a successful and well attended program.

Figure 4: Council employee correspondence

The council worker in the above email ran a general school holiday programme, offering a broad range of activities every day for children. He notes that the strict regulations were a major drawback to continuing the programme. These regulations were a product of the *National Quality Framework*, a government document that standardised the regulations of childcare services in Australia (ACECQA, 2013). Both state and federal governments implemented the framework to…

> Recognise the importance of increasing their focus on the early years to ensure the wellbeing of children throughout their lives and to lift the productivity of our nation. The drive for change is based on clear evidence that the early years of a child's life are very important for their present and future health, development and wellbeing (ACECQA, 2013, p. 3).

The government acknowledged childcare services as having the potential to enable citizenship and contribute to the development of the community. To achieve change, childcare services needed to adopt several regulations. These regulations include qualified staff, ratios of educator to child, indoor and outdoor space requirements, and recordkeeping services, such as enrolment details and medical information of each child

(State Government of Victoria, 2012). Having qualified childcare staff is one of the more difficult provisions to implement. All childcare services are required to have 50% of staff qualified in either a diploma or certificate III in education and care (State Government of Victoria, 2012). In order to be qualified, an individual must undertake an education and care course taking between 18 months to 2 years to complete (Open Colleges, 2016a, 2016b). Additionally, there is a blanket regulation of the child to staff ratio nationwide. For family day care services, the ratio of staff to children must be 1:7 with no more than four preschool-aged children (ACECQA, 2015).

There are exemptions to the framework and associated regulations. For example, people providing informal care, a school that provides educational services or "(d) a service principally conducted to provide instruction in a particular activity… Example: Instruction in a particular activity could be instruction in sport, dance, music, culture or language or religious instruction" are exempt (State Government of Victoria, 2013, p. 17). Sport-based school holiday programmes are thus exempt from most rules and regulations that other childcare services must follow. This includes the ratio standards and staffing qualifications set by the ACECQA. Since nearly 50% (537 in total) of all school holiday programmes in Victoria are single sport-based programmes, this is an important exemption.

This section has reported on the emergence of holiday programmes in Victoria and includes the progressive privatisation and diversification of the childcare market in holiday periods. What began as a general space to care for children in holiday periods has grown into a market where value is on particular activities and education of children over others. The clearest example of this includes the sport-based programme market, the largest market operating in Victoria. The following section profiles sport-based

holiday programmes in a Victorian context, including programme types and reported benefits.

Sport Based Holiday Programmes

"Sport, it can be argued, is a central activity of society, and as such, embodies the social values of that society" (Sherry & Shilbury, 2007, p. 421)

As noted in the introduction, sport plays a central role in Australian society (Stewart, 2004). Considering this alongside the current need for childcare services in Australia, it is no surprise to see that sport-based holiday programmes are so prevalent. 537 single sport-based holiday programmes operate during the holiday periods in Victoria every year. Most programmes operate privately through major organisations (e.g., Cricket Victoria), and often use elite athletes to promote them (e.g. the Archie Thompson School of Soccer holiday programme). This contrasts with the miscellaneous, YMCA, council, and Out of School Hours Club (OSHC) holiday programmes that offer a variety of activities (including sport and exercise), and do not consider themselves as sport-specific.

Within the sport-based programmes, there are two types of holiday programmes for children to take part in: single sport, and multi-sport. 71% of sport-based programmes are single sport, with the most popular programmes, including tennis, swimming, soccer, basketball, and cricket. Single-sport programmes run differently from other holiday programmes. For example, single-sport programmes promote skill development, intensive coaching, and competitive sport. Some programmes segregate children based on skill, such as the Chase Basketball Camp, with children enrolled in either beginner, intermediate, advanced, or advanced plus programmes (Chase Basketball, 2016). Other holiday programmes such as the Cricket Victoria clinics

(Cricket Victoria, 2016) market themselves as clinics and intensive camps and provide children with one or two days of coaching and skill development opportunities. The shorter clinics and intensive camps often run for 3-4-hour periods in the day, so parents must be available to pick up their children once the session is complete. This may be because some clinics and programmes provide "specialist coaching sessions [where the] panel will include experienced soccer coaches with guest coaching from leading players and coaches" (Australian Sports Camps, 2016).

Specific clubs and associations running school holiday programmes provide benefits for members/players of the registered clubs. These may be in the form of discounts, and camp opportunities tailored to children already involved in club sport. One example includes the McKinnon basketball association's 'Boomers Camp' – "Suitable for any female player in domestic or representative competitions from the local area" (McKinnon Basketball Association, 2016). Additional to membership and specialist coaches, one holiday programme franchise also offers "computer video analysis using specialist software & unique written coaches reports" (KidzPhyz, 2016). This franchise offers several single-sport activities and emphasises youth athlete development in each of its programmes.

Member benefits and skill development, especially in the form of video analysis, are often exclusive to single sport programmes. Single sport holiday programmes offer children (and parents) skill acquisition and talent identification opportunities for that sport. In contrast, multi-sport holiday programmes allow for a more diverse range of children to attend as they offer a broad range of sport activities. The following section outlines multi-sport holiday programmes.

Multi-Sport Holiday Programmes

In Australia, multi-sport holiday programmes (MSHPs) offer organised and structured spaces during the holiday period for children between the ages of 5-12 years. Children experience a range of organised sports daily within these sites. The sites are essential in terms of childcare, as they allow parents to work while leaving their children in a safe environment. MSHPs are unique to the school holiday programme phenomenon in three ways, 1) they do not require staff members to hold a diploma (or higher) qualification, 2) various organisations (both public/government and private) own these programmes, and 3) located in Inner-Melbourne suburbs. There are four main types of MSHP: programmes privately owned and operated, with a sole focus on childcare (after-school care, vacation care etc.); programmes run out of leisure centres (usually state or federally funded); programmes run out of universities (government-funded); and private programmes funded by large organisations (such as Nike). Data in this thesis covers three of the four types of programmes (privately owned, leisure centre based, and university-based).

MSHPs form 29% of all sport-based and 12% of all school holiday programmes in Victoria. The first MSHP emerged in Victoria in 1985. In the past 30 years, the number of MSHPs has grown to 139 in Victoria, becoming the largest single type of sport holiday programme in Victoria (see Figure 5 below).
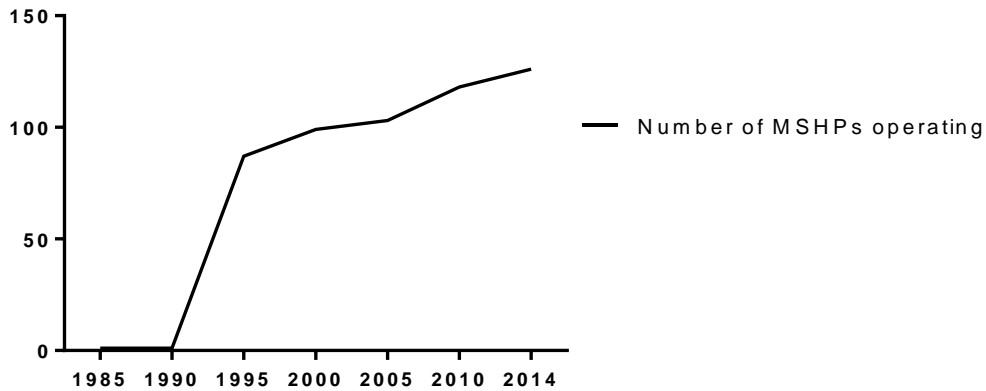
Figure 5: Growth of MSHPs in Victoria

77% of the MSHPs currently in operation are located within a 30km radius of metropolitan Melbourne (see Figure 6 below). The programmes operate in a small area when considering the total size of Victoria's to be 227,416 square km.
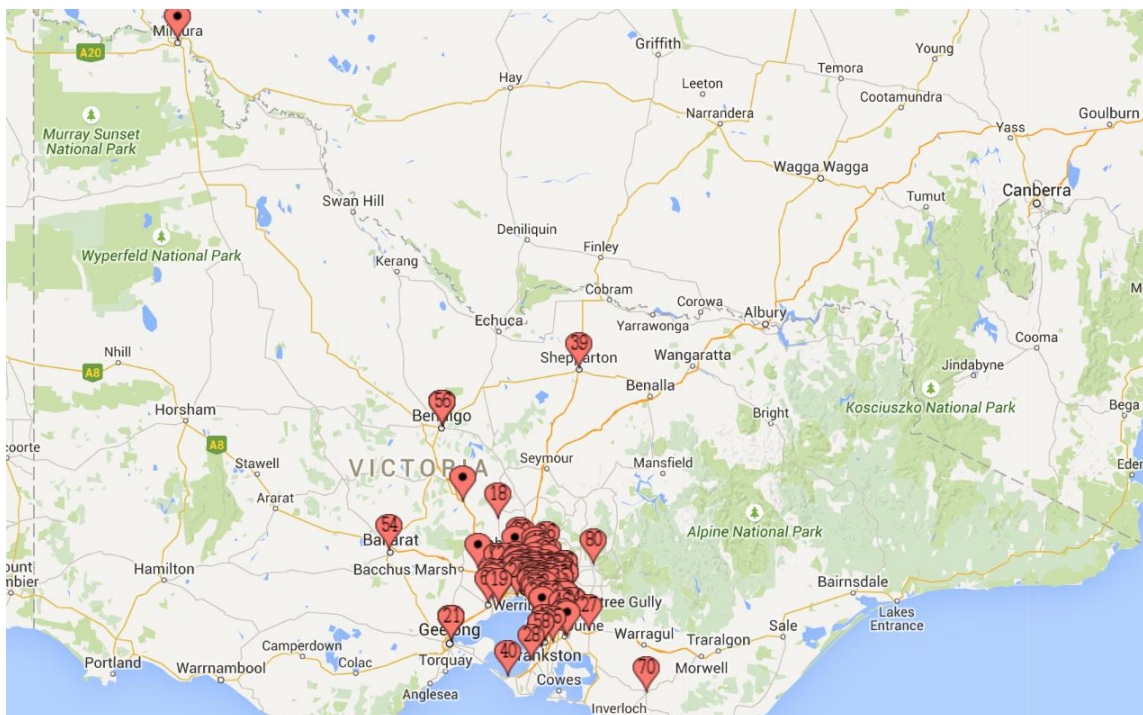
Figure 6: Location of MSHPs in Victoria

Figure 6 above shows that most of the holiday programmes are running in densely populated, mid-high-income areas. Therefore, those living in middle to upper-class

income areas have more opportunities to engage in these types of programmes. While the location may pose one barrier, the cost of the programmes may pose a second and more significant barrier. The following figure (Figure 7) shows the average daily cost across MSHPs in Victoria.

Price/Day of MSHPs in Victoria
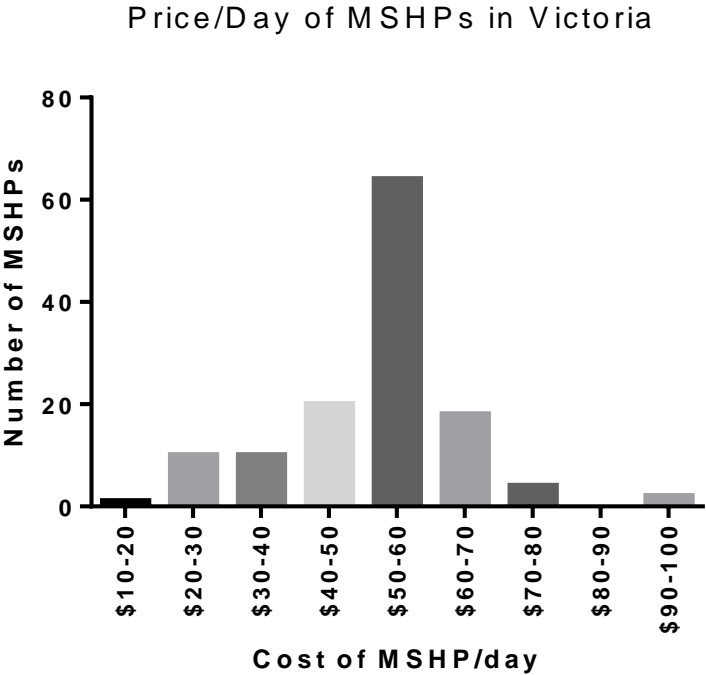
Figure 7: MSHP price per day

As Figure 7 indicates, the average cost per day for multi-sport programmes is $52.70 and is not inclusive of lunch costs. Programmes are more expensive in higher-income areas, with the most expensive programme ($90/day) located in the inner eastern suburbs of Melbourne. The Commonwealth Department of Planning and Community Development fund the cheapest all-day programme ($30/day), which is in a regional area.

Conclusion

The role of childcare services has changed significantly in the past 45 years, allowing an expansion in the number of services available. The privatisation of the market, the

introduction of direct subsidies to parents, and the movement of more women into the workforce have all contributed to the growth of the childcare market (Brennan, 2007a; Wilkins, 2014). These factors also provided the conditions for the emergence of school holiday programmes, a niche childcare service within the broader childcare market.

School holiday programmes run in various formats (as shown in Table 9: Number and type of School Holiday Programmes in Victoria), with the data showing MSHPs as the most popular programme type in Victoria. Since the emergence of the first MSHP in 1985, there has been a surge in the number of programmes available in Victoria. For the period 1990-2014, the number of MSHPs rose 31%, however, the population of 5-14 years' old's in Victoria rose only 7% in the same period.

The growth of MSHPs in Victoria is interesting for two reasons, 1) the majority of programmes are located within 30km of Melbourne, and 2) for the most part, they have remained exempt from most regulations that other childcare services have had to adopt (State Government of Victoria, 2012). Thus, it is important to explore the broader context of holiday programmes around the world. Finding the research conducted on and in holiday programmes can assist in understanding the phenomenon and contextualise it to Australia. Therefore, the following chapter includes two literature reviews. The first literature review examines all relevant literature on holiday programmes and summer camps around the world, while the second review gives an Australian context for children and sport.

Chapter Five: Literature Review

As mentioned in the introduction, the purpose of this project is to explore the emergence of multi-sport holiday programmes (MSHPs) in Melbourne, and critically reflect on the structure, practices, and the experiences of children in the programmes. Holiday programmes - MSHPs in particular - are only a recent phenomenon in Australia, so it is important to understand the broader context of holiday programmes in western society. Therefore, the literature review is separated into two parts to address the two distinct aims of this thesis. Part one traces the emergence of summer camps and holiday programmes around the world to complement aim one: Establish a narrative of the political and social conditions that have assisted in making MSHPs possible in Australia from the 1970s. Part two of the review explores literature relevant to the current research undertaken in the second half of the thesis and aligns with aim two: Explore the structure of three MSHPs and analyse the practices and knowledge that emerges through interactions with staff members and children

The first section of this chapter includes a thematic review of summer camps and holiday programmes around the world. Pages 31-33 detail the method employed in gathering the relevant literature. Part one shows that there is very little literature on summer camps and holiday programmes in Australia, and little to no research critically examining camps and programmes around the world. These two gaps in the literature give significance for this project, complement the narrative in chapters three and four, and justify the case study research on MSHPs in the proceeding chapters.

Part two of the literature review contextualises research conducted on organised junior sport in Australia. It is important to identify the significance of junior sport, and the

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discourses embedded in junior sport to understand MSHPs. Part One: The Emergence of Summer Camps and Holiday Programmes

The following section explores the six salient themes of research that have emerged in the field of school holiday programmes/summer camps.

Themes

History of Summer Camps

In the United States of America, holiday programmes (summer camps) are in two formats: day camps and residential camps. Day camps are akin to the holiday programme style in Australia, where parents drop off and pick up their children each day. Residential camps are generally overnight camps, and children attend for 1-7 weeks of the summer. The USA summer camp empire has been in operation for nearly 100 years, with YMCA and general summer camps emerging around the 1880s (Ready, 1926; Smith, 2006). These camps were a space to develop positive character traits and produce healthy young boys (Beals, 1931; Ready, 1926; Smith, 2006). It was thought that children, particularly boys, when left on their own in the summer months, would engage in "ill-considered ways" (Rogers & Department of the Interior, 1925, p. 8), or possibly be lead toward "cheap amusement places, baseball games, and other undesirable recreation centres" ("Y. M. C. A. Camps," 1909, p. 58). Thus, summer camps provided a safe space for children.

The premise of summer camps in the USA was educational and recreational, and "demonstrated its value for filling the gap of the summer vacation for both city and rural school children. It has pointed out the necessity for more outdoor life as a part of all school work" (Ready, 1926, p. 13). Along with the educational component, the camps promoted character development. The public school camp, founded by military

Major Beal, was a "training camp for boys" (Beals, 1931, p. 405). The purpose of these camps…

> …[Was to] make better men and better citizens physically and morally, through the proper training and development of American youth, by implanting in them a sense of citizenship, responsibility for service to the nation in time of need, whether it be in peace or war (cited in Ready, 1926).

Established in the post-war era, public school camps became panaceas for the lack of academic, physical and moral development in the summer months. "Summer-camp leaders conceived their camps as laboratories for figuring out the kind of socialisation necessary for modern life" (Smith, 2006, p. 73).

In addition, camps established in the early 1900s were promoted as salvation from the "urban physical and moral pollutants" (Smith, 2006, p. 76) of society, with many camps offering spiritual guidance and experiences. Thus, "children in such an environment, camp advocates believed, could develop more complete personalities and eventually contribute more fully to civil society as adults" (Smith, 2006, p. 74). Character development became normalised in such spaces, through the emphasis on the holistic development of children.

The nexus of camping and character development was examined in 1929 (Dimock & Hendry, 1929). They assessed whether a child's attendance at a specifically designed summer camp could improve their character. The camp in question, Camp Ahmek, had very little recreational stimuli, in order to provide opportunities for children to develop their sense of self (Dimock & Hendry, 1929). In order to examine whether Camp Ahmek could improve the character of children, Dimock and Hendry (1929) conducted pencil and paper tests pre-post camp with children, observations over eight-weeks, and put data into a behaviour frequency scale.

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Interestingly, and unlike the evidence in the above historical works (see Beals, 1931; Ready, 1926), the results indicated, "that we can no longer assume that any activity in camp produces *ipso facto* desirable changes in attitudes and habits" (Dimock & Hendry, 1929, p. 260). Specifically, they concluded that no one type of camp could provide positive character development and the quality of leadership by staff is often the key to promoting positive character traits in children at camp. Further, older boys are less likely to change their behaviours when compared to younger boys, and parents are more optimistic than camp staff about children's potential to develop positive character traits (Dimock & Hendry, 1929).

As the research shows, the period when summer camps emerged in the USA, and the rise in their popularity throughout the 1920s saw many advocates promote camp as sites for character development. However, much of this advocacy was anecdotal, and focused on personal value statements of camp counsellors and directors, with the exception of Dimock and Hendry (1929).

The research on the historical emergence of summer camps is sparse, but what is available shows us that these camps quickly became a part of USA culture. Although the types of camps and the research conducted have expanded since the historical origins of summer camp, there are still subtle hints today of both character development and nature as inherently enriching.

Getting back to Nature

The environment/nature theme aligns with the historical origins of summer camps, with results showing that most camps were in outdoor/natural settings. Interestingly, the research undertaken in this section does not follow the romantic movement of camp as

beneficial for a child's character development. Instead, environmental education (EE) was central to most work.

Only two articles directly extend the historical work reported above: research conducted in China by Bexell, Jarrett, and Ping (2013) and in the USA by Browne, Garst, and Bialeschki (2011). Both studies used EE in nature camps to assess children's environmental stewardship (positive environmental behaviours and willingness to take community action; citizenship with specific reference to the environment). Results from both studies showed that children developed environmental awareness in the camp settings, with this awareness fostering citizenship toward the environment (Bexell et al., 2013; Browne et al., 2011).

Most other work in the nature field investigated the impact that EE can have on children's ecological behaviours. Findings indicated that children are more likely to exhibit positive behaviour change toward the environment after EE compared to control groups who did not receive the same education opportunities (Bexell et al., 2013; Collado, Staats, & Corraliza, 2013; Dresner & Gill, 1994; Laaksoharju, Kaivola, Linden, & Rappe, 2015; Land & Zimmerman, 2015; Maruyama, 2010; Shepard & Speelman, 1985; Tardif-Williams & Bosacki, 2015).

EE at summer camps promoted positive environmental behaviours directly after camp, however, the studies conducted pre-post surveys and questionnaires with no follow-up period, therefore, it is difficult to assess the long-term effects of these programmes. Nearly all environmental/nature summer camps used education as an intervention to develop children's knowledge in environment-related areas. Two articles developed/extended knowledge on the origins of summer camps, supporting the historical notion that children can be competent and active citizens in the environment (Bexell et al., 2013; Browne et al., 2011). The educational component in many of these

programmes serves to justify the running of the camps. The education component helps to establish that the camps are more than a sleep-away option and provide pedagogical work on/to children. No articles in this theme explored the organisational structure of the programmes/summer camps, or critically reflected on what the purposes of these programmes were.

Character Development at Camp

Character development has long been part of camp culture. The historical theme above (see History of Summer Camps) foregrounds the influence character development has had in summer camps. The original impact includes framing the benefits of character development in summer camps as a means to keep children away from "urban physical and moral pollutants" (Smith, 2006, p. 76). This understanding of character development was quite narrow and has expanded significantly since the earlier work. From the 1970s, thru to the end of the twentieth century, character development evolved to include children's concepts of self, such as self-esteem (Marsh, 1999). Recently, character development has adapted to include positive youth development (PYD). PYD promotes: bonding; social, emotional, behavioural, cognitive, and moral competence; fostering self-determination, spirituality, self-efficacy, clear and positive identity, belief in the future; recognition of positive behaviour, opportunities for pro-social involvement, and pro-social norms (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004).

Character development exists to establish socially desirable traits in children that will extend into adulthood. The following section examines the literature on children's development in summer camps with a specific focus on the influence of summer camp experiences on children's PYD. This includes parent perceptions of character

development, children's perceptions of character development, camp organisational structure as a measure of developmental outcomes.

Parent's Perceptions of PYD

Parent's perception of their child's self-concept and PYD at summer camps is a well-researched field (K. A. Henderson, Whitaker, Bialeschki, Scanlin, & Thurber, 2007; Thurber, Scanlin, Scheuler, & Henderson, 2007). In all studies, surveys were the most popular method of data collection, distributed pre-camp, post-camp, and six months after camp. Research indicates that parent's perceptions of their child's PYD and self-concept improved in several ways pre-post summer camp (K. A. Henderson, Whitaker, et al., 2007; Thurber et al., 2007). Parents cited improvements in their child's independence, social comfort, leadership skills, adventure/exploration, positive values/decision making, making friends (K. A. Henderson, Whitaker, et al., 2007), self-esteem, peer relations, spirituality, and environmental awareness (Thurber et al., 2007). Comparisons of pre-camp to the six-month follow up also showed positive results. However, when comparing post-camp - six-month follow-up scores, most of the constructs had either stagnated or declined (K. A. Henderson, Whitaker, et al., 2007; Thurber et al., 2007).

Specifically, there is a statistically significant decline ($p \leq 0.05$) for three of ten constructs in one study (K. A. Henderson, Whitaker, et al., 2007), and six of fourteen constructs in another study (Thurber et al., 2007). Thus, the effect of PYD intervention in camps may not be long term. It is also worth noting that many children may take up PYD in different ways. These may differ to their parent's perception of PYD; therefore, it is important to consider the intersection of parent and child perceptions of PYD. All but one such study included children's self-perceptions alongside their parent's

perceptions (Thurber et al., 2007). The children's results are below.

Children's Perceptions of PYD

Research at summer camps included children perceived self-concept and PYD changes throughout their time at camp. Like the parent surveys, children also rated themselves positively on several constructs pre-post camp, including positive identity, social skills, and physical and thinking skills (statistical significance of $p \leq 0.05$) (Thurber et al., 2007). Interestingly, and unlike their parents surveyed, the children reported statistically significant increases in their own positive identity and social skills post-camp to six-month follow up (Thurber et al., 2007). Similar research also attempted to correlate children's survey results with observational data collected in camps (K. A. Henderson, Powell, & Scanlin, 2005). Six camps participated in the survey, with two camps showing significantly positive survey results that correlated with positive PYD observations; two camps showed no significant change in children's survey results and low observational scores; and the remaining two camps showing no change in survey results pre-post camp, and average observational scores (K. A. Henderson et al., 2005).

Organisational Structure

Research also considered children's development within the context of the organisational structure of summer camps. Results from a meta-analysis on the influence of organised camping experiences on children's PYD showed that children have more opportunities to develop positive self-concept when attending camps with a philosophical focus compared to camps without a philosophy (Marsh, 1999). The philosophical focus included the promotion of good personal habits that lead to a healthy lifestyle, a greater sense of self-satisfaction, and adjustment to new environments (Marsh, 1999). Camps and programmes designed to influence self-

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constructs are thus more likely to influence children's behaviour in those construct fields.

Several researchers have examined the potential for children's PYD in the operational context of sport-based summer camps and holiday programmes (Berlin, Dworkin, Eames, Menconi, & Perkins, 2007; Burnett, 2014; Madden, 2015; Mazza, 2012; Newton, Watson, Kim, & Beacham, 2006). Research in the sport-based field focuses on underprivileged and underserved children, with research suggesting that children develop PYD traits such as education, mentoring, leadership, and peer relations through sport-based holiday programmes (Berlin et al., 2007; Burnett, 2014; Madden, 2015).

Although research suggests that children develop these PYD traits in the programmes, Madden (2015) acknowledged the difficulty in implementing PYD outcomes. His thesis examined the fidelity of a sport-based holiday programme curriculum with a focus on PYD outcomes. Results indicated that staff face both facilitators and barriers when implementing a sports programme with a PYD curriculum (Madden, 2015). Facilitators included the curriculum's basic instruction and the active participation of children incorporated into the curriculum. Barriers included the lack of space to provide the lessons on PYD, the amount of time required to teach lessons on top of daily activities, and the generality of the curriculum, which resulted in staff having to teach the same curriculum to children of different emotional, intellectual and physical skill levels (Madden, 2015).

Madden's research highlights the difficulty that many researchers face in quantifying PYD outcomes for children. He outlines the complexity of measuring and achieving PYD in children at sport-based holiday programmes and camps. Although difficult, all studies supported PYD in sport-based holiday programmes. However, there is minimal information about whether it is the actual programme, or changes in individual

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behaviour within them, that promote PYD. As Coakley (2011) observes:

> The relationship between sport participation, educational achievement, social capital formation, and personal success has more often been the focus of personal testimonials than social research. Tracking and measuring changes in social capital and associated life chances along with their real-life consequences over time is methodologically challenging. It is difficult to separate the developmental changes related to sport participation from more general developmental changes in young people's lives and from the influence of social forces and structural factors unrelated to sports.

According to Coakley (2011), PYD may be achievable; however, researchers must consider how PYD can affect the broader social and structural changes in the community.

Outside of the sport-based holiday programme space, research has begun to address this question. Synthesis and categorisation of PYD in summer camps have shown that there are often two streams: operational, or outcome-based research (K. A. Henderson, Bialeschki, & James, 2007). Operational research explores the underpinnings of a camp, such as policies, daily structure, and activities. Outcome-based research looks at the influence of programmes and activities on participants. Outcome-based research has evolved from its medical (therapeutic) origin - where children with disabilities were traditionally the cohorts measured - towards outcomes for the general population. An example includes PYD outcomes as measures in camp research. Findings indicate future research should combine outcome and operational research in camps, as "positive youth development outcomes do not just occur because children are at camp. Rather, growth and development occur because of the way that camps operate in terms of policies, structures, leadership, and activities" (K. A. Henderson, Bialeschki, et al., 2007, p. 764). Before this can occur, however, the focus needs to be on the methodological problems associated with gathering outcome measure data, including lack of follow up, lack of uniformity, and narrow scope of measures (K. A. Henderson,

Bialeschki, et al., 2007).

Following the claims of poor methodology in PYD and summer camp research, a Youth Outcome Battery (YOB) has been created (Sibthorp, Bialeschki, Morgan, & Browne, 2013). The YOB is an outcome-based measurement tool that measures PYD in children and teens. Reliability and validity testing occurred in 39 different summer camps and with 3750 children. The results are similar to past research and align with the results of children's surveys in camps (Sibthorp et al., 2013). As noted in the parent perceptions of PYD above, there still needs to be a consideration of the long-term effect of such work on children.

This section presents the prominence of youth development studies in camps. Most of the research has come out of the USA, with the American Camps Association (ACA) conducting and funding quite a substantial amount of the research (Bialeschki, Henderson, & James, 2007; K. A. Henderson et al., 2005; Sibthorp et al., 2013; Thurber et al., 2007). This observation is important for two reasons: The ACA is providing a space for research in a field that is relevant, as millions of children attend these camps every year. However, the ACA has a vested interest in the research promoting only the positive aspects of these camps and programmes. The PYD field outside of camps benefits the work done here, with the establishment and validation of tools currently underway, but research conducted independently of the ACA needs to occur to ensure there is no bias. Finally, the research in this field only explores the positive effects of PYD, with no critical reflection as to what PYD is, or how to measure it.

Outside of the summer camp space, character development research takes on a more critical perspective. This includes research in the junior sports domain, where a critique of character development impacting all children, in the same way, has been undertaken (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995). Research exploring character development in junior

sport contends that social interactions between children are more important than the actual activities in providing opportunities for character development (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995). These social interactions may differ between locations, individuals, and types of activities, making it difficult to generalise character development (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995).

Critical reflection of children's character development will strengthen future research of PYD in summer camps (Shields & Bredemeier, 1995). One way to do so could include positioning children as actors within the space, thus affording them opportunities to take up, contest, or reconsider dominant logic of character development. By doing so, future research can consider how they interact with each other, the staff, and the activities. At this point, the research on PYD in summer camps acts upon children, in the form of intervention studies, and neglects children's role in theirs and others' socialisation processes.

Peer Groups in Camp Settings

Much of the research in the peer group theme examines how children perceived or interacted with certain groups of children at holiday programmes and camps (Bigler, 1998; Blom & Zimmerman, 1981; Bryan, Wheeler, Felcan, & Henek, 1976; Cardoos & Hinshaw, 2011; Feldman, 1969). Specifically, the research focuses on two main fields: prejudice and stereotypes, and social status at camp

Prejudice and Stereotypes

In the field of prejudice and stereotypes, researchers investigated the ways that children stereotype and are prejudice toward others based on race, gender, or those with ADHD (Bigler, 1998; Cardoos & Hinshaw, 2011; Moore, 2001). The research suggests that adults and other children can influence and reinforce stereotypes in summer camp

settings, in both positive and negative ways (Bigler, 1998; Cardoos & Hinshaw, 2011; Moore, 2001).

For example, in one study exploring gender and race, staff separated the campers based on their sex. To overcome complete segregation and potential prejudice toward each other, "adults scheduled time for boys' and girls' groups to interact as nonantagonistic groups (e.g., teammates)" (Moore, 2001, p. 854). Deliberate attempts made by the adult-camp organisers reduced gender bias amongst the children when playing games and activities (Moore, 2001). In contrast, research on racial stereotyping, and stereotyping of children with ADHD in camp spaces showed that other children provided support to reduce stigma/prejudice (Bigler, 1998; Cardoos & Hinshaw, 2011). For example, bullying was less likely to occur if children were in the presence of a friend, and if other children do not consider them to be in the minority (Bigler, 1998; Cardoos & Hinshaw, 2011). The findings from these studies suggest that both children and staff members have a role to play in breaking down stigma and prejudice around gender, race, and against children with ADHD.

Social Status at Camp

By breaking down stigma in the summer camps, research can focus on the ways that children develop friendships in these spaces. The research investigating social status in summer camps differs, for example, athletic ability and leadership skills positively influenced peer-group dominance in one summer camp study (Savin-Williams, 1979). Greater athletic ability was likely to be a predictor of social status, and leadership a product of that higher status. A more recent study contrasts these findings by stating that non-competitive leisure activities are sites where strong peer connections and social

capital are established (Yuen, Pedlar, & Mannell, 2005). Thus, the value put on social capital between peers may change over time and varies between camps.

It is important to explore Yuen and his colleagues (2005) use of the term social capital. Yuen et al. (2005) use Putnam's theory of social capital, which refers to "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Putnam (2000) believed that social capital had two important distinctions: bridging and bonding. Bonding capital reinforced exclusive and homogenous groups, whereas bridging capital included external, sometimes new groups, and diverse communities (Putnam, 2000). Both bonding and bridging capital rely on an individual being part of a collective group. Putnam's argument for obtaining social capital rested on the "myths [that] often exaggerate the role of individual heroes and understates the importance of collective effort" (Putnam, 2000, p. 24). For Putnam (2000), the collective effort is tantamount to gaining social capital, and this effort is usually part of civic duty that benefits the community.

Putnam (2000) provides an example of social capital gained through civic duty in his discussion of children's welfare. He posited that if children did not engage in civic responsibilities, then they may end up engaging in delinquent acts. Thus, when children participate in community duties, they gain social capital, and, "social capital keeps bad things from happening to good kids" (Putnam, 2000, p. 296). Putnam acknowledged that other social factors may play a role in children's development but continued to use language that implies that social capital is inherently positive. For example, "Social capital is especially important in keeping children from being born small and in keeping teenagers from dropping out of school" (Putnam, 2000, p. 297).

A criticism of Putnam's work is that a collective group, not an individual, holds social capital. Further, collective capital is unobtainable unless all individuals are aiming to

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attain similar goals. A more considered approach to social capital might include (Bourdieu's 1986) theory of social capital. Bourdieu (1986) sees social capital as part of a larger interconnecting web of various other forms of capital, such as symbolic, economic and cultural capital. Social capital includes membership into a particular group "which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 86). According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital is not consciously pursued, nor is it something that someone possesses forever. It takes effort to form and develop relationships that are necessary to "secure material or symbolic profits" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 87). Further, individuals and groups enact, maintain and reinforce social capital through social exchanges.

Summer camps provide researchers with a space to explore peer relations outside of the school setting. It is interesting to note that in the two sport-based programmes, athletic ability was not a constant marker for social status, or group acceptance (Savin-Williams, 1979; Yuen et al., 2005). Further, the use of Putnam's theory of social capital in Yuen et al.'s (2005) paper lacks critical reflection of the broader social factors that may influence social capital. If, as Putnam suggests, participation in sport remains to be seen as inherently positive in developing social capital, a consideration for who can access sport needs to occur.

A paper exploring the social capital of adults in rural Western Australia highlights several problems associated with the myth that all people can benefit equally from social capital in sport (Tonts, 2005). Tonts (2005) utilises Putnam's Bridging theory; however, he contends that several barriers may emerge that limit one's ability to gain social capital. He notes that sport can be seen as a promoter of social cohesion and enables a strong support network throughout rural communities; however, there are

many people excluded and marginalised from these positive experiences. Those marginalised may include women, those of various ethnicities (including indigenous Australian's) and those who cannot afford to enter into sport. Further, those who benefit most from the capital are usually the best players on the field. Thus, sport can provide positive experiences and create supportive communities for those involved. Sport can still be an exclusionary space where only those who fit the mould (generally white men) hold power (Tonts, 2005).

Finally, although the research in this field looks at several different areas, there is a lack of research in peer relations between sexes, with only one article (Moore, 2001) exploring this in detail.

Healthy Children at Camp

Health was an obvious theme for review because it made up the largest proportion of articles (not including STEM/education), with 20 articles published in the last five years. I divided health articles into subthemes: food, health knowledge, obesity, healthism, and exercise/physical activity.

Food

The provision of food in summer camps is the focus of the food theme, with most authors citing childhood obesity as the reason for conducting research (Defeyter, Graham, & Prince, 2015; Di Noia & Contento, 2010; Di Noia & Cullen, 2015; Di Noia, Orr, & Byrd-Bredbenner, 2014; Heim, Stang, & Ireland, 2009; Thompson, Cooper, Flanagan, Crawford, & Worsley, 2006; Ventura & Garst, 2013).

Researchers have investigated the attitudes and perceptions of food intake by low-income children and teens (Di Noia & Cullen, 2015), and managers of camps and holiday programmes (Thompson et al., 2006; Ventura & Garst, 2013). Results from one

study indicated that children and youth misperceive their own and their peer's intake of fruit and vegetables, by overestimating their fruit intake and underestimating their vegetable intake (Di Noia and Cullen (2015). Further, research showed that managers perceived healthy eating and education programmes in their holiday camps as important; however, they noted the difficulty in implementing them (Thompson et al., 2006; Ventura & Garst, 2013). This is due to the minimal resources provided to the programmes, and the likelihood of children bringing food from home (Thompson et al., 2006; Ventura & Garst, 2013).

The research highlights the potential uncertainty children have when it comes to healthy food choices and that although managers of programmes believe children should be eating healthy, they lack the resources to implement such programmes.

Children's Knowledge of Health

The second subtheme centres on children's knowledge of health and food choices. The research in this subtheme focuses on how children understand health and the potential educational opportunities in a summer camp. In the first study presented, children aged 6-10 in a summer camp described health, in order to assess if differences in health knowledge can occur across age ranges (Daigle, Hebert, & Humphries, 2007). Findings showed that younger children (aged 6-8 years) consider health in very vague ways, such as sad or happy, and sick or healthy.

On the other hand, older children (ages 8+) described health as behaviour-driven, and a result of outcomes, such as not smoking, and doing exercise. The older children also saw health as an individual problem and had more certainty about their knowledge on the topic (Daigle et al., 2007). This study indicated that, as children get older, their knowledge of health becomes concrete and static, with little room for contesting

dominant logic. Further, children's knowledge of health focused on a person's behaviours, rather than their level of illness.

Similar research undertaken in a school setting examined the meanings children ascribe to health, and what this may mean in a sociological sense (Wright & Burrows, 2004). Findings indicated that children's understanding of health focused on the biomedical knowledge that is behaviour driven and centred on the body (Wright & Burrows, 2004). The results of the school study showed that children would make contradictory remarks about health that were narrow and did not consider social, historical and cultural differences between people (Wright & Burrows, 2004). Further, when children discussed health in such a way, they were often engaging with the healthism discourse (Wright & Burrows, 2004). This may close off alternate ways of thinking about health – a topic discussed in detail below (see page 116, Healthism in PE and on the Playground).

Three studies build on children's baseline understanding of health through assessments of children's knowledge of nutrition, healthy eating, and physical activity in summer camps. They did so by using a pre-post intervention test, where children engaged in educational sessions in the summer camps (Jennings, Nepocatych, Ketcham, & Duffy, 2016; Seal & Seal, 2011; Skluzacek, Harper, Herron, & Bortiatynski, 2010). The results showed that an education programme with a focus on nutrition could have a positive short-term effect on children's nutrition knowledge. Unfortunately, the studies did not use the same assessment tools, so it is difficult to compare results. Thus, it is unclear whether the knowledge the children learnt was similar to one another, was context-specific to their country, or indeed showed a similar, yet narrow approach to health.

Healthism

One article reported on the establishment of a new type of YMCA summer camp in New York (Ardell, 1979). Along with the traditional provisions of YMCA camps, the camp provided the added benefit of learning and developing a 'wellness lifestyle'. The lifestyle programme aimed to teach children and teenagers

> … [How] certain food attitudes and habits, fitness activities and principles, stress awareness, personal responsibility, and environmental practices can enhance their appearance, enrich their relationships, raise their self-esteem, contribute to a better understanding of sexual and other adolescent crises and, in general, help them feel more in control of their lives (Ardell, 1979, p. 169).

This camp promoted personal responsibility of an individual's situation (health, fitness, physical appearance), and engaged in the neoliberal rhetoric of the healthism discourse. The camp itself is idealistic in its approach to children's wellness and does not consider the different people in attendance, or who can access the camp.

Exercise Camps

Exercise and physical activity summer camps and holiday programmes are a highly researched topic. Seven papers in this literature review focused on physiological interventions on children in summer camps. The research indicated that increased physical activity sessions in summer camps had several positive cardiac, and executive function benefits (Eliakim, Scheett, Allmendinger, Brasel, & Cooper, 2001; Flynn, Richert, Staiano, Wartella, & Calvert, 2014; Guagliano, Lonsdale, Kolt, & Rosenkranz, 2014; Hickerson, 2010; Hickerson & Henderson, 2014; Meucci et al., 2013; Nasca, Zhang, Super, Hazen, & Hall, 2010).

In contrast, one study examined young girls' physical activity levels, body satisfaction, and the influence of peers and the media on body ideals at the beginning and end of a six-week physical activity summer camp in the USA (McFadden, 2016). Findings

suggested that physical activity alone could not change young girls satisfaction with their body image and that social factors such as peers, family, and the media also impact body image and body satisfaction (McFadden, 2016). Even if children engaged in physical activity, there may be social factors that influence the value they place on their own and other bodies. This study sheds light on the complexity of physical activity and exercise protocols for children.

The research in this subtheme focuses on interventions and the physical benefits of activity in summer months. It also highlights the movement from summer camps as childcare, to a more structured programme with measurable objectives. Finally, the section shows that research concentrates on the body as a marker for health and physical activity, and BMI/weight are the dominant forms of measurement. Very little research focuses on the other social factors relating to physical activity, with the exception of McFadden (2016).

The Diversity of Health in Holiday Programmes and Summer Camps

The research surrounding health in holiday programmes is diverse and included food consumption, physical activity, obesity prevention, and education. Interestingly, much of the research targeted specific populations, for example: girls (Bohnert, Ward, Burdette, Silton, & Dugas, 2014; Eliakim et al., 2001; Jennings et al., 2016; McFadden, 2016), children from low-income (Di Noia & Cullen, 2015), and different ethnic groups (Dennison et al., 2015; Di Noia & Contento, 2010). Most articles provided data on interventions, or on spaces to educate children on healthy behaviours. Although diverse, the studies all supported a similar idea; children need health interventions in the summer months. This is important to consider because the health theme is the largest theme

uncovered in this review. A common idea emerged here, of what to do with children in holiday periods and what the children *should* be doing in holiday periods.

Sporty Children at Camp

The field of sport-based holiday camps varies, with two subthemes: 'successful' sport-based camps and children's motivations to participate in sport-based camps.

Successful Sport Camps

Research suggests that children's health and education outcomes are the main measures of a successful sport-based summer camp (Krotish, Krotish, & Bowers, 2005; D. Walsh, 2011). The basis of the research concerns children's risk of obesity, with authors citing that sport-based programmes can combat this risk. Further, researchers suggested that education is the key to the success of a programme, and camp staff should conduct lectures to teach children about health and the benefits of exercise (Krotish et al., 2005; D. Walsh, 2011).

In a more holistic approach, D. Walsh (2011) promoted the broader exercise, health, and education goals of children in summer months. To achieve these goals, he believed a successful programme needed to adopt the mission of the organisation. For example, education for children, teaching practice for undergraduate students, and a space to conduct research on/with children can provide this (D. Walsh, 2011).

The studies in this subtheme highlight the increasing importance placed on children's physical health. Although the research differs, the focus of a successful programme rests on minimising children's health risks. What this research does not do is consider what else children can get out of holiday programmes, and why they would want to attend them.

Children's Motivations to Participate in Sport-Based Camps

Research conducted on children's enjoyment in sport-based holiday programmes reported that a more caring, and less egocentric space could motivate children to play sports (Iwasaki & Fry, 2013; Newton et al., 2006; Zarrett, Sorensen, & Skiles, 2013). Specifically, highly engaging games and positive peer relations can be a predictor of children's moderate-vigorous physical activity (Zarrett et al., 2013). Further, when comparing girls and boys, boys are more likely to participate in games and sports if the games are competitive and task-oriented (Zarrett et al., 2013). Camps and holiday programmes would be most effective if children could choose from multiple types of activities that "ranged in degree of competitiveness, focus on mastery/skill development, and promoted collaboration, teamwork, and friendship" (Zarrett et al., 2013, p. 9). This way, children can choose what interests them the most, without feeling as though they must play all games.

Much of the research on sport-based holiday programmes and camps focused on what sport can provide children, such as positive youth development outcomes. Further, specific populations deemed 'underserved' are the target for most of the research. The research in this field lacks depth and does not build on previous research. For example, the research that explores PYD in sport based holiday programmes does not adopt the definitions or data collection methods previously defined by Catalano et al. (2004); K. A. Henderson, Bialeschki, et al. (2007); K. A. Henderson et al. (2005); or K. A. Henderson, Whitaker, et al. (2007). In addition, future research could try to incorporate the three areas (successful camps, PYD, and motivators) to create more depth in the field. No paper critically reflects on or questions the use of sport in holiday programmes for children in holiday periods.

Gaps in the Literature

The six themes – history of summer camps, getting back to nature, character development at camp, peer groups in camp settings, healthy children at camp, and sporty children at camp - provide an insight into the research conducted on/in summer camps and holiday programmes. There is very little research exploring gender, and race/ethnicity, and little to no research utilising children's voices. The following sections highlight the lack of research in each field.

Gender

Three studies addressed gender in summer camps and holiday programmes, with only one paper published in the past 15 years. The literature in this field lacks critical inquiry, such as the way girls and boys play in holiday programmes, and the various motivations for their involvement in activities. Further, the work in gender and holiday programmes does not build on previous research. For example, one study assessed which sex was more likely to use infirmary services at a summer camp (Rudolf, Tomanovich, Greenberg, Friend, & Alario, 1992), while another reported on what sex is more likely to attend a computer literacy holiday programme (Hess & Miura, 1985). One study explored the complexity of masculinity at a Boy Scout camp, highlighting that the leaders have to manage their masculinities, while at the same time, teaching young boys about masculine identity (Vrooman, 2007).

Race and Ethnicity

Only one article published in the past 10 years reported on race and ethnicity. The article is a reflective piece that explored the racialised space of an American-Indian camp for mostly white children (Shoffstall, 2008). The children in this camp come to 'play' Indian, by dressing up and engaging in the appropriation of American Indian culture.

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Through such acts, whiteness becomes a characterisation of dominant identity in the space (Shoffstall, 2008). Older works examined racial identity, behaviour, and attitudes of children at summer camps. This research showed that boys have a more positive interracial attitude than girls do, but this was dependent on social status, and power of peer groups (Clore, Bray, Itkin, & Murphy, 1978; Eaton & Clore, 1975). Research has also examined the construction of racial identity in summer camps. The research indicated that there is a value on whiteness at various camps, and although attempts to destigmatise and equalise racial differences occurred, white privilege still pervaded the summer camps (Moore, 2001, 2003).

The research in the race and ethnicity field, although varied, has similar conclusions; whiteness is normalised in the summer camp space. This is an important finding, as it can help set up a baseline for future research into race and ethnicity in summer camps and build upon how children construct, understand, and negotiate race in these spaces.

Child-Directed Research

Most of the research in this review consisted of interventions, and outcome-based research, using children from summer camps and holiday programmes as participants. Only five articles identified in the literature examined how children engaged with or understood summer camps and holiday programmes. In addition, none of the research builds on one another, except the two articles by Smith (1995; 2000).

The child-directed research explored topics ranging from children's perceptions of injury risk (Green & Hart, 1998); to how children manage social roles while using English as a *lingua franca* (Yan & Hua, 2010). Along with these broad topics, one paper reflects on the various qualitative methods used when conducting research with children in holiday programmes (Linzmayer & Halpenny, 2013). Some of the methods

employed included photovoice, interviews, picture drawing, and sand tray diagrams. Results indicated that the sand trays enabled the children to be more creative and in-depth in their responses to questions. This methodological research paper adds value not only to holiday programme research but also to the broader qualitative field of children's research.

Finally, research undertaken on the provision of childcare in the United Kingdom explored how children perceive childcare space (Smith, 1995; Smith & Barker, 2000). Results showed that children generally enjoy their time in these spaces, with some children remarking that more childcare centres should be available so that all children can enjoy the activities within (Smith, 1995). Further research by Smith explores the meanings children attribute to these spaces and suggests that there is a reproduction of dominant cultural norms in holiday programmes (Smith & Barker, 2000). For example, gender norms emerged when boys played outside, and girls played inside. The authors noted that children understand these spaces in different ways and that these understandings are constantly changing (Smith & Barker, 2000).

There is an under-representation of gender, race and ethnicity, and child-directed studies in the field of holiday programme and summer camp research. Further, of the research conducted on gender, race and ethnicity, and child-directed research, very little critical inquiry occurred in these fields.

PYD and Healthism – The Summer Camp and Holiday Programme Essentials

Of the six themes discussed in detail, very few articles cite one another, except for PYD and healthism research. Most of the research evaluates the educational components of camps and programmes. There is little to no critical reflection on the purpose of holiday

programmes, such as how they have come about, and why people would use them. Also, there seems to be little to no research that explores children's experiences within these spaces, with the exception of Smith (1995). Much of the research measured outcomes of children, with the summer camps used as convenience samples to gather participants. Secondary to this gap in the literature, there is very little research coming out of Australia, with only two articles identified in this review (Guagliano et al., 2014; Thompson et al., 2006). This finding assists in building the narrative of how and where MSHPs came from, as we know that holiday programmes and summer camps exist in Australia; however, no research exists on/in them.

What has emerged from part one of the literature review is the diversity of the holiday programme and summer camp research. From these diverse fields, two common themes did emerge - positive youth development (PYD), and healthism. PYD emerged in development, sport, environmental, and historical papers. Healthism was less obvious to detect and not overtly discussed. The discourse of healthism supports the vast number of health-based articles that look to educate children on certain types of 'healthy' behaviours and promotes personal responsibility for taking on these challenges. For example, studies from the health theme contend that children need to develop knowledge of health and physical activity to function in society (Jennings et al., 2016; Seal & Seal, 2011; Skluzacek et al., 2010). Much of the education relied on children not questioning what they had learnt. One study even rewarded direct-recall, leaving little room for the children to reflect (Jennings et al., 2016). The emergence of healthism and PYD illustrates the evolving field of children's research, highlighting the knowledge valued at present. This value focuses on how children understand the body (healthism), and how children can develop into competent, civic adults (PYD).

The health interventionist undertones within healthy children research theme align with the notion of healthism. Healthism is a consideration for personal health and wellbeing, attained primarily through lifestyle modification, and without therapeutic assistance (R. Crawford, 1980). It is an inherently neoliberal notion that acknowledges health problems "originate outside the individual…. But since these solutions are also behavioural, solutions are seen to lie within the realm of individual choice" (R. Crawford, 1980, p. 368).

R. Crawford (1980) notes that healthism favours the middle-class, with its advocacy of buying into healthy behaviour and lifestyle changes. Further, individuals are seen as active and productive citizens if they take up this dominant discourse of health (R. Crawford, 1980). These programmes, and the knowledge within, support the consumption of the healthism rhetoric. Although the children within these spaces are the ones directly involved in the consumption of healthism knowledge, these spaces are made possible and popularised by the good parent.

There are increasing moral pressures on parents to provide their children with the best possible opportunities for development, growth (Nichols et al., 2009). This pressure includes organised activities for their children outside of school hours. The holiday camps discussed in this section are one example of marketing to, and consumption by, the good parent. These spaces provide parents with a safe and engaging space that supports the teaching of healthy food practices.

Recent research on food choice and consumption highlight the link between healthy food choices and the moral imperative of being a 'good parent' (J. A. Henderson, Ward, Coveney, & Taylor, 2009). The authors note that mothers in their study felt the need to self-regulate healthy behaviours for their children. For example, the women identified "a number of situations in which they are subject to the judgement of others whether

around food and alcohol consumption during pregnancy, the consumption of organic food or placating a kindergarten teacher by providing fruit for lunch" (J. A. Henderson et al., 2009, p. 11). As the authors note, the desire for parents to consider health when preparing food for their children aligns with the discourse of healthism. Good parenting rhetoric includes components of both structured activity and healthism, and as noted in this chapter, are key components of the outside of school hours care/summer camp phenomenon.

The first section of the literature review supports aim one of this thesis by establishing a gap in the literature available on school holiday programmes. What follows is a contextual literature review relevant to aim two of this thesis and includes the current junior sport landscape in Australia.

Part Two: Children's Socialisation into and through Junior Sport

Part two of this thesis explores the current structure of three MSHPs in Victoria. In Victoria, junior sport programming holds value, and this has assisted in the growth and popularity of these programmes. Therefore, this literature review covers several areas pertaining to children's socialisation into and through junior sport. Broadly, section two includes children socialisation through three themes: Healthism, Meritocracy and Gender Relations. These themes are explored through the media, good parenting, the school classroom, the playground and the junior sport space.

The following introduces socialisation in junior sport before a discussion of the three key themes.

Socialisation through Junior Sport

Childhood can be understood as a social construction (Prout & James, 1997). Children will learn and develop their knowledge by exploring the social world and interacting

with others. The ultimate goal is for children to grow up to become functioning members of society (Handel, 2007). In order for children to grow up as functioning members of society, they must form ideas and knowledge that are shaped by societal standards, often considered as key regulators in pro-social or anti-social behaviours (Damon, 2007). Children are active agents in this process and can take up in whole, in part, or completely resist these notions. Further, different societies may hold different values and standards, which can change over time. Parents traditionally provide children with most of their socialisation experiences (Maccoby, 1992). However, research emerging in the past twenty years has indicated that everyday activities – even mundane ones – play a crucial role in children's socialisation (Prout & James, 1997).

One such space where socialisation and learning can occur is the junior sports domain. Sport is a large part of many Australian children's lives, with over 60% of children participating in organised sport outside of school in 2011 (ABS, 2012). Thus, it is unsurprising to see an increase in the research on socialisation in junior sport and physical education (Burrows & Wright, 2007; Honey & McDonald, 2012; Macphail, Gorely, & Kirk, 2003; Messner, 2011; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006; Siedentop, 2002). Much of the research has explored independent aspects of socialisation in sport and physical education, such as gender (Honey & McDonald, 2012; Messner, 2011); the body in PE classes (Gard & Wright, 2001); and the understanding of health in PE (Burrows & Wright, 2007). Rather than viewing various aspects of socialisation in sports programmes independently, Siedentop (2002) proposed that sport can socialise children in several ways, simultaneously. The following briefly outlines Siedentop's influence in the field of physical education and activity for children, before introducing his model of junior sport and its connection to the MSHP space.

Siedentop and his Model for Junior Sport

Siedentop has been an influential voice in children's physical activity and education in North America over the past 40 years. His contribution to the field has included numerous textbooks (Siedentop, 1972; Siedentop, Hastie, & Van der Mars, 2004; Siedentop, Herkowitz, & Rink, 1984; Siedentop, Mand, & Taggart, 1986; Siedentop & Tannehill, 2000; Siedentop & Van der Mars, 2012), reports (Siedentop, 2009), and keynote speeches (Siedentop, 2002). His texts contribute to understanding junior sport in North America.

Much of Siedentop's work has focussed on the health of young Americans, and he often cites the global obesity crisis as a motive for engaging children in physical activity (Siedentop, 2002, 2009; Siedentop & Van der Mars, 2012). He refers to the proliferation of the *wellness* trend as playing an integral role in understanding the changing way we view health…

> …Over the past several decades the *health professions* have gradually shifted from a primarily remedial or medical approach to a primarily preventative or wellness approach. Whereas remediating sickness and disease was a main agenda for the health professions early in the twentieth century, the focus on developing and sustaining healthy lifestyles gradually became primary agenda as we moved toward the twenty-first century. The development and expansion of the health-enhancement industry and the explosion of interest in health-related issues pertinent to people of all ages has increasingly focused on the healthy lifestyle issues with the concept of *wellness* defining the desire to develop and sustain healthy lifestyles with a major focus on appropriate levels of physical activity (Siedentop & Van der Mars, 2012, p. 41).

The increased concern for health and wellness has allowed the expansion of a labour market focused on products and services that engage people in physical activity. Children are included in this consideration, with Siedentop noting, "[child] and youth sport programs should emphasise appropriate amounts [of] physical activity during

their practice sessions" (Siedentop & Van der Mars, 2012, p. 237), as many American children are not reaching the recommended daily physical activity guidelines.

In addition to Siedentop's work concerning the health of young Americans, he also created a model for junior sport. Utilising a pedagogical approach, Siedentop (2002) proposed that sports programmes can develop children through three goals: education, public health and elite development. These three goals are not mutually exclusive, but they do require three aspects to achieve them: access to programmes, membership in an exclusive group with caring adult leadership, and challenging activities with tangible results. The education goal (often referred to as the youth development goal) can foster leadership; develop useful skills; enable teamwork; and engender cooperation (Siedentop, 2002). Further, the education goal promotes sport to the masses and targets inclusive citizenship. The second goal, public health, refers to general health goals of the nation and targets "those children and youths who are most at risk on indices of cardiovascular performance and body composition" (Siedentop, 2002, p. 395). The third goal, elite development, targets those children who show the most talent and promise to excel at an elite level (Siedentop, 2002).

Siedentop (2002) cautioned that the elite development sub-section, which dominates the USA varsity system, limits the potential achievement of the other two goals. In the following sections, I apply Siedentop's model for junior sport to an Australian context. In doing so, I highlight the various theories and frameworks that can be applied to his three goals and show that his pedagogical approach to junior sport is one of many potential frameworks available. First, I provide evidence of two of Siedentop's three goals of junior sport within Australia's junior sport system. These include (1) junior sport (elite and organised sport) and (2) positive youth development (education). A discussion on Healthism (3) (public health) and the school ground is on page 116.

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Sport in Australia has followed a "hero-worship mentality" (Stewart, 2004, p. 7), where elite athlete success is revered and often forms the basis for much of the understanding of our sporting identity (Magdalinski, 2000). The Australian sporting identity is a well-researched topic, ranging from the origins of organised sport in Australia (Cashman, 1995), the politics supporting and shaping organised sport (Stewart, 2004), the media's role in shaping the Australian sporting identity (McKay & Rowe, 1987), and a history of the sporting glories that shape our understanding of the sporting identity (Magdalinski, 2000). Research suggests that Australia's sporting success, from the first Olympics through to the early 1990s, is, in fact, a myth recreated by politicians and the media.

> The 'reconstruction' of an imagined national history based on the projection of selected memories and the obliteration of rejected memories, the purpose of which is to define what it means to be Australian and to marginalise alternative interpretations of Australian identity and the Australian past (Magdalinski, 2000, p. 320).

These memories focus on the natural and 'clean' athlete, an athlete that does not require technology to enhance performance. The promotion of sporting success as inherent in Australian society serves as justification for the increased spending on elite and organised sport. Further, the media is involved in downplaying economic intervention by the government as they often refer only to sporting successes (Magdalinski, 2000). Government intervention into elite sport allowed Australia to become a leader in training techniques and technology to aid performance. However, thanks to the media, the Australian public is led to believe that these athletes have natural talent and require very little to achieve success (Magdalinski, 2000).

Through media narratives, public interest into competitive and elite sport peaked in the 1970s and 1980s. The focus was on elite athletes and competition with children's sport ignored. Before 1990, children's and youth organised sport was ad hoc and uncoordinated (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). Several government interventions in the early 90s provided an opportunity for a more coordinated approach to junior sport (Senate Standing Committee, 1992). The first major movement included the national conference on junior sport in 1991, leading to the first dedicated junior sport policy in Australia. The junior sport policy opens with the following: "playing sport is an integral part of growing up in Australia" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 1). This sentiment resonates closely with the myth of the Australian sporting identity used to justify sport funding throughout the 1970s (Magdalinski, 2000). The junior sport policy also promoted competition as an intrinsic part of organised sport. In "Australian society, competition is closely associated with success and failure" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 10). According to the policy, children require competition as it is a healthy and desirable part of sport.

The policy cited the importance of sport educators as significant role models in the promotion of health benefits, social benefits, and the components of competition in junior sport (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). Sport educators "have a special responsibility to foster positive attitudes towards physical activity and sport" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 12). They can do so by conducting sessions with the educational tools that the Commission see as inherent in sport. The policy suggested that these tools allow young people to develop "a knowledge and understanding of sport as a significant cultural force in Australian society; the capabilities and limitations of the human body in the performance of sport; games, tactics, strategies and rules; and administration, umpiring, coaching and sports

medicine" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 6). In addition, sports educators were not merely coaches who provide sporting opportunities; rather, they were individuals who engage children at a cultural level.

The values embedded in the Junior Sport Policy align with the myth of the Australian sporting identity. The policy promoted sport as inherently good for all and as being an integral part of childhood (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). For example, the policy framework states that sport is integral for children as it provides many individual and social benefits. Individual benefits included "improved physical fitness, health and self-confidence; opportunity to develop social, organisational and leadership skills; and improved academic, and other skilled activity, performance" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 6). The social benefits included "A healthier population with an active lifestyle; Development of positive (rather than anti-social) personal interests; and Understanding of the need to adhere to codes of practice" (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, p. 6). While the overall policy aligned with the Australian sporting identity, the above individual and social benefits align with PYD.

Junior sport programmes have been operating for decades; however, they have only recently become regulated by the government (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). Much like elite sport, there are many reported benefits for children to participate in sport (Australian Sports Commission, 1994). However, sport largely remains a neoliberal and merit-based system, one that supports parents buying into organised sport for assumed gains (such as PYD).

Sport is a merit-based system for parents and children

The 'Good Parent' who buys into Junior Sport

The good parent "is a figure frequently invoked in discussions of how to give children the best possible social and educational chances in life" (Nichols et al., 2009, p. 65). The good parent is an inherently neoliberal concept, where value is placed on certain products and services that parents subscribe to, to assist in their childrearing practices. It is up to the good parent to navigate through the expanse of services and products, to find the right ones that will provide their child with developmental opportunities deemed valuable in society. Thus, "good parents are seen as fostering and transmitting crucial values to their children which protect and reproduce the common good" (Gillies, 2005, p. 76). One such example is the Smart Population Foundation Initiative (SPFI)– an initiative that provides resource guides to parents (Millei & Lee, 2007). The guides promote a 'best practice' approach to parenting; however, they support singular views of parenting that benefit those who can afford further education, and additional products and services (Millei & Lee, 2007).

The SPFI provides parents with tools for 'proper' development of their child and advice for the overall improvement in the welfare of the population (Millei & Lee, 2007). This reinforces notions of the good parent as needing to focus on the "importance of normative development, forms of 'good' parenting enabling a 'proper' childhood, modern compulsory schooling and active citizenship" (Millei & Lee, 2007, p. 217). A criticism of the document is that the standardised model of parenting promoted may not benefit everybody, and a one size fits all approach to parenting may "shut down dialogue over…multiple interpretations of parenting" (Millei & Lee, 2007, p. 219).

Much of the good parent logic supports programmes and services that look to engage, stimulate, and educate children outside of school hours. With the outside world considered an adult domain and the somewhat contradictory concern of stranger danger and delinquent youth (Valentine, 1996), it is unsurprising that services and programmes guide parents toward organised and safe spaces for children.

The good parent, along with the dominant discourses of health, supervision, and dangerous environments, contributes to the emergence of certain childcare services in Victoria. The good parent will engage with these spaces, to ensure their children are not only safe, but also educated on health, the virtues of organised sport, and PYD.

Positive Youth Development in Junior Sport

The past thirty years have seen increased concern for the types of programmes children participate in. It is not enough anymore for children to be in care outside of school hours; there must be an educative/positive outcome attached to the programme. In this time, one field of development has emerged that promotes positive outcomes for children and youth: positive youth development (PYD).

PYD was borne out of a (political) desire to address issues that youth could face when given free time (such as delinquency, drug, and alcohol abuse) (Catalano et al., 2004). Historically, intervention and prevention programmes combatted these potential ills. Intervention style programmes lacked rigour, therefore, several scientists, researchers and policy-makers coordinated to create PYD programming as an alternative to prevention programmes (Catalano et al., 2004). In order to define PYD, Catalano and his colleagues (2004) conducted a systematic literature review to find available literature on PYD programmes. Their review is part of a larger project on PYD that began in 1996 (see Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2002). Results

from the systematic review show that the programmes are in community centres, schools, or in the home. Further, 25 programmes were effective in the PYD domain as they either reduced problem behaviour or improved positive behaviours. No sports programmes emerged as having PYD within them. The articles reported positive findings, such as improved self-esteem and confidence in tasks. Catalano et al. (2004) did reflect that future research should consider consistent methods and protocols. This would mean that interpretation of measures could span across studies and build on previous literature.

Recent studies have reported that PYD in sport programmes are a determining factor in achieving improved academic performance (Dwyer, Sallis, Blizzard, Lazarus, & Dean, 2001), and improved peer relationships (Smith, 2003). However, these effects are difficult to measure in a sport setting, as many factors could contribute to children's academic and social improvement. Despite this, researchers contended that sport programmes could provide education and PYD, even though "the research evidence for positive effects of youth sport is generally inconclusive, but public belief and sentiment strongly supports the notion that youth benefit when they are involved" (Coatsworth & Conroy, 2007, p. 59). Considering Coatsworth and Conroy's sentiment, emphasis needs to be on the measurement of the effects of PYD in sports programmes, including scientific and rigorous methods, rather than relying on public sentiment.

In order to apply more rigorous data collection methods in PYD research, Fraser-Thomas, Côté, and Deakin (2005) created an applied sport-programming model. The model included policy, parents, and coaches roles in the creation of positive sports spaces and aimed to "create competent, confident, connected, compassionate, character-rich members of society" (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005, pp. 34-35). In addition, rigorous methods and protocols measured the influence of a PYD programme in

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physical education (Farrant, 2013). The research was a quasi-experimental control trial, with three intervention groups' receiving set times of the PYD programme, and one control with no specific PYD programme. Pre-and-post testing occurred with a questionnaire to measure any changes in positive character traits. When compared to a control group, and each other, the intervention groups showed no significant improvement on any measure of the character development scales (Farrant, 2013). The results indicated that although a small-sample size (160 children), there may not be as many short-term, positive youth development features in sport programmes alone.

Sport for development (SFD) literature also utilises PYD research (Schulenkorf, Sherry, & Rowe, 2016). SFD can be loosely defined as "the use of sport to exert a positive influence on public health, the socialisation of children, youths and adults, the social inclusion of the disadvantaged, the economic development of regions and states, and on fostering intercultural exchange and conflict resolution" (Lyras & Peachey, 2011, p. 311). In an integrated literature review, Schulenkorf et al. (2016) found PYD to be the most commonly used theoretical framework in the SFD space.

A second review of literature explored the use of PYD as a framework in the sport for development field, with the results from the review suggesting that sport does not inherently provide PYD outcomes (Holt & Neely, 2011). Holt & Neely (2011) found that researchers had varying levels of success when implementing a PYD framework, and that program delivery and personal experiences were a correlate for PYD occurring through youth sport. For example, the role of coaches, parents, and peers in fostering a supportive and caring environment all positively impacted whether children scores on PYD scales improved (Holt & Neely, 2011).

Much of the research into PYD in sports programmes supports neoliberal ideas about personal responsibility and character development. As Coakley (2011) reports, the

assumptions surrounding PYD are often used to promote sports programmes to the masses. This promotion is often well-meaning but can be harmful to not only those within the programmes but also those who cannot access them. It is unlikely that sports programmes alone can provide PYD; rather, PYD is dependent on several other factors. Factors may include positive social environment, meanings given to sports experience, and time spent in play (Coakley, 2011).

Further, research showed sport development opportunities either promoted upward social mobility for middle-class (often white) individuals, or stability and compensation for those who are disadvantaged (Coakley, 2011). The sport for development "narrative is informed by beliefs that emphasise individualism as a central value and stress the importance of self-confidence/efficacy/esteem in overcoming barriers, making choices, and improving one's life" (Coakley, 2011, p. 314). These neoliberal ideas herald expectations of good citizenship, which, as Coakley pointed out, are incredibly hard to measure (2011). He contended that research is valuable in this area, but one must be careful of evangelical notions of sport as a developmental end in itself (Coakley, 2011).

The research on PYD in sport varies and lacks rigorous data collection methods. For example, Catalano, Berglund, et al. (2002) briefly discusses the lack of consistent methods used in PYD research. They note that future directions for PYD need to build on previous data, and use consistent methods in order to do so (Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2002). The research by Coatsworth and Conroy (2007) provides an example of Catalano's argument concerning the lack of rigour in PYD research. This is evident when Coatsworth and Conroy (2007) refer to 'public sentiment' as a way to measure the benefits of youth sport.

The rhetoric of sport evangelists, such as Coatsworth and Conroy, PYD in sport is used to promote an environment for children to learn pro-social behaviours. In this sense,

PYD in sports programmes aligns with Siedentop's goal of junior sport, even if the data is lacking. PYD may occur in children who participate in sports programmes, but as Coakley (2011) posits, sport may be but one of the many factors affecting a child's development. Further, the literature has shown that sports evangelists (researchers included) often neglect other factors, outside of sport, which may affect how children take up ideas of PYD. Much of the PYD in sport literature assumes that all children have the same ability to achieve these positive traits and position children as passive recipients of knowledge. This does not take into consideration where children have come from, their previous socialisation, and outside/external factors.

One such example includes how children navigate gender roles in and through sporting spaces. The following section explores the medias role in constructing gendered norms before a discussion of children's experiences of gender in relation to the school space.

The construction of gender in sport

Media coverage and the construction of gender roles in sport

"…in media coverage, girls and women may be athletes, but they are female first. The physical attractiveness of these athletes is often emphasized over their athletic abilities" (Buysse & Embser-Herbert, 2004, p. 68).

Media outlets are socialising agents, and those working in the media play an influential role in the transmission and normalisation of gender roles, especially in the sport space (Buysse & Embser-Herbert, 2004; McKay, 1997; McKay & Rowe, 1987; Messner, 2011; Shaw & Amis, 2001; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). There has been extensive research into the representation of women and men in sport with similar results found in several studies: There is an underrepresentation of women in sports

media coverage when compared to coverage of men (Bernstein, 2002; Fink, 2015; Messner, 1988; Wensing & Bruce, 2003).

A recent review of the quantitative and qualitative differences in media coverage of male and female athletes showed that "coverage of women's sport and female athletes has actually *declined* over the years despite women's increased participation and athletic performance" (Fink, 2015, p. 332). Further, results showed that reporters would often sexualise women's bodies, devalue their skills, mark them by their gender, and infantilise them (calling them girls rather than women) (Buysse & Embser-Herbert, 2004; Fink, 2015; Koivula, 1999; Wensing & Bruce, 2003). Contrastingly, the reporting of men's sport often focuses on a hero worship mentality and their athletic ability (Wensing & Bruce, 2003). As Shaw and Amis (2001, p. 220) note, the "disparity between the profile and perception of male and female sport is, of course, nothing new", and should be a cause for concern.

This hesitance to engage in a meaningful change in the style of reporting may be due to "male sport…[being] viewed by media and, by extension, society in general as… [having] inherently greater value than its female counterpart" (Shaw & Amis, 2001, p. 220). For example, in a 2017 press conference with male tennis player Andy Murray, a reporter stated that Murray's opponent Sam was "the first US player to reach a major semi-final since 2009" (Hurrey, 2017, p. 1). Murray was quick to correct the reporter, noting that Serena and Venus Williams have "won about four each" in that time (Hurrey, 2017, p. 1). The reporter spoke with certainty, and although not malicious, their statement reinforced that men are often at the forefront of people's minds when they think of sporting achievements.

The research shows an underrepresentation of women's sport in day-to-day reporting, and there is evidence of journalists and reporters struggling to acknowledge female

achievements on par with those of men. This is an important consideration alongside the sheer volume of sport media consumption that occurs in Australia. A 2017 report posited that Australian's consume 60million hours of sport per week through the media (Gemba Group, 2017). The high consumption rate by individuals and traditional notions of gender that mass media often reinforce can contribute to how people form ideas about who sport is for and how they should participate. The way the media portrays sport impacts both children and parents and contributes to the normalisation of particular ideals (such as gender). This normalisation is an important concept, as the sale of sport products and services for parents and their children grows.

Playground Rules: Girls, and learning how to play

Research on children's play behaviour during recess and lunch periods provides valuable insight into the behavioural patterns between sexes, their patterns of physical activity, and game choice (Blatchford, Baines, & Pellegrini, 2003; Epstein, Kehily, Mac An Ghaill, & Redman, 2001; Knowles, Parnell, Stratton, & Ridgers, 2013; Ridgers, Carter, Stratton, & McKenzie, 2011; Thomson, 2007). Recess and lunch periods are important components of a child's daily routine, as this time provides children with opportunities to engage with other children, with little to no adult intervention (Blatchford et al., 2003). One specific area of interest in the past 20 years is the ways in which girls and boys interact and play with one another during recess and lunch (Blatchford et al., 2003; Epstein et al., 2001; Knowles et al., 2013; Ridgers et al., 2011; Thomson, 2007). The evidence suggests that despite growing opportunities for girls to play sport and do physical activities, boys often controlled the playground space (Clark & Paechter, 2007).

To understand how boys may control the space, several studies have quantified the amount of time children engage in physical activity during school break periods (Blatchford et al., 2013; Epstein et al., 2001; Knowles et al., 2013; Ridgers et al., 2011). Research shows that boys are, on average, more physically active than girls during recess and lunch periods (Ridgers et al., 2011). When comparing the amount of time that children spend in sporting style games, boys regularly participated in 30 minutes (or more) of sporting style activities (such as soccer) daily, compared to the 4 minutes of sporting activities by the girls (Ridgers et al., 2011).

Observational data informed the quantitative data collection and suggested that boys spend more time in physical activity on the playground than girls. For example, boys have been observed spending more time in ball sport games such as soccer, whereas girls engaged in more conversation, sedentary activity, and verbal style games (Blatchford et al., 2003). Along with the differences in time spent in activities, observational data show that children would spend most of their time with those of the same sex during recess and lunch, with girls and boys spending 80% of their recess and lunchtime with those of the same sex (Blatchford et al., 2003). When girls did play with boys in the traditionally male 'ball sports' at school breaks, they were often in the minority, and of those that did play, they were the more 'athletic' ones (Blatchford et al., 2003).

Several studies explored the differences in the way children use the playground (Knowles et al., 2013; Ridgers et al., 2011). One ethnographic study of playground use and masculinity found that when children are allowed to play football (soccer), older, and bigger boys would dominate the playground space to play the game (Epstein et al., 2001). This left "those boys who were not part of this game (because they were smaller, did not like football, or were seen as bad players) and all girls… literally, on the margins

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of the playground" (Epstein et al., 2001, p. 161). Further, researchers have found that girls did want to participate in sports such as soccer with the boys, however, when they made attempts to play, the boys excluded them (through the act of boys only passing to one another, or boys physically taking over the space) (Epstein et al., 2001). As Epstein et al. (2001, pg. 158-159) note,

> In a school context in which football [soccer] is allowed to dominate unchecked… football… [can] solidify and cut across ethnic boundaries and that many boys become deeply invested in these activities as primary signifiers of masculinity.

The research presented in this section identifies both quantifiable and observational differences in the ways that girls and boys play. Boys would often participate in more physical activity than girls, with ball sports being a popular pursuit for boys. Further, boys would exclude girls when they did attempt to play ball sports (Epstein et al., 2001). It became the teacher's responsibility to intervene in games to ensure all girls could play, even those skilful players (Epstein et al., 2001). As Blatchford et al. (2003) note, school playgrounds can be sites of socialisation and can help us understand how children engage in less structured spaces.

Healthism in the Classroom and on the Playground

The school provides an example of one space where the healthism discourse (and the resultant dominant logic of obesity discourse) is often enacted (Gard & Wright, 2001; Tinning & Glasby, 2002; Wright & Burrows, 2004). In particular, physical educators, who are experts in the field, have an important role to play in health education (Gard & Wright, 2001; Tinning & Glasby, 2002). This is due to the educator's role in translating the curriculum and putting it into practice. In a critique of the Health and Physical Education (HPE) Curriculum, Gard and Wright (2001) found that there could be

implications if healthism continues to pervade the syllabus. They note that thinking critically about healthism matters because:

> …the knowledges and practices associated with these discourses exert technologies of power which serve to classify individuals (and populations) as normal or abnormal, as 'good' or 'bad' citizens, as at risk and therefore requiring the intervention of the state, in the form of the medico-health system and education (p.546).

Further, the dominant discourses, such as healthism and obesity, could close "off spaces for other ways of thinking and doing physical education" (Gard & Wright, 2001, p. 545). Thinking this way could reproduce narrow ideas of health that children engage with and provide less opportunity for individual behaviour change.

Complementing this, the work of Wright and Burrows (2004) examines the resources that year 4 and year 8 New Zealand students drew upon to construct meanings of health. Their findings suggest that children often construct meanings of health and tie them to ideas of 'the body'. Children also consistently referred to biomedical 'truths' which are often contradictory and narrowed their understanding of what health might mean (Wright & Burrows, 2004). Further,

> …students are well versed in healthism discourses that link personal practices associated with the body - specifically eating and exercise but smoking, drinking and taking drugs - with "health". As they move through school, they become more adept at drawing on this discourse (Wright & Burrows, 2004, p. 226).

The healthism discourse, when reproduced in schools, may limit children's opportunities for critical inquiry, especially at a young age. The authors did note that the new NZ syllabus for PE and health provides opportunities for critical inquiry of the social aspects that affect health. However, little room is afforded to question the biomedical 'truths' outlined in the curriculum (Wright & Burrows, 2004).

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Schools often promoted these biomedical truths as natural and ascribed meaning and value to the biomedical health of the body (Evans, Rich, Allwood, & Davies, 2008). The virtues associated with the ideal body (thin/slender) can, in turn, affect young people's sense of wellbeing and self. A study was conducted with older girls (14-18 year old's), many of whom could not disconnect from the discourses of healthism and obesity, and felt that they were constantly being evaluated on their body image (Evans et al., 2008). The girls' narratives align with public policies that influence curriculum and pedagogic environments. Further, these policies and pedagogic environments, such as the school, emphasised that the "right body size/shape is not simply about being healthy but carries moral characterisations of the obese or overweight as lazy, self-indulgent and greedy" (Evans et al., 2008). Thus, the moral connotations associated with health, related to good character/citizenship can lead young girls to disorders and struggles with weight control (Evans et al., 2008). Healthism and the obesity discourse are prevalent in the UK curriculum and can affect young people's health (Evans et al., 2008). More research must explore areas of complex relationships between school, family, peer groups, and leisure to further understand the intersection of these discourses and their impact on children's lives (Evans et al., 2008).

The literature in this subsection shows that the healthism discourse reproduced in schools does not provide the learning opportunities for children to think critically about health. Children's knowledge could include narrow understandings of the exercise=health=fitness triplex which promotes the body as a marker for health (Burrows & McCormack, 2014; Evans et al., 2008; Kirk, 1994; Tinning & Glasby, 2002). Additionally, within the school space, the information provided to children by educators and health promoters may be a narrow slice of the potentially vast ideas that surround health, fitness and the body (Wright, O'Flynn, & Macdonald, 2006).

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Researchers have begun to reflect on the discourse of healthism in schools, by exploring how children come to understand, take up or resist the health knowledge provided to them. Specifically, much of the health knowledge in school surrounds the body (Burrows & Wright, 2007; Gard & Wright, 2001; Wright & Burrows, 2004), and can potentially simplify and neglect other areas of health. Healthism emerged in several papers in the semi-systematic literature review, however to date no one has explored healthism in the MSHP space. Further knowledge of how children understand health and the body outside of the home and school may help to paint a fuller picture of what health means to children.

Conclusion

Section one of the literature review revealed three findings: First, there is little to no research on summer camps and holiday programmes in Australia. Second, of the literature found, no papers explore why and how holiday programmes and summer camps have emerged. Third, PYD and healthism appear prominently in various fields such as health, sport, education, environment and history of summer camps. The focus on PYD and healthism highlight the value of the 'body' (healthism), and 'civic engagement' (PYD) in children's research. As both themes are outcome-based, they leave little room to think about aspects of research such as children's enjoyment and interest in summer camps and holiday programmes.

Section two provides an Australian context for junior sport, physical education and the playground space. The literature focuses on the socialisation of children in these spaces, with three themes emerging within the spaces: PYD, healthism, and gender relations. Like section one, the themes of healthism and PYD reinforce values surrounding the 'body' and 'civic engagement'. The theme of gender relations highlights the complexity

of understanding children's choices to play certain games and activities. The quantitative research contends that boys spend more time in physical activity in the school break periods; however, the qualitative research shows issues arising when girls attempt to navigate the male-dominated sport fields and games. Thus, it is not a simple matter of girls not wanting to play and be competitive; rather, the hegemony that boys possess on the pitch often limits girl's opportunities.

The research in section two included various theories, frameworks and lenses. Political commentary guided the discussions on the myth of Australian sport and the growth of junior sport (Magdalinski, 2000; Stewart, 2004). Psychological methods and science underpinned positive youth development and the use of sport for developing competent and active citizens (Catalano et al., 2004; Catalano, Hawkins, Berglund, Pollard, & Arthur, 2002). Post-structuralism and participant-led research shaped the research on both healthism and gender in the playground.

Each framework or lens has its benefits and shortcomings. The following chapter includes a reference to these theories and frameworks (along with Siedentop's pedagogical model), how they differ and the context they will be used in for the analysis and discussion chapters.

The literature review identified a gap in research concerning the emergence, structure, and programming of MSHPs. The first four chapters of this thesis further contextualised this gap, through a narrative of the political and social conditions that have assisted in making MSHPs possible in Australia from the 1970s. Included is a synthesis of the major political moments that relate to elite and junior sport, health and physical education, and healthcare from the 1970s (chapter three), and an interrogation into the scope and breadth of holiday programmes operating in Victoria (chapter four).

The proceeding five chapters explore the structure of three MSHPs and analyse the practices and knowledge that emerges through interactions with staff members and children to better understand the logic within MSHPs in a Victorian context. Chapter six provides details on the specific methodology employed to undertake the research.

Chapter Six: Methodology for Case Studies

The literature review revealed two important gaps. First, there is little to no research conducted on holiday programmes, summer camps, or MSHPs in Australia, with only two articles uncovered in the review (Guagliano et al., 2014; Thompson et al., 2006). One paper was a randomised-control-trial protocol for increasing young girls' fitness (Guagliano et al., 2014), while the second paper examined the provision of food in holiday programmes (Thompson et al., 2006). The second gap in the literature concerns the lack of work critically examining how summer camps and holiday programmes have become so popular, and what occurs within them. The research in this thesis intends to fill both gaps in the literature, through an examination of the emergence of MSHPs in Victoria, and through qualitative fieldwork to explore the structure, organisation, and the experiences of those within the space. Chapters one-five contextualise the emergence of MSHPs in Victoria, and in doing so, answer part one of the research questions. This chapter explains the methodology employed to gather the information for part two of the research question – the fieldwork and case studies. Before I discuss the methodology and methods employed, it is important to acknowledge my role as a researcher, and the potential influence I have on the analysis of data. Chapter two highlights the phenomenological and structural underpinnings of my knowledge reflected in the policy analysis. Extending this, I believe that researchers exploring social worlds need to be aware of and adaptable to the potentially new and unique experiences within the field researched, as "the main instrument of data collection is the researcher" (Brewer, 2000, p. 84). Thus, I recognise that my previous experience with one of the programmes, and my on-going epistemological development as a researcher contributes to the way I formulated this project, and the decisions I have

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made throughout. What follows is the theoretical underpinnings that compliment my conceptual development as a researcher.

Theoretical Framework

> In its impermanence, the lived world presents special problems for researchers that demand attention to the nature of its changes and the processes of its movements (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 323)

Introducing Theory

The use of a theory (or multiple theories) provides researchers with the ability to justify and illuminate an area of research. Theories assist in developing a further understanding of a phenomenon through a particular lens (Maxwell, 2012; Maxwell & Mittapalli, 2008). A theory can provide the impetus for conducting research and also provides a way in which to view the world, situation, context or phenomena (Silverman, 2013). As Reeves, Albert, Kuper, and Hodges (2008, p. 1), note, "Just as there is no one way to understand why, for instance, a culture has formed in a certain way, many lenses can be applied to a problem, each focussing on a different aspect to it". Theories can assist in the entire research process, from the formulation of the research question to methods of data collection, and through to the application of analysis/findings. As is tradition, one theory/framework is usually adopted when undertaking research and utilised throughout the entire process. However, as Abes (2009, p. 141) proposes, using multiple theories may "uncover new ways of understanding the data". Abes (2009, p.150) considers the importance of multiple theoretical perspectives through her work…

> … using multiple theoretical perspectives to research student development theory highlights the complexity and messiness of student development; it

challenges educators to simultaneously view students from multiple perspectives and to genuinely live and work within a context of multiple realities rather than trying to understand identity through tidy frameworks.

Abes (2009) believes that theory should guide research; however, looking through a singular lens is often an incomplete method of inquiry. For example, they note that interpretivist theories may reveal a rich understanding of the phenomenon under investigation, but they do not necessarily reveal societal power structures (Abes, 2009, p. 141).

Grounded theory provides another perspective when considering a multi-theoretical approach (Glaser & Straus, 1967). Grounded theory is the generation of theory through the systematic collection and analysis of data obtained in social research (Glaser & Straus, 1967). Although this thesis does not include this method of new theory generation, Glaser & Straus (1967, p.253) make an important point when considering theory choice and the human nature of the researcher …

No sociologist can possibly erase from his mind all the theory he knows before he begins his research. Indeed the trick is to line up what one takes as theoretically possible or probable with what one is finding in the field. Such existing sources of insights are to be cultivated, though not at the expense of insights generated by the qualitative research…

They suggest that there is no one particular formula for reading and selecting an appropriate theory. Some researchers will read extensively prior to entering the field; others may avoid reading works until they have completed research, while some may consult books and research throughout the data collection period (Glaser & Straus, 1967).

A Journey of Conceptualisation

As Glaser & Straus (1967) mention, there are many ways to choose appropriate theories. My selection method was somewhat disjointed and included a complete reframing of the thesis halfway through the candidature process. My initial plan was to frame the thesis in a post-structural/Foucauldian lens. I spent an entire year exploring Foucault's seminal works and developing a deep understanding of his interconnected web of theories. Although his research resonated with me on a personal level, I continually felt as though I was shoehorning this project to fit a Foucauldian framework. I struggled to see how his work would explain some of the neoliberal, political, and structural ideas that I had begun to explore, and I consistently felt as though I could not clearly answer my research questions. This led me back to the drawing board, where I spent months considering various other social theories. I soon realised that this project would not fit into one single framework/lens as I see human nature and the construction on MSHPs to be convoluted, multi-faceted and diverse. There is inherent messiness to human life, and although theories can assist in explaining some phenomena, I could not see how one theory would explain the MSHP phenomena from a political, neoliberal, and case study perspective.

As discussed in the introductory chapters, Neoliberal rhetoric and practices underpin the establishment and growth of MSHPs within Australia. Privatisation of the childcare sector has created a glut of options for parents to choose appropriate programming and services that they feel will benefit their child's development. I considered this stance alongside the policy chapter, which revealed three key areas of junior sport development. 1. There are greater financial rewards in elite and organised sport programmes over grassroots participation. 2. Increased concern for the health and weight and young Australians, and 3. Over the past 40 years, there has been a

reimagining of what physical activity spaces can look like, with increased intersections of health and sport within them.

I also found a connection between the political commentary that supports developing children through organised sport and the neoliberal logic of good parenting that promotes putting children in childcare to support their development and growth as capable citizens. This connection has shaped the way I looked at children's sport programming and led me to explore models of junior sport that focussed on developmental outcomes. I was able to look at various sport systems and models and found that Daryl Siedentop's pedagogical work resonated closely with the political and neoliberal connections of junior sport in Australia.

Siedentop's three-goal model of junior sport refers to practical components of children's sport participation and the impact that sport can have on children's development. Siedentop utilises a pedagogical approach throughout his work. In addition, his model of junior sport is comparable to the Australian model of junior sport. As his work focuses on a USA perspective, I contextualised his research to a Trans-Tasman perspective in the literature review to explain the growth of our junior sport sector and highlight how his model can be read using various authors and perspectives.

As noted in the first half of this thesis – there is very little academic evidence or theoretical rigour supporting the growth of MSHPs. Therefore, it is impractical to consider that one theory could and should provide an accurate lens in which to view these programmes. I utilise Siedentop's model of junior sport as a conceptual framework in which to explore this research, however, as is shown in the proceeding chapters, various theories and literature are drawn upon in order to make sense of the spaces. I utilise an inductive, multi-theory approach to support the key themes that

emerged in the data collection. This iterative process is designed to be complementary to previous work undertaken and also to support that sometimes; research need not be in a neat theoretical box.

Theoretical perspectives: strength in diversity

Siedentop's model for children's sport includes three themes: organised sport, public health, and education. These themes guided the data collection and analysis in this thesis. Siedentop's themes are intertwined through chapters eight, nine and ten, specifically around the ways that public health and organised sport intersect and influence how children learn (education) in MSHPs.

To make sense of Siedentop's model, I consider the role that neoliberalism plays in shaping and influencing MSHPs. As discussed in chapter one, neoliberalism includes a set of economic principles that support the privatisation and commodification of services (Connell, 2010). Individual choice and merit underpin neoliberal logic, and it is these two ideas that assist in contextualising the themes that emerged in the MSHPs. In relation to neoliberalism, individual choice is framed within a society's value system, where people are encouraged to make choices based on what is deemed good or bad within that social system (Braedley & Luxton, 2010). Within this project, individual choice aligns with the public health rhetoric of healthism and making the 'right' choices when it comes to one's health and wellbeing.

With regard to merit and neoliberalism, society is meritocratic (Castilla & Benard, 2010). A meritocratic system is designed to promote social mobility and advancement (in careers or schooling), with individual factors considered to be irrelevant (such as race, gender, and economic class) (Castilla & Benard, 2010). Meritocracy underpins much of Australia's organised sport sector, which can be problematic as people often

neglect social inequities in lieu of the assumed level playing field rhetoric that meritocracy promotes.

By reading Siedentop's model as neoliberal, I was able to utilise various authors and research perspectives that would assist in unpacking the historical and traditionalist notions of Australian sport that emerged in the data analysis. Some of the theories and ideas discussed are complementary to one another, such as the post-structural health-based work of Wright and Burrows (2004) and the pedagogical health work of Tinning and Glasby (2002). Some theories, however, are divergent and offer different epistemological stances, such as Positive Youth Development (PYD) and Bourdieu. PYD utilises a psychological perspective and provides great detail in measuring and validating perceptions of children's development. It does not, however, delve into how the participants feel or the structures affecting children. In contrast, the work of Bourdieu and those that critique merit and capitalism consider the structures and power relations within and through these spaces.

Although varied, each author and theory assisted in unpacking the taken for granted logic of sport as positive for all. Further, all works explore the notion of children's sport and health promotion and offer insight into the role of sport to a child's developmental outcomes. Ethnographic Methods of Data Collection

This project utilises ethnographic techniques to allow for inductive and in-depth data collection and analysis. The study design emerged from preliminary data collection on the number, type, and style of holiday programmes currently operating in Victoria. This led to the examination of three MSHPs, where participant observations and semi-structured interviews took place.

Ethnographic methods are a valuable tool to explore MSHPs as they allow for the experiential and emergent collection of data. Rather than using other methods that may generalise the MSHP population, ethnographic tools can provide rich and in-depth data collection that is site-specific (Brewer, 2000; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Murchison, 2010). As Brewer (2000) surmises,

> [Ethnography] is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally (p. 6).

Ethnographic methods of data collection consider the personal perspectives of individuals and provide a deeper way to understand those within the space. Further, the methods aide the in-depth exploration of social worlds and phenomena, with emphasis placed on the individual alongside the collective experiences of those within the studied environment (Brewer, 2000).

In line with Brewer (2000), this project utilises ethnographic techniques, as they provide a strong theoretical and philosophical framework to collect rich, qualitative data. Ethnographic methods allow for a wide range of questions concerning space/field researched and illustrate the dominant values that individuals and communities may have at a specific time (Murchison, 2010).

The data collection methods for this thesis include case study research, semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

Study Design

Sampling Procedure

Case Studies

The use of case studies provides a means to contextualise in-depth data collection in a meaningful way (Yin, 2009). Preliminary data in chapter four revealed that 139 MSHPs are currently operating in Victoria (as at January 2015). Further, funding for these programmes comes from four domains: government (public), private organisations, large corporations, or a mixture of public and private. The research took place at three of the four funding types of MSHPs: government, private, and a mixture of both. The three programmes ran in different municipalities, and research at each provided a rich representation of the children attending these programmes. Access to the fourth programme type (corporation owned) proved to be difficult, with managers at these sites reluctant to allow researchers into their space.

To gain access to the MSHPs, an email went out to all programmes in Victoria with an invitation to participate in the study. This recruitment method did not yield any positive responses. To overcome this shortfall, I made use of relationships formed through five years' work within an MSHP and called 10 programmes that I knew – all ranging in price, area, and demographics. All interested MSHP managers received information sheets before a meeting to discuss the project. This informal method of accessing gatekeepers was beneficial as three different programme managers expressed interest in the research.

Yin (2009) highlights the importance of the context/phenomenon relationship in qualitative research, noting that case studies are an important method of inquiry. To complement the context/phenomenon relationship, the following section discusses the

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specific methods undertaken at each MSHP: participant observation, and semi-structured interviews.

Participant Observation

"*One main advantage of many observational studies is that the research gets close to social practices and everyday situations*" (Öhman & Quennerstedt, 2012, p. 190).

Participant observation can be utilised as a data collection tool to observe the events, activities and interactions of people in natural settings, while consciously noting and recording information gathered (Musante & DeWalt, 2010). It provides an opportunity to analyse first-hand accounts of people's experiences and actions within a setting. Additionally, observational research assists in understanding and developing meanings for the particular practices of groups and individuals in real-time (Pellegrini, Symons, & Hoch, 2014). Formal methods, such as questionnaires and interviews, may not elicit the depth of experiences that observational research provides (Öhman & Quennerstedt, 2012). Burgess (1984) notes that there are four possible observational identities when conducting observational research

1. The complete participant, who operates covertly, concealing any intention to observe the setting;
2. The participant-as-observer, who forms relationships and participates in activities but makes no secret of an intention to observe events;
3. The observer-as-participant, who maintains only superficial contacts with the people being studied;
4. The complete observer, who merely stands back and watches the proceedings (pp. 80-82).

MSHPs are unique sites to collect data, as they only run for two-week periods every 10-12 weeks. Limited time was available in which to explore the practices within each site, thus the participant-as-observer, Burgess' second observational identity was

utilised and allowed a strong relationship to form with those in each programme. The choice of any observational identity comes with its juxtapositions of insider/outsider status and is something all researchers need to be aware of prior to participant observation. "The research process can never be totally 'inside' or completely 'outside', but involves an interrogation of situatedness and how 'being inside' relates to lived bodies and their practices and experiences" (Woodward, 2008, p. 547). Identities should be fluid, changing to facilitate individualised settings and lived experiences. In addition, if you are passive in the field, you may make assumptions that are of no advantage to the research project (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2003). Thus, to understand social interaction, one must decide to engage in the social setting (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2003; Woodward, 2008). This idea and Burgess's notion of observer identity (1984) informed my decision to take the role of participant as observer throughout the three case studies.

The specific aim of the participant observation was to examine how individuals within the programmes used and understood the spaces. This style of research allows for a reflection of behaviours and actions within a particular setting (Pellegrini et al., 2014). Preliminary data has shown that a single MSHP can reach over 3000 children aged 5-12 in 12 months. If we consider this data came from the largest holiday programme in Victoria, we can still estimate that MSHPs accommodate over 20,000 children in school holiday periods every year. To put this into perspective, this number is almost double the 2014/15 Victorian Scouts membership of children aged 5-12 (Scouts Victoria, 2015). With so many children potentially engaging in MSHPs every year, observation at several sites is imperative to explore the discursive practices that may be present.

The logistics of data collection included spending two weeks at each programme, learning and understanding the structure and everyday practices. Past research has

helped in establishing MSHPs as valuable sites for research and has assisted in understanding the "cultural, moral and ideological events in the field" (Honey & McDonald, 2012, p. 100). Throughout the observations, events that occurred and not individual students were the focus, as this provided a lower chance of individuals recognised in the analysis phase (Öhman & Quennerstedt, 2012). Pseudonyms were used for all participants to maintain confidentiality throughout the write-up phase and beyond.

Further to understanding the practices and experiences of staff and children in the space, it was important to reflect and be reflexive throughout the data collection and analysis process. Therefore, I made daily entries into a personal journal throughout my time at each programme. The process of writing in a journal provides an opportunity to reflect on challenges and issues that emerged at each programme (Leyshon, 2011), and was a valuable exercise for my project.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Staff members at the three MSHPs undertook semi-structured interviews to discuss their perspective of the MSHPs, and how they came to be staff members for children's sport programmes. Staff members are the practitioners who monitor, regulate and control behaviour within the MSHPs.

Semi-structured interviews were utilised throughout this project as they provide a new researcher with structure and guidance in the interview process, and allow for adaptation within each interview (Harding, 2013). Further, semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer

> …discretion about the order in which questions are asked, but the questions are standardized, and probes may be provided to ensure that the researcher covers the correct material… This kind of interview collects detailed information in a

style that is somewhat conversational. Semi-structured interviews are often used when the researcher wants to delve deeply into a topic and to understand thoroughly the answers provided (Harrell & Bradley, 2009, p. 27).

Semi-structured interviews are often conversational, with a level of structure placed on the interaction between interviewer/interviewee (Harrell & Bradley, 2009). Additionally, by learning and adopting/adapting the techniques required for semi-structured interviews, such as diverting the conversation when necessary, or bringing the interviewee back to the topic, the researcher can gain insight into peoples' experiences and opinions, and emphasise points which may seem pertinent to the research (Harrell & Bradley, 2009).

It is the researcher's responsibility to prepare, carefully plan and individualise questions to strengthen the interview process. In line with previous research, an interview guide provided direction and included topics of interest to discuss in an open-ended nature along with adaptable interview questions (Harding, 2013; Patton, 1987). Further, individualised interviews included questions on the social interactions that occurred (Longhurst, 2010). This personalised method of inquiry can enable enriched responses, as there is a greater likelihood that respondents provide detailed answers.

Staff member interviews were between 5-10 questions long with the semi-structured interview run-time between 30-60 minutes, in accordance with previous research (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Questions centred on their motivations for working at an MSHP, how they viewed their role in the programme, and their experiences with organised sport growing up.

Some examples of the questions posed to the staff members include

- What value does organised sport have in your life?
- Was sport part of your childhood? In what ways?
- How did you come to be involved with this programme?

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- What does this MSHP mean to you?

These questions assisted in developing a 'sporting history' of each interviewee. Finding out their motivations and personal experience with organised sport then aided in the analysis of the observations, including a comparison of the staff member actions in the programme with their personal experiences. This can open a dialogue about their socialisation into sport as children and may help to shed light on their reasons and methods for organising games and sports.

The interview examples may be adaptable and are dependent on the answers provided by the participants. Further, interviews took place after the observation period, allowing specific questions regarding situations within each programme to emerge. All questions were open-ended, allowing respondents to answer in various ways that reflect their personal experiences (Brandl-Bredenbeck & Kampf, 2012; Harding, 2013; Harrell & Bradley, 2009; Patton, 1987).

Constant Comparative Method

I used the constant comparative method in both the participant observation and semi-structured interview phases of this project. The constant comparative method compares newly collected data to data already collected, allowing for the on-going adaptation of specific methods as required (Boeije, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Kolb, 2012). Within grounded theory, the constant-comparative method is an analysis tool (Glaser & Straus, 1967); however, for this project, it was a method of the data collection process. As Boeije (2002) notes,

> This principle [of the constant comparative method] implies that the researcher decides what data will be gathered next and where to find them on the basis of provisionary theoretical ideas. In this way, it is possible to answer questions that have arisen from the …reflection on previous data. Such questions concern interpretations of phenomena as well as boundaries of categories, assigning segments or finding relations between categories (p. 393).

Use of the constant comparative method allows researchers reflexivity, which complements this research. This is through the constant reflection of the data collected and awareness of the relationship that a researcher can have with the environment (Kolb, 2012). Adaptation of interview questions occurred throughout the interviews and was based on previous interviews and observations made throughout the data collection period. Additionally, my observation style changed throughout the process of data collection at each site, depending on what emerged throughout the days. This is important to note, as no two interviews were the same, although similar topics guided the interview sessions.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis occurred for each case study. All fieldwork notes (observations and informal conversations), and interview transcripts are in this analysis section. Thematic analysis provides an opportunity to organise data in meaningful and detailed ways (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This research used thematic analysis as a tool to describe the 'whole picture' of each case study before identifying key themes from each space.

Thematic analysis provides the opportunity to "capture something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represent[s] some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). In this instance, a data set consisted of all information gathered for each case study (interviews, informal discussions, field notes). Separate thematic analysis of each programme provided detailed and rich descriptions. Thus, the analysis needed to be inductive, to explain the phenomenon of each site, rather than trying to fit all the data collected within a theoretical field.

Braun & Clarke's (2006) six steps for conducting thematic analysis are followed in this

thesis (see Braun and Clarke (2006) for a full description of their method) and are as follows.

Step 1: Collect all data, including interviews, verbatim transcription of interviews, and field note collection. Data was read and re-read throughout the analysis of each case study (field notes and quotes). This also enabled adaptation of the data collection method if gaps of information emerged.

Step 2: QSR NVIVO was the most appropriate site for data storage. Before coding, case study folders separated the field notes and interview transcripts. Patterns emerged through analysis of each field note and interview transcript (within each case study), and each case study considered as a separate entity. Coding included the creation of broad themes to encompass as much information as possible (for example, talking to children about playing sport).

Step 3: Identification of dominant themes that had arisen within each case study occurred once coding was complete. This was also very broad, and at times included vague definitions of terms. The first attempt at identifying themes provided the backbone to each case study.

Step 4: Analysis of each theme and thematic groups occurred three times to ensure that I established a fuller picture of each MSHP. Doing so provided further meaning to each theme, and there was no omission of relevant data.

Step 5: Defined terms were as content specific as possible. For example, if a person were to read the coding, they would understand and identify these features with ease. A detailed note accompanies each theme explaining how each aligns with the overall research question, and how each theme fit in relation to others (within each case study).

Step 6: Disseminating the analysis – This section is the final product of the thematic

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analysis, included in chapters eight-ten.

From stage 3-6, my supervisor provided triangulation of data. This was through the act of reading my original coding trees and ensuring that I defined my terms. This added rigour and improved the trustworthiness/validation of the analysis.

Chapter Seven: Introducing the Case Studies

The following chapter introduces the case study research undertaken at three MSHPs and includes a description of the physical space alongside municipality data of each MSHP. Each site had unique physical characteristics, such as location (one, for example, was located at an elite sporting facility); however, the general running of each programme was similar. Thus, an amalgamation of the three case studies occurs in the second half of this chapter, which summarises the general operation, the staff, and the way children engage with the spaces.

<u>Location, Location, Location</u>

The following section describes the physical characteristics and location of each MSHP. Table 10 provides residential information of the MSHPs.

Table 10: Case Study breakdown (Profile.id, 2016)

	Case Study 1	Case Study 2	Case Study 3
	Footscray	Albert Park	Hadfield
MSHP Year Established	1997	1997	1998
Population (Suburb)	13,193	6,193	5,696
Population 5-11 Y/O	596	431	457
Median Salary/Week	$776	$1,403	$833
Cost of Programme per day	$40	$70	$35
Age Group	5 to 14	5 to 12	4 to 12
Child Care Rebate	Yes	Yes	No

Case Study One

Case Study one (CS1) is 6.8km west of the Melbourne CBD in Footscray. Of the three MSHP locations, Footscray has the lowest proportion of children aged 5-11 (at 4.5%) in its municipality, the lowest median weekly income ($776/week), and over recent years, and has had an influx of young professionals to the region (21% total population) (Profile.id, 2016).

CS1 runs out of a government-funded university. The university has been in operation for 100 years, with the multi-sport holiday camp running for the past 19 years. The programme offers multi-sport sessions for three age groups (senior 10-12-year old's, intermediate 7-9-year old's, and junior 5-6-year old's), and two single sports (week one included basketball and tennis, and week two included soccer and netball). The programme advertises itself as a 'sports camp', with staff members also referring to it in that way.

A Canadian academic (Simon), who has worked at the university for over 30 years, operates the camp. He has managed the camp since it opened and discussed how he came to introduce the programme to the university space.

> Caitlin: Was there a camp here beforehand [at the university]?
>
> Simon: Now there were… what prompted the whole thing was… when I left Canada in the '70s; there really weren't any… late '70s… there really weren't any camps at universities. And then going back and visiting in the summer, I noticed this explosion of every American and Canadian university had these sports camps, in the summer, when they were dead quiet. And so, uhh, I just took the idea and ran with it… researched it here… there were some universities doing stuff, but it was most likely to be a basketball camp, and it was an outside agency that came in and ran it. There was no sustained… sustained, umm, camps running. Then I found one in WA… I found…. found a little bit of history there. So, I just researched it all, and over the space of the next year or two… so I would go back, and it was late '90s before we implemented it… I would go back and so did [colleague]…, we looked at them all, and we just started them up. So, we used the model of the Canadians and Americans in particular, and we used Western University in Canada, Indiana University in the US, I think we went to San Diego State, University of British Columbia, McMaster University… we picked about five or six and examined how they ran them and Australianised it and introduced it ourselves.

Although many holiday programmes in Victoria are based off an entrepreneurial model, where external organisations run the programme, a college department within the university operates CS1. Simon comments on this…

Simon: Sometimes, they were controlled by the coach of sport, like in the US, they sometimes… The basketball coach… that's how they earned extra money. The Indiana soccer one was huge, even brought international coaches, umm, and uh, the soccer coach I think ran that. Quite often some of the elite camps in the US were run by the soccer… by the coach of that sport. But there was a mixture… The American's were quite… quite entrepreneurial.

The USA programmes were also commonly single sport programmes, with athletes from the universities involved in the running of activities. There were multi-sport (or smorgasbord) programmes, but these were far less popular at the beginning (Baka, 2009). Simon has attempted both styles of the programme, but found that one factor provided the impetus for multi-sport programmes to flourish in Australia:

Simon: …single sports camps kinda… haven't been as popular as you might think they would be because… I think children are swamped when they do a single sport here anyways. Cos, it is a club system and not a school-based system… they go all year, there is like spring season, summer season, winter season. So, when they go do a camp, they don't want to do that sport again. So, they are sick of it.

Although this sports camp offers single sport options, the multi-sport programme was the most popular. Children of all ages participated in the multi-sport programme, with young children aged 5-7, the largest group. The sports camp is most popular in summer when the university is quietest. Parents can meet/drop off their children in the basketball halls − two large basketball courts near the front of the university. There were several other halls and spaces used throughout the two weeks including a futsal/volleyball court, a dance hall with high jump mat, 25m-lap pool, a gym, exercise room, spin cycle room, and outdoor fields for cricket and football.

According to the website, the multi-sport holiday programme is a space for children to learn new skills that will extend beyond the sport court. The following comes from the information page for the sport camp:

By the end of the week your kids will have a new spring in their step!

> Your child will be individually assessed and placed with players of a similar age and skill level. They will develop sport-specific and other life skills across a range of new and traditional sports ("VU Sport Camps," 2016).

These sport and life skills will be taught by "experienced coaches …studying Bachelor of Sport Science, and Masters of Sport Science" ("VU Sport Camps," 2016). These are important points that underpin CS1's philosophy and shaped the activities on offer at this programme. Chapter nine discusses the philosophy of all three case studies in relation to the broader themes that emerged within the holiday programmes.

Case Study Two

The second MSHP is in one of the more affluent areas of inner Melbourne, with the average house selling for $1,650,000 in December 2016 (REA 2016). The holiday programme is in Albert Park (CS2), 4.5km south of Melbourne CBD, and the municipality has the highest median weekly income of all three case studies ($1,403/week) (Profile.id, 2016).

CS2 operates from a large sport and aquatic centre jointly funded by the state government and local council. The facility is world-class, with the swimming pools, basketball, badminton, volleyball, and squash courts used for world championships and past Commonwealth Games events (see Figure 8 and 9 for layout).
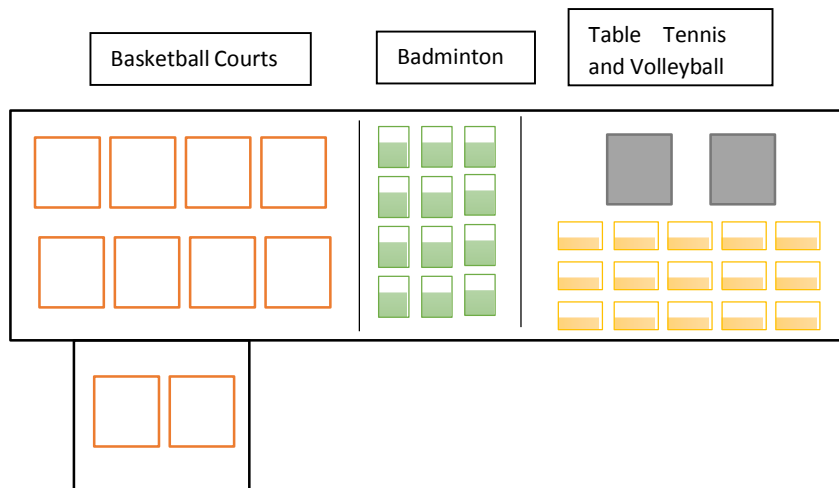
Figure 8: Stadium Court Layout
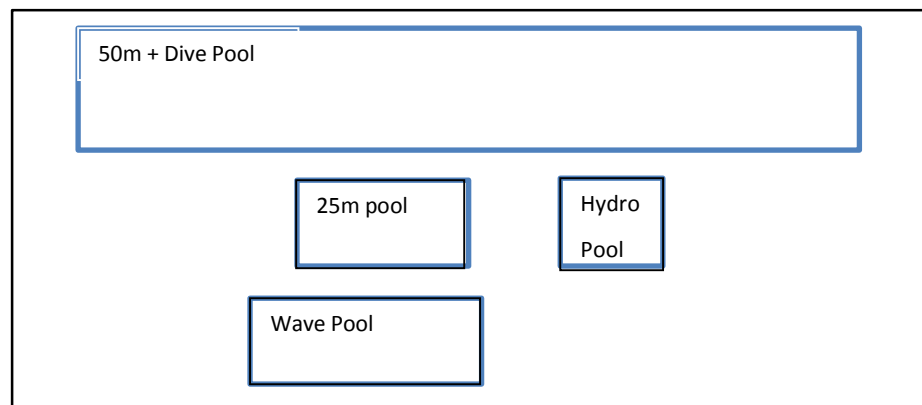
Figure 9: Pool Space

As you walk through the main glass doors of the facility, the very distinct smell of chlorine hits your nostrils and depending on what time of day, children's laughter while they play. The smells and sounds envelop you, with the outside noise immediately vanishing as you step inside. Through the main glass doors, intense lighting and promotional material greet the patrons throughout the oversized foyer. Directly to the right of the foyer entrance is a café; a little nook enclosed by glass windows looking out onto the street. To the left of the entrance is a popular high-performance sports-wear shop. On the windows of the shop, ten-foot-tall posters of muscular athletes catch your eye (see Figures 10 and 11 below).

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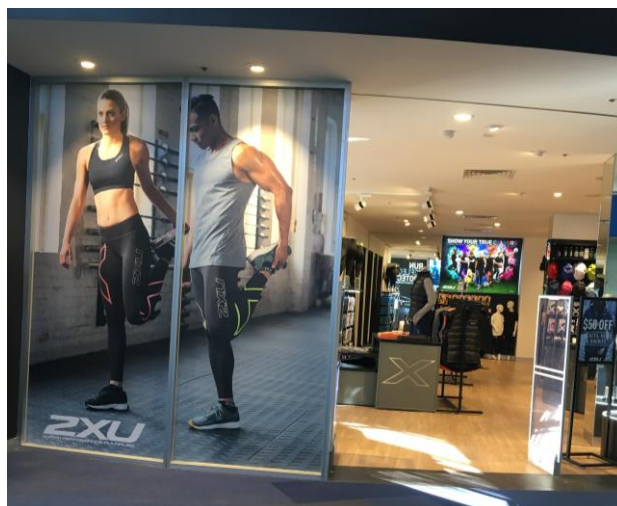
Figure 10: Poster 1, Located in the centre entrance
(Photograph taken by Caitlin Honey on 04/04/2015)

Figure 11: Poster 2 to the right of the shop entrance
(Photograph was taken by Caitlin Honey on 04/04/2015)

The holiday programme has been in operation since the opening of the facility, located in the stadium area of the centre. The smell of chlorine evaporates with every step toward the stadium area, replaced by sweat, and the rubbery smell of basketballs. To get to the holiday programme, you must walk past the badminton and volleyball/table tennis 'halls' – two single doors in an archway that opens up to vast spaces for all three sports. There are three full-size volleyball courts, 30 table tennis courts, and 20

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badminton courts. Once past the halls, you stand in a second foyer for the basketball courts (see Figure 12 below).

Figure 12: Basketball foyer, CS2
(Photograph was taken by Caitlin Honey on 04/04/2015)

No matter what time of day, there are always young men, around the ages of 15-30, kitted out in basketball shorts and jerseys, bouncing basketballs in the foyer and chatting to their friends. In my time at the holiday programme, it was rare to see women playing basketball, and if they were, it was unlikely to see them in branded basketball gear. The women often wore running tights and sports brand t-shirts. There are eight basketball courts for general use, and two private show-courts. Glass encloses the eight basketball courts, providing a view from the basketball foyer into the stadium. Large, black sheeting blocks the show court windows, so bystanders cannot see into the court area.

In contrast to CS1, CS2's philosophy centres on keeping children "active and engaged throughout the school holidays and includes excursions", and promotes the use of the "amazing sports, aquatic and recreational facilities, including swimming and stadium sports" ("Planet Sport School Holiday Program," 2018). Unlike the other programmes,

CS2 also has a handbook for parents that include policies, guidelines, and behaviour management information. Part of the behaviour management plan includes:

> Disruptive behaviour is not tolerated at the … Program. It may be disruptive to other children, … staff, contractors or themselves. Disruptive behaviour can include physical or verbal disruptions. The following steps will be taken if such behaviour occurs:
> - *First incident- verbal warning*
> - *Second incident- isolation from activity*
> - *Third incident- parent/guardian will be contacted*
>
> Continued disruptive behaviour over a holiday period may result in a parent/guardian being asked to withdraw their child from the program. Restrictions may apply to future program enrolments ("Planet Sport School Holiday Program," 2018).

Of the three MSHPs, CS2 was the only one with a behaviour management plan. Interestingly, their philosophy focuses on children's engagement and use of facility rather than skill development and education, as seen in CS1 + 3.

Case Study Three

> During the school holidays, [CS3] not only offer sports classes teaching the basic skills for their development, we also coordinate a range of fun activities to keep your child entertained.
>
> [CS3] Holiday Programmes are sports orientated for children 4 to 12 years old. The program is designed for children with an emphasis on fun, enjoyment and maximum participation. All participants are encouraged, educated and entertained during their time spent with their … coaches.
>
> Our upcoming holiday programs are action packed with sports, treasure hunts, modified games and activities to keep your children entertained throughout the school holidays. [CS3] includes sports such as cricket, hockey, volleyball, soccer, basketball, baseball, footy, touch rugby, ultimate Frisbee, gymnastics, circus and crazy games. These sessions are designed to help kids develop their basic skills including kicking, throwing, balancing, spatial awareness, technique and game-sense in an exciting, friendly and supportive environment (Case Study 3, 2018).

The philosophy of CS3 closely aligns to physical education curriculum frameworks that support the development of children's physical competencies, while empowering them in supportive environments (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995).

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CS3 is in Hadfield (an outer suburb of Melbourne), 13.2km north of the CBD. Although the municipality's median salary is above the greater Melbourne average, Hadfield has a lower average weekly income per household (Profile.id, 2016).

CS3 operates as a franchise that includes holiday programmes, sport-based before and after school care, and physical education programmes in primary schools. The franchise runs various programmes in 24 locations across Victoria. This holiday programme uses the gymnasium/auditorium and outdoor facilities of a small Catholic school in the residential area of Hadfield. The outdoor facilities are new, with astroturf covering most surfaces including the sporting ovals and basketball court. The franchise has been in operation for 18 years; however, the holiday programme has only been running for two previous holidays from this school (see Figure 13 below for layout).
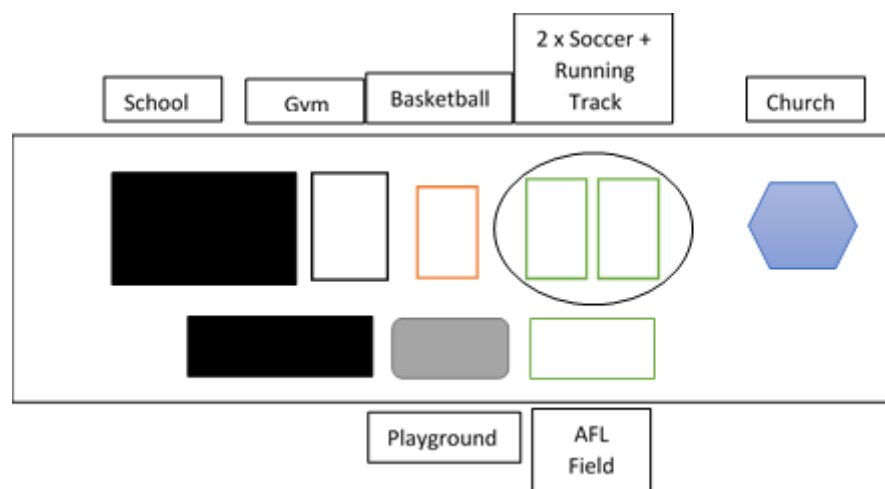
Figure 13: Layout of CS3

Enter: Sports Domain, a new type of Holiday Programme

The above provides insight into the differences between the case studies and their surrounding municipalities. Although the physical space of each programme differs, the format and offerings available to the children and parents were near identical at each location. Children play minor games and sports activities in the morning, have a snack break, play more games, eat lunch, then play games and sports again before their parents pick them up at the end of the day. This repetitious format is similar to a school day, except instead of learning about maths and English, children were learning about sport, health, and the body.

As the three MSHPs were all run in very similar ways, the following section attempts to capture what one-day looks like through an amalgam of the three case studies. I call this amalgam Sports Domain, and the following is a narrative that brings to life the action, routine, interactions, conversations and experiences of an average day in the holiday programmes.

Enrolling in the Programme

Prior to the children arriving, parents must first enrol their children into Sports Domain. The enrolment process is online, with the process taking around 20-30 minutes if you have all the relevant information on hand. The following outlines the step-by-step process it takes to enrol into Sports Domain, and provides figures for reference:

1. Upon clicking register for the Sports Domain programme, you are redirected to the My Family website
2. Register for the "My Family" app and website (QK Technologies, 2018)
3. Provide Guardian and Emergency contact details, including place of work and your own date of birth
4. Add your child's details including
    a. Their current medical doctor
    b. Allergies

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  c. Swimming competency

  d. Immunisations

  e. Behavioural issues (see figures 14, 15 and16 below)

5. Once this is complete, you will be redirected again to a payment page, where you fill in your credit card information and choose the dates to enrol your child.

Figure 14: Authorisation for children's activities at CS2

Figure 15: Child Enrolment Information

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Immunisations

If your child is not immunised for a medical reason, please upload an exemption form which you used for ACIR.

Upload exemption

Otherwise, please complete dates of when your child has received immunisations below:

Immunisation	0m	2m	4m	6m	12m	18m	4yr
13vPCV		Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕		
23vPPV						Not S ↕	Not S ↕
DTPa		Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕		Not S ↕	Not S ↕
HepA					Not S ↕		
HepB	Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕		
Hib		Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕		
Influenza				Not S ↕			
MenCCV					Not S ↕		
MMR					Not S ↕		Not S ↕
OPV/IPV		Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕			Not S ↕
Rotavirus		Not S ↕	Not S ↕	Not S ↕			
VZV						Not S ↕	

The service needs to sight either the child's Maternal Health record or the Medicare Immunisation record.
Please upload the Medicare Immunisation form below or alternatively you can bring the form to the office

Figure 16: Immunisation information

It is a requirement that parents provide this information prior to attendance, and with capacity limited to 70 children a day, pre-booking is essential.

Format of Day

Staff members arrive around 8 am and set up board games or tidy up the room and re-align tables before the children arrive. Most staff members are between the age of 18 and 25 and work part-time at Sports Domain. Outside of work, most complete bachelor's degrees in various courses, ranging from exercise and sport science to law and arts. All staff members must wear a uniform consisting of a bright blue t-shirt with the Sports Domain logo embossed on the front, their own 'activewear' tights or shorts, and runners. Around 70% of staff are female, and all look similar: tall and athletic with their hair pulled back in high ponytails.

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All staff seem relaxed and chat amongst themselves as they arrive. This time became a calm before the storm, where staff members prepare mentally and logistically, how they were going to run the day. Although the sign in was due to begin at 8:30 am, parents and children arrived from 8:15 am. Parents dressed in corporate wear were dropping their children off, often rushing through the sign in process, tapping on their phones as they kissed their children on the cheek in the hallway, before striding away to work.

The daily sign-in process was quite laborious, with parents required to fill in their own name and mobile number, and where they lived. This was a time-consuming task, and once 8:30 am hit, there was a line of parents that snaked down the hallway. The following excerpt gives further insight into the time between 8:30-9am, where parents are signing their children in, and there are no structured activities.

[1] Parents are all rushing through the sign in process, scribbling their details quickly, and looking for the door to drop their child off. One or two parents ask questions regarding the structure of the day; however, most parent's just drop their children off and leave their children at the sign in desk. Most questions revolve around the time they can pick up their child.

In the room, it is chaotic – children are running around and chasing one another, screaming and laughing loudly; parents are searching through their children's bags to ensure they have packed their goggles and water bottles; and staff members are standing in small groups, either discussing the day ahead, or chatting about their lives.

There are about 10 children sitting quietly on chairs usually reserved for putting bags down, none of them talking to one another. A handful of other children notice a loud and rhythmic thudding on the basketball courts on the level below and look down to see several male basketball players training. At first, two children step on top of bags and chairs to get to the window and 'green chairs' to watch, before another five or six children do the same. A staff member notices and tells them to get off the chairs, as anything beyond the 'green chairs' is out of bounds. There are several forlorn sighs at this comment, as the children trudge back into the middle of the room.

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At 9 am, the staff members gather at the front of the room and call all the children to sit down in front of them. There is excited chattering amongst the children as they sit down, especially those that have never been to Sports Domain before. One senior staff member introduces all the other staff and explains the rules to all children (no bullying, make friends, have fun etc.). Along with the introductions and rule announcements, identifying the lost property, and the consequence of losing items, became a morning ritual:

> [2] In this speech, a hat is dropped at the senior staff member's feet – He picks it up… "Lost property will be set up… Whose hat is this? (A young boy fidgets to get up) Is it yours?" As the boy stands up to collect it, the coordinator holds it away from him … "If you lose something…you have to do 5 push-ups. So, go down and give me 5" The boy gets down and completes the 5, the coordinator counting aloud while most people in the room laugh and cheer.

Once this almost corporeal morning routine is complete, the children change into their bathers and separate into two groups, based on age (5-8 and 8-12), before walking to the pool.

Pool Session

Children spent an hour in the pool every day. Of all the activities and sports offered, the children were most excited about being in the pool. Children had to do a swim test on their first day in the water, which involved swimming/paddling unaided from one end of the pool to the other (a total distance of 25 meters). If they were unable to finish the test, it was a requirement that the children wear a life jacket in the pool. One boy failed this test in the two weeks, and although I offered to wear a life jacket with him while in the water, he opted not to go in the pool.

There were two water-based activities for the children, each running for half an hour - free play, and playtime on the giant inflatable. Free play included the use of a starting block and the space of two lap lanes. The children would line up and dive or bomb off the block, or swim around in the 1-1.4-meter-deep water.

3   The younger children practice their diving off the starting blocks. They place 2 hands on the front of the block and split their legs, their back foot pressed against the very back of the board, and their front foot flat on the block.

4   3 boys in the lap lane begin to hit each other with noodles, making loud noises every time the noodle hits the water. They spray water everywhere when they hit each other over the head.

The children acted playfully in the pool, and it was rare to see unhappy children from the programme in these periods. The staff members would split up, with half getting in the pool, and the other half working as lookouts on the pool deck. Children doted on the staff members in the pool, jumping all over them, hanging from their shoulders, or splashing them. There was little to no structure in the pools, and children had plenty of opportunities to 'free play'.

Once the pool session was complete, the children and staff would head back to their home base, change back into the clothes worn in the morning, and have a snack. Lunchtime and snack breaks were repetitious rituals; thus, the following section is a merger of the discussions and observations that occurred in all food-related breaks.

Snack and Lunchtime

The children would return to home base for snack and lunch, where they spent 10-15 minutes eating food, and (in the case of lunchtime) 40 minutes playing board games and running around in the small allocated area. Most of the children sat in small groups with others of a similar age and sex. Children were quietest during snack and lunch,

often having conversations with one another about school, movies and television, or the sports and games they like to play. Although most of the chatter revolved around how they would spend their days outside of the programme, sometimes, the children referred to health and healthy eating. It was most common to hear comments about others' food choices, and whether they were 'good' or 'bad'. Some children could articulate what they consider to be good or bad food (in the below instance, a discussion concerning junk food and the importance of eating healthy began).

> Kayla: Junk food is like hot chips and like a lot more packaged food. So, if you just have fresh fruit then that is healthy but if you have a lot of umm chips and like the dim sims from the cafeteria and all that, that is junk food.

> Jessie: I also think if you eat too much unhealthy food you could get diabetes and that could make your body really sick and you might not realise until a long time in your life and then you might really badly injure yourself when you try to do something again, which is why it's good to just take a dog for a walk every night, that's also good. That's also getting a lot of exercise.

Kayla and Jessie were not the only children who spoke about healthy and unhealthy food. Some children mentioned 'brain food' – a time where you could only consume fresh or healthy snacks. The term 'brain food' came from a local school that some of the children attended, and although the staff had never heard the term prior to the holiday programme, they too began referring to snack times as 'brain food'. Those who attended the programme every day picked up the term quickly; however, most new children had never heard the term and would ask for clarification. For example,

> 5   After the game ends, the staff member calls for all the children to grab a snack. Jeremy comes up to me and asks:
>   *Jeremy: What do I eat for brain food?*
> He shows me his lunchbox that has some carrot sticks, biscuits and a sandwich.
>   *Caitlin: Well, what do you want to eat?*
>   *Jeremy: I am supposed to eat healthy food now*
>   *Caitlin: You can eat whatever you feel like!*
> He grabs his biscuits and walks away

Health food messages can come from many places, such as the home, school, community centres, and peers (Burrows & McCormack, 2014). 'Brain food' became an unofficial component of the Sports Domain during snack and lunchtime. Along with the verbal articulation of health food messaging, a second, more discrete health message pervaded the lunchtime rituals: pre-packed lunchboxes. Every day children carried with them a meticulously packed lunchbox, filled with nutritious and healthy foods. Small containers within the lunchbox separated each food item. Children would often eat one item at a time, carefully taking out each container, before placing it back in their lunchbox once they finished eating. The food ranged from carrot sticks and rice cakes to pre-cut fresh fruit, with the odd biscuit or packet of crisps in the containers. This health food message had come from the home, as parents packed their child's lunchbox. When coupled with the articulation of 'brain food', and 'good' and 'bad' food offerings, there seemed to be a reinforcement of healthy eating behaviours in this space.

Getting Sporty

Organised sports and structured games ran in the hour between snack and lunch, and for two-to-three hours in the afternoon. The first sport session was usually minor games and organised 'play', with very few organised sports at this time. Minor games included tag and team-based games to warm up and usually fostered the most participation, as they did not require knowledge or skills of the games prior to playing[18].

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[18]In this thesis, I consider play, games, and sports to be on a continuum, with play at one end and sport at the other. Throughout the observations, play was seen to be the least structured activity, before games (semi-structured), and sports (highly structured). Games were usually organised as a pre-cursor to the organised and structured sports, with both games and sports having winners and losers. Malaby (2007, p. 96) offers the following distinction between games and play, "[Play]… commonly signifies a form of activity with three intrinsic features. It is separable from everyday life (especially as against "work"; it exists within a "magic circle"), safe ("consequence free" or nonproductive), and pleasurable or "fun" (normatively positive)". Games can be defined as "a semibounded and socially legitimate domain of contrived contingency that generates interpretable outcomes". It is not that games cannot embody forms of plays intrinsic features, rather, they are not essential components of games (Malaby, 2007).

The afternoon sessions had more structure compared to the morning, with children separated into age groups (depending on the number of children in attendance this ranged from one group to four), to rotate around the activities organised. For example, on one occasion, football skills were organised before a competitive game:

6   Staff members get all the children together, put them into three age groups, and direct the groups to three stations:
Hand passing accuracy
Relay/bouncing/hand passing game and jack in the pack
Agility/Marking/Kicking/ Hand passing drills
When going through the AFL stations, no staff members' correct techniques, they just ensure all children get to play each game. Brady (staff member) is constantly encouraging children and congratulating them on their attempts. One young girl doing the agility drill whispers 'I've got this' under her breath to herself before taking off for the game.

Each staff member had their own approach to running activities. In the above excerpt, you can see that Brady is quite relaxed and does not focus on skill development. Not all staff members were this relaxed, however, as shown in the following excerpt.

7   Newcombe volleyball is introduced as a modified version of full court volleyball (the children can catch the ball and do not need to serve, just as long as they can throw the ball over the net). The staff members are encouraging fun, not technique for this game. Children are playing but enthusiasm has dropped markedly. In Newcombe, the children learn the positions and movements around the court. Everyone rotates each point so the 'serve' is given to a new child each time.
Once Newcombe is played for about 20 minutes, Staff member Melanie shows the correct technique to play volleyball and starts a full game. The children are all hitting the ball with their fists closed (one handed) – Melanie stops the game after a few minutes and strongly recommends that the children do not do it because it can lead to a wrist injury. The children continue to play like this anyway.

In contrast to Brady's facilitation style, Melanie encourages the children to learn the correct technique, to minimise the risk of injury. Along with the structured sports and activities, children also had opportunities to use the equipment how they pleased. Two children, Luke and Justin, often took balls into an open space on the basketball courts:

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8   Luke and Justin kick the soccer ball in the style of Gaelic football – I follow them and can hear Luke explaining the rules of the game to Justin. Luke tries to teach Justin how to kick the ball with the 'correct technique', but Justin is not interested. Luke notices that Justin is not interested in learning, turns to me and asks to kick an AFL ball with me instead. As I grab the ball, he notes that 'I am not good at football I just like it'. I tell him that I do not mind and ask if he wants to just have a kick. He hesitates but agrees while Justin begins to kick the soccer ball with the staff member.

Although Justin was competitive throughout the minor games, he showed very little interest in playing more structured games and sports. Justin was like many children, who played enthusiastically with the minor sports but shied away from competitive sports with higher degrees of skills.

Along with the sports and games, Sports Domain offered five fitness sessions over the two weeks. These highly structured sessions included learning how to work on your core, doing a beep test, running through a fitness circuit, and doing strength-based exercises.

Fitness

"This is James – he does fitness. You will all have to do the beep test…The Australian Cricket Team, the Socceroos…they all do it"

James incorporated games into his fitness sessions but promoted technical skills such as good posture and developing cardio fitness. In a conversation with James, he explains in more detail what his role as the self-proclaimed fitness dude entailed.

Me: What does a fitness dude do?
James: Drill Sergeant! Nah it is umm, Ummm, it is coming up with inclusive fitness-based things. Getting children used to a fitness environment. Like the senior group would go into the gym and just sort of get a feel for the gym environment, without actually… I don't get them to do bodyweight bench press or anything like that. But they you know just ummm get a feel for… what is required of them to actually be an athlete. Umm, you know, we will mostly focus on body weight exercises, and core strength. I teach them the value of

good posture and good eating for umm, for sport and umm, basically just get them to go away with a lesson of what it actually takes you know, an athlete to succeed.

Me: The fitness is a big part of Sports Domain, do you think?

James: With this age group, it's not… like lifting weights and stuff, it's not something you should incorporate into it… a fitness regime. It's really is just the experience thing for them. So, they have you know, like, this stuff is kind of fun, or maybe I don't think this sort of thing is for me, you know, you can't force every kid into it, but umm… their main fitness is going to be you know, sprinting around with the soccer ball… with dodge balls and stuff. It gets their muscles working and developing. As long as they are doing something… mission accomplished really.

Most children completed all the fitness activities, but they showed a lack of enthusiasm about each fitness activity throughout the two weeks. None of the children cheered each other on or encouraged others to keep going. It was more likely to see children slump down tired after doing an activity before sitting quietly with their friends.

End of Day

Once activities finished (around 4-4.30), the staff brought the children back to the 'home base', where a TV played a movie. The younger children came up first, some dragging their feet, some puffing and blushing from running around. From the time that they sit down to the time their parents arrive, about five of these younger children would come up to myself or a staff member and ask when they can go home. The younger children complained about being tired, and hungry, and towards the end of the week, sulk when other children went home before them. Most of the older children sat in small groups and talk or play board games while they waited for their parents. As the parents picked up their children, they often asked their child two questions: did you go in the pool? And did you eat your lunch? Both answers were often resounding yes's.

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The People

Parents

In the morning, most parents rushed in, striding quickly and tapping on their phones as they greeted the staff members at the sign-in table. Their children ran around and play, while they scribbled their emergency contact details down, calling their children loudly to 'give mum a kiss' before thrusting them towards the main room. Women usually dropped their children off, dressed in a variety of ways – some in casual wear, some corporate wear. The men who dropped their children off were mostly wearing business suits. Mothers often acknowledged each other, stopping in the hallway to chat to one another about the upcoming school term, the weekend birthday parties (often held at the facility), or their need to catch up more often.

On one occasion, a mum dropped her two children off on her way to work, and made sure to tell the staff member:

> [9] *Mum: Sarah can sit down and colour or something if she doesn't feel like playing. My son will love to play sports all day.*

Sarah's mum makes an important point regarding the choice of a school holiday programme. Research has shown that working parents have limited time, thus choosing a convenient childcare centre is likely to be important to them (Payne, Cook, & Diaz, 2012). Payne et al. (2012) note that convenience relates directly to commuting/distance, however, taking Sarah's mothers example, convenience may extend to dropping both of her children at the same venue, even if only one child prefers organised sport. Sarah makes comments that compliment this logic (on page 179) regarding her personal interest in sport.

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Staff Members

Staff members range in age from 18 and 50, with the majority in their late teens to early twenties. Three staff members were full-time teachers (a maths teacher, and two PE teachers), who worked on the holidays for extra cash; two were completing degrees to become teachers; three completing degrees in sport coaching, and one was an exercise science undergraduate student. Undergraduate students who worked in the holiday programme often used this time to mark off their placement hours for their degrees.

Of the eleven Staff members, seven were female and four males[19]. One of the staff members, Judy from the intermediate group, spent the first-week coaching tennis (as she plays tennis) elsewhere, and the second week with the multi-sport holiday programme. Judy is from Canada and had previously worked at an engineering camp in Ontario. She found the single-sport coaches different to the multi-sport and commented on the tennis coach she worked with in week one.

10   (Judy): She was a stickler for the rules, I mean there is value in having basic rules, but she would always yell at the children, even if was just for not standing behind the line (on the tennis court). It is always hard when you have teachers running these camps because the rules and boundaries you apply in the classroom; they don't always work here. What you do in the classroom, and what expectations you have… they should differ… I see her (the coach, Deanne) struggle to, you know, see the difference in these spaces.

Me: Is Deanne Australian?

(Judy): Yeah, and like, I have seen it before with others (Australian teachers) who are strict and run drills you know…I came here thinking the kids should be having fun, I mean it's not an elite camp. They can learn things here, but I like to make sure fun games go on. I have worked for heaps of years at camps, so

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[19]The results in this thesis show that females comprise 63% of total employees running MSHPs. This is in contrast to results from the 2018 Ausplay survey, with males representing 62% of the 1.5 million Australian adults engaging in coaching, sport instruction, training, or sport education (Australian Sports Commission, 2018). The gender distribution of staff found at these holiday programmes is closer aligned to the teaching and education sector, with women comprising 59% of total teachers in Australia (Freeman, O'Malley, & Eveleigh, 2014).

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> I know that you need to be a bit more flexible [as a teacher herself] … She was always yelling at the kids to get the drills right.

Most of the staff members in the multi-sport holiday programme adapted many sports so that children with various abilities could play them, with adaptations including minor games, small-sided games, and the use of modified equipment (such as larger balls). The staff members I observed were, overall, friendly and very helpful to most of the children. It was, however, difficult for the staff to manage large groups. At any one time, two staff members may have around 30-40 children in their care. This meant that although games aimed to foster engagement from all if children began to sit out, they often went unnoticed. This was usually through no fault of the staff members, as they had so many other children to care for.

Children

Children would divide into three groups at the holiday programme, based on age: junior (5-7), intermediate (7-9), and senior (9-12), with each group running similar games and sports every day. The junior and intermediate groups played more modified sports and games, whereas the senior group played more structured games and sports. Even in the times of unstructured play (such as first thing in the morning), the older children often created organised games.

11   The younger children (intermediate and junior) seem to be more carefree about games and sport, whereas the older children create organised games of half-court basketball and complete netball drills.

There were more boys than girls enrolled at Sports Domain. Staff suggested that children wear comfortable clothes that would suit sporting activities. Most of the junior children (5-7-year-olds) wore plain clothes, with no name branding, whereas the intermediate group (7-9-year-olds) wore sporting brands throughout both weeks. In the

first week, 5-6 boys turned up in soccer jerseys and shorts every day, with one of the boys bringing their own soccer ball to use during snack and lunch breaks. The jerseys were usually of European teams, such as Manchester United, and Liverpool; however, Patterson, one of the intermediate boys, turned up in a full Melbourne City kit on the final day of week one. Only one girl, Elisa, turned up in a soccer jersey (Barcelona FC), on her first day. The boys dressed in the soccer kits controlled most organised sports and games, for example:

12   Futsal: Staff members attempt to separate boys and girls to even out the teams, this does not work well, however, as the boys who would consider themselves 'good' at futsal only pass to one another, ignoring all other players (the quieter boys and all girls). This does not deter some of the girls, however, who still play competitively even if they do not have as much ball time. They chase and follow the ball, trying to get involved.

13   Two girls are doing ballet on the field while the ball is up the other end, but when the ball comes near, the game is on for them and both girls chase after it, with one of the two quickly chasing the other players for the ball, taking everyone on.

As this style of play occurred on most days, it is discussed in detail in chapter eight, with specific reference to merit and gender.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the similarities and differences between the MSHPs studied. Although the physical spaces varied, from small Catholic school space with one outdoor basketball court and a small playground to a world-class aquatic and sports facility, the general running of each day was near identical. Children arrived in the morning, play games or swim in the pool before eating a snack, play more sports before lunch, and then play sport in the afternoon before their parents picked them up once they finished work. The repetitive nature of each day allowed for easy identification of

three themes: healthism, meritocracy, and a nexus of gender and sport. The following chapter will unpack these themes in detail, these three themes, while also considering the importance of MSHPs as sites that can teach and socialise children.

Chapter Eight: Emerging Themes

Chapter seven provides details on the operational format of an MSHP. To further understand these spaces, the following chapter explores three themes that emerged throughout the data collection process: healthism, meritocracy, and gender. These themes intersected with one another and were clearer on some days over others. To fully capture the essence of why each theme is important, the first section of this chapter introduces the notion of pedagogy. Understanding pedagogy allows us to contextualise MSHPs as sites of socialisation and learning. As Giroux (2004) surmises, limiting the definition of pedagogy to the classroom may lend individuals to neglect the impact that other spaces, such as the home, sporting clubs, and MSHPs, can have on children's socialisation.

Learning Outside of the School Grounds

> Even when pedagogy is related to issues of democracy, citizenship, and the struggle over the shaping of identities and identifications, it is rarely taken up as part of a broader public politics - as part of a larger attempt to explain how learning takes place outside of schools or what it means to assess the political significance of understanding the broader educational force of culture in the new age of media technology, multimedia, and computer-based information and communication networks. Put differently, pedagogy is limited to what goes on in schools, and the role of cultural studies theorists who address pedagogical concerns is largely reduced to teaching cultural studies within the classroom (Giroux, 2004, p. 60).

It is important to consider areas outside of the school grounds as sites of socialisation and education. For example, the home, workplace, and sporting clubs may foster significant social and cultural interactions. Thus, I consider MSHPs as pedagogical sites, where knowledge exchange and education can occur. Children have the opportunity to learn within these spaces, question logic, and articulate their thoughts. Giroux (2004, p. 61) notes that,

> Pedagogy is not simply about the social construction of knowledge, values, and experiences; it is also a performative practice embodied in the lived interactions among educators, audiences, texts, and institutional formations. Pedagogy, at its best, implies that learning takes place across a spectrum of social practices and settings.

The physical space and those within it can contribute to the establishment of a pedagogic environment. Extending this, Wacquant (1992, 2004) captures the essence of the pedagogic environment in his ethnographic study of boxing. Through his research, pedagogy emerged in the mundane practices and settings in the gym and contributed to each boxer's education. For example,

> It would also convey, if imperfectly, the holistic and collective nature of the pugilistic education, in which each collaborates in teaching all others, every boxer functioning at every moment as a real or potential model for his peers to emulate or avoid. Even the material setting itself, from the life-size painting of Joe Lois high on the back-room wall to the colorful posters announcing past and upcoming bouts and the worn gloves, ropes, and headguards lined up on the coach's table, exerts a real if subtle educative influence (Wacquant, 1992, p. 240).

The formation of the pedagogic environment occurs through the collective elements of people, equipment, and space, working together. Wacquant (2004) cautions that the pedagogic environment is not automatic once you step into the gym; rather, you must understand with both your body and your eyes how to box. For example, one must first understand and know the movements of boxing to differentiate and evaluate other people's techniques. He calls this the *"dialectic of corporeal mastery and visual mastery"* (Wacquant, 2004, p. 118).

Similar to Wacquant and Giroux, I acknowledge that the people, physical space, and things within the MSHPs all contribute to the establishment of a pedagogic environment. Children are agents who can embody, resist, create, or accept knowledge provided to them, and MSHPs are sites that assist us in understanding the complex nature of

experiential learning. Further, Wacquant's assertion that one must understand something through their own body before they evaluate others will be useful to consider if children evaluate other's performances in activities or their food consumption.

MSHPs are cultural spaces where certain values and social practices may be present. Cultural spaces, such as MSHPs, can be the foreground for contestation of thought and education, with culture being something that "plays a central role in producing narratives, metaphors, and images that exercise a powerful pedagogical force over how people think of themselves and their relationship to others" (Giroux, 2004, p. 62). The pedagogical nature of culture has the potential to influence how an individual comes to understand, reject, or take up dominant knowledge.

The following sections will explore pedagogy through the three themes that emerged: healthism, meritocracy, and gender.

Healthism

Notions of health, the body, and food, emerged at all three case studies. These notions all supported neoliberal rhetoric of individual responsibility and appeared in two ways: through the physical space of the programmes, and the food choices and knowledge that children had about food. These ideas are part of the broader healthism discourse, discussed in the literature review.

The Visibility of the 'Slim and Fit'

As these were 'sport' based programmes, it is unsurprising to see the promotion of physical activity and healthy behaviours within these programmes. However, the imagery and normalisation of behaviours in these spaces suggest that there may be a reproduction of a narrow understanding of the 'healthy' body. Exposure to a physical

environment that supported organised sport and fitness activities became normalised for parents, staff members, and children. For example, children arrived and left near basketball courts where people were often training or playing organised games; gyms and exercise rooms were in plain view and used by the children for the fitness sessions, and lap swimmers shared the pool space.

In addition, posters adorned the walls promoting athletes, sporting clubs, and exercise groups/activities. Slogans such as "Who's Stopping You", and "Push the Limit", lined the hallway near the gyms and exercise rooms (see Figures 17 and 18 below, and Figures 10 and 11 in chapter seven). The poster with the slogan "Who's Stopping You" includes a mirrored image of a woman performing an exercise, putting forth the idea the only thing stopping her, is herself.
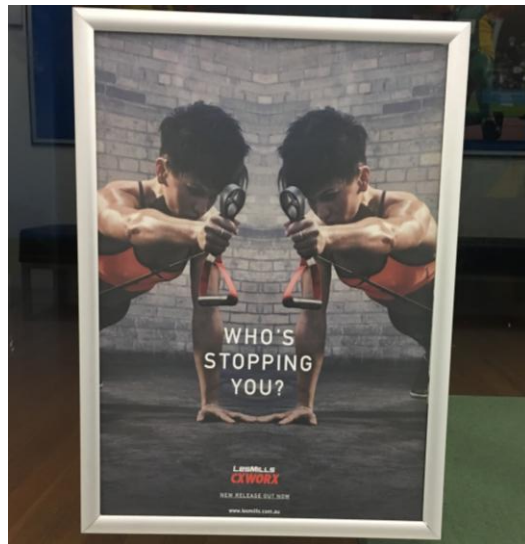
Figure 17: "Who's stopping you" poster, CS1
(Photograph taken by Caitlin Honey on 12/01/2015)
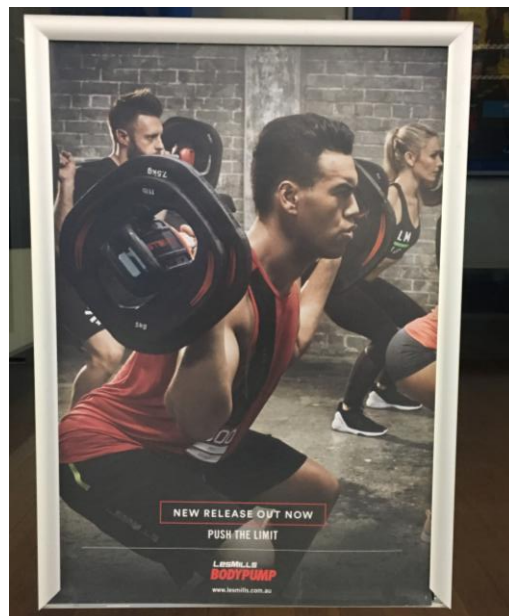
Figure 18: "Push the limit" poster, CS1
(Photograph taken by Caitlin Honey on 12/01/2015)

All the posters showed slim, athletic individuals, often in strong poses. Value and meaning are often inscribed on the body, and particular bodies hold more value than others (Evans et al., 2008). Further, "images are powerful cultural symbols that carry cultural meaning in addition to the object, event or individual captured within the border" (Sherry, Osborne, & Nicholson, 2016, p. 301). In the MSHPs, the slim, and athletic body held value.

Children would acknowledge the visibility of fitness equipment, organised sport, and athletic bodies and tied these to their own experiences. For example, one girl, Meg (aged 9), spoke to me at length about her fitness regime.

14   A young girl, Meg walks alongside me near the pools, and looks up at the exercise bikes in the gym:

> *Meg: Those bikes make your bum hurt so much!*
>
> *Caitlin: Yeah, I know!*
>
> *Meg: My mum has one at home, and after school every day, I ride it for like… 45 minutes*
>
> *Caitlin: Why do you ride it?*
>
> *Meg: I don't know, I just do*
>
> *Caitlin: Does anyone tell you that you need to ride it?*
>
> *Meg: No, I just like to do it*
>
> *Caitlin: Cool*
>
> *Meg: And yeah, over the holidays I have decided to cut out sugar… Cut back on sugar. Like I guess I eat less food too, like a diet, and I have to cut out sugar.*
>
> *Caitlin: So, you just eat less sugary foods.*
>
> *Meg: Yeah… as well as less food… I am just craving sugar though! My gymnastics coach, she wants everyone to keep training and make sure (pause)… we train. And that way I won't be overweight.*
>
> *Caitlin: Oh, I don't think you need to be worrying about your weight!*
>
> *Meg: No, but like… I feel better already from it*

> *Caitlin: From less sugar…*
>
> *Meg: Yeah, and cos like… I am gluten free*
>
> *Caitlin: Do you have gluten intolerance?*
>
> *Meg: No, but I went to the doctor and he told me I shouldn't be eating gluten, so mum makes me a smoothie every morning*

Meg could identify the link between the exercise bikes and her health practices outside of the programme. Her knowledge aligns with past research on children's ideas of health, and how they often tie notions of health to the body and exercise (Evans, Evans, & Rich, 2003; Gard & Wright, 2001). Interestingly though, she was one of the few children who made such overt comments about fitness. The exchange with Meg occurred while walking past the gym area, on the way to the pool space. Most other children became engrossed on the pool space once it was in view and did not pay attention to the exercise bikes and fitness equipment.

The pool space both supported and challenged the dominant logic of how to use lap lanes and swimming pools at aquatic facilities. There were always people swimming laps methodically in the lanes beside those allocated to the MSHPs. For the paying patrons (not the MSHP children and staff), the lap lanes fulfilled a fitness-based and recreational purpose, by providing a space to engage in physical activity. Some children used the daily routine of going to the pool to refine skills by practising their swimming and diving techniques. On more than one occasion, I observed,

15   Children practice diving off the blocks, scoring each other out of ten on their techniques

Although some children performed in ways that looked to develop the skill/technique of swimming in the pool, free play frequently occurred. Most children engaged in playful behaviour and used the space to make as much noise as possible.

16   I spend the time in the pool – the children are extremely happy jumping all over the staff. Some of the children are diving off a platform – I show

them my best dive – I tell them I am a professional diver who has lots of experience. I make sure to line up perfectly and jump in the pool in the most ridiculous way possible, splashing everyone around me. The children all cheer for me and try to copy my handiwork for about 10 minutes.

17   2 girls race on foam noodles and ask to be judged who is fastest. They swim as if they don't have a noodle in between their legs, their noodles knocking into each other

Research suggests that children's sport and physical activity needs to focus on fun to keep children engaged (Hemming, 2007). In this instance, the children were flexible in understanding and using traditionally rigid sports spaces as sites of disorganised fun. When allowed to use the pool how they pleased, most children negotiated the traditional role of the space by engaging in fun, free play. Children did not have many opportunities outside of the pool to challenge the intended use of the spaces. Thus, they spent much of their time in fitness rooms, and on basketball courts, practising skills and drills of those sports.

Food and the Body

The second facet of the healthism discourse focuses on the body, food choices, and knowledge of good and bad foods. The staff running the MSHPS often identified links between healthy eating, the body, and sport. For example, one of the managers iterated the need for healthy food choices when discussing past-sponsorship by a local fast-food establishment.

Simon: I have… have worked with the staff members here to try and get sponsors. I used to go out and get it myself, but it is a lot of work. We had Hungry Jack's for many years; because I had a bit of a connection there but the mix… they recognised the mix isn't right. Unhealthy food with a sports camp…

For the manager, fast food and sport was not a viable mix. He saw the implications of running sports activities and then providing 'unhealthy' food options. Other staff

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members referred directly to children's bodies and the impact of unhealthy food choices:

> Isobel: Yeah… And like a fat kid, if you are going to keep eating all that shit… I am more for unhealthy eating when it is a treat, but I am so against eating it all the time.

Isobel tied the physical body to the type's food eaten by children and placed responsibility on the child for eating those foods. Further, two staff members, James and Catherine, saw the direct potential for shaping (quite literally) children's understanding of the body and health in MSHPs.

> James: You could… You could split the group in half. Quite easily and say, parents who are sending their kids here, like it's a fat-camp or something like that.
> Catherine: Oh yeah, we have had a few parents like that. They say… is my kid going to be running all day?
> Caitlin: Really…
> Catherine: Yeah…There is one boy that we have had a lot of success with, who came to the camp, 2-3 years ago, and was sort of quite solid. And then over the years, he hit puberty or whatever and got skinnier and now he is leaner and now he is playing footy, and he just looks fantastic, so you know…

Although well-meaning, the staff members often put a value on a 'fit' and 'lean' body in these spaces. Similar to a school, MSHPs can reinforce particular knowledge about the body and the body's potential to be a marker for health (Evans et al., 2008; Tinning & Glasby, 2002). Further, these spaces may "place young people under constant surveillance, and [press] them towards monitoring their bodies; not through coercion, but by facilitating *knowledge*" (Evans et al., 2008, p. 393). Facilitation of health knowledge occurred through staff member comments, like those above, and through the children themselves.

Unlike the staff, children did not focus on body shape or size. Rather, they focussed on what constitutes good or bad food. For example, once a week, the children and parents had to pack healthy food (Healthy Friday):

[18]

> *(Staff member) Melanie: You shouldn't bring anything in a wrapper… Bring fruit and vegetables and a healthy sandwich.*
> One child exclaims that these are practices they complete daily
> *Ashton: I always have healthy food*
> He announces his lunchbox items – Capsicum pieces, savoury biscuits, cheese. Melanie notes that it is a very healthy lunchbox.

Children are often "well-versed" (Wright & Burrows, 2004, p. 211) in the discourse of healthism, and can articulate their knowledge on the topic clearly. Within the MSHPs, the children discussed healthy eating and food choice uncritically, with little to no reflection on factors affecting food, and activity choice. Ashton comments on his habits; however, children were also vocal in discussing what others were eating and whether their food items were 'good' or 'bad'.

[19]

> Ashton asks if he can buy fish and chips – I tell him he can do what he likes because I am not in charge.
> The other boys on the table yell out *'no!'*
> > *Marcus: It is one day a year that you have to eat healthy*

And on another occasion:

[20]

> Andy has Oreo's, cake, and cheezels left for lunch
> > *Sarah: You can't have that… it is unhealthy!*
> Andy laughs and says that he has it packed and will have his banana later
> > *Sarah: But that is bad for you!*
> Andy ignores her, continues to eat biscuits…Justin sits down, and sees Andy eating biscuits… He looks shocked at the staff member, and then back at Andy
> > *Justin: What... what are you eating? You can't eat that!*
> > *Samantha (staff member): He has it packed for him, he is allowed*
> Justin shakes his head and stares at Andy as he eats the biscuits… Justin looks dismissively at him before saying: *That is really weird!*

The obligations to not only eat healthily but to also ensure those around you are doing so, was common among the children. Children would view others' food, and place value on it based on their previous knowledge of good/bad nutrition. Brain food (discussed in chapter seven) provides an example of children placing value on foods eaten. As Burrows and McCormack (2014, p. 167) note, some children "appear to have swallowed food and exercise imperatives whole. They 'know' what they should be eating, how they should be moving and try their best to enact food and exercise guidelines in their daily lives". For Sarah and Justin above, seeing Andy eat biscuits during a healthy eating period (it was 'brain food' time for them), was uncommon, and judging by Justin's indignation, almost absurd. Both Sarah and Justin, and many other children in the programme took opportunities to educate others on what they thought were the correct foods to eat.

For some children in this programme, however, articulating the healthism discourse was far easier than engaging with the discourse:

21   Lunch: Quite a few children have cash that their parents have given them, and they can purchase anything from the café. The food purchased was predominantly fried or sweet – potato cakes, chips and donuts.

22   The children purchase fried foods – hot chips and potato cakes are the main things I see people buying. A 13year old in the senior multi group has a red bull.

23   The children who come back from the café eat potato cakes, dim sims and hot chips.

Figure 19: A choice of the foods available at CS1
(Photograph taken by Caitlin Honey on 11/08/2017)

When children had the opportunity to purchase food, they opted for fried or sugary/sweet foods (Figure 19 provides a vision of the foods on offer). All cafes within the case studies offered sushi, fresh sandwiches, and wraps, however, children always went for the potato cakes and dim sims. In these instances, children contradicted the logic of the healthism discourse, even though there was a saturation of health messages in this space (imagery on the walls; staff members promoting healthy food choices; and other children discussing 'good' and 'bad' food). This contradiction extends research on children's ability to be active in the learning process (Hemming, 2007). Children, in this case, made decisions to eat fried food although the promotion of healthy food options saturated the space - on the walls and through staff promotion of health food.

The discourse of healthism played out within the MSHPs in a partial way. It seemed more common to hear and see staff members engaging in healthy (moral) conversations and educating children than the children taking up this discourse uncritically. Some children could clearly articulate the discourse; however, when given the opportunity to make choices regarding the discourse, most children chose not to engage. An example includes children purchasing their own food for lunch. Thus, children may participate

in the performance of healthy eating, albeit in disjointed and at times contradictory ways[20].

Meritocracy

As noted in the introduction, meritocracy underpins neoliberalism. Further, there is an implication that there is a system of merit in society based on a hierarchical social order that naturalises intelligence as inherent from birth (Littler, 2013). The following section explores how children and staff members negotiate the meritocratic discourse in three ways: first, through children challenging the discourse; second, when children take up meritocracy to control games and sports; and finally, when staff members deviate from the discourse to offer up alternative ways of playing games and supporting children.

Resist the Fitness

Staff members would provide the children with repetitious and methodical movement patterns to teach them new physical skills and tasks. This style of learning is a popular pedagogical technique. However, it leaves little room for alternative ways of learning (Leyva, 2009). The fitness sessions provide one such example of this teaching method. Children would spread out around the exercise room before learning to do exercises such as squats. James, the staff member in charge of fitness, would demonstrate a proper squat before getting the children to perform it. He would wander around the room, correcting techniques as he went, calling out for the children to do more squats so he

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[20] Two points must be made here: it is not negative to see children challenge the rhetoric, and where possible decide for themselves what foods they wish to eat. Further, it was not negative to see so many children taking up the food and healthism discourse whole. On one hand, you have children finding a voice when it comes to making their own food choices, and on the other, you have children engaging in healthy eating behaviours because they know it is 'good' for them. Very little discussion emerged on why the foods were good or bad, so it is worth considering alternate knowledge and learning opportunities available to children, to ensure they are learning about moderation, and reasons for eating healthy food.

could watch them. Most children would complete the task with little to no complaint; however, some children actively challenged the logic of doing such tasks. For example,

24   James spends 10 minutes teaching the correct technique. A game is created – like musical statues but children must hold a squat when the music is turned off. If a child falls or is not squatting properly they must sit out.
Core exercises are next up for the children, who get Pilates mats to lie on. One child begins to roll around on the floor after the exercise begins. James turns to me, facing away from the young boy and says…
    James: There is always one ADHD kid in the group
He then turns back to the child and tells him to stop rolling around on the mat before returning to the group.

James believed the child had an attention disorder, and that was the simple explanation for the child's lack of interest in learning core exercises. For James, this child was as a problem. I watched the child for a few minutes while James focused on the group, and although disinterested, the child looked to be having fun rolling on the Pilates mat. James was more interested in what Adler and Adler (1994) call "adult-structured activities [that] encourage professionalisation and specialisation, opposing children's unorganised tendencies toward recreation and generalism" (p. 324). The young boy seemed unaware that his actions were negative, rather, attempting to keep himself entertained during the session.

A second example emerged during one of the beep test sessions.

25   The children (and staff members, James and Melanie) begin the beep test, while staff members on the side-line motivate children, and implore them to slow down so they do not waste energy.
The first child to drop out is an intermediate boy – Anthony- at 4.1, and he slowly walks over towards his bag. Staff members Christian and James move toward him:
    James: That is not good enough… You can keep going… do more…
Anthony does not reply but looks back at James
    James: Jump back in now and keep going… you need to do more

Anthony slowly turns and joins the group with his head hanging low. Two more children drop out in quick succession, leaving Anthony to finish again, this time with no one questioning his actions. He does still need to go over to his staff and tell them his score.

From level 6 onwards more children drop out, puffing hard and sweating, with several children stating that they could have done better, or have done so in the past. One child goes onto level 11 – once he finishes his run, the staff all cheer and clap, with very few children interested in this boy at this point. Many are just sitting quietly against the wall, chatting to one another or asking the staff members for food and drink breaks.

Unlike the boy in the first excerpt rolling around on the Pilates mat, Anthony was not performing in alternate ways for more enjoyment. In the above instance, the staff members placed value on talent and effort, over Anthony's desire to pull out of the task (Adler & Adler, 1994). Anthony was not the only disinterested child during the beep test; however, he was the most overt in rejecting the task.

At any one time, only one or two children would challenge the staff members' choice of activity, such as Anthony above. However, on one occasion, the staff members lost control of the entire group in a fitness session. The session was a circuit and included quick steps through a ladder on the ground, mini hurdles to jump over, long poles to dodge between, and backwards running between cones.

26   The children are told to line up and complete ten sets of the circuit. After two circuits, the children begin to get rowdy and kick the hurdles and dawdle between sets. The staff members are now yelling at the children to do the activity properly, to no avail. The children are chasing each other now, flicking the equipment out of the way as they do so.

After another 5 minutes of this activity, James gives up, moves all the equipment out of the way, and sets up a game of tag.

The children looked as though they were having more fun skipping through the circuit, knocking cones over, and kicking hurdles. Children had little interest in performing the circuit properly, instead opting to create their own fun. These fitness sessions were highly structured compared to other activities run throughout the two weeks, and unlike

the fitness activities, the sports and activities had fun components incorporated into the games played. James, the staff member in charge of fitness, may have viewed the opportunity to learn a skill, such as squats, as a fun activity. For adults, "fun often means becoming totally absorbed in an activity in which they are trying to improve, a kind of fun that is found in training" (Siedentop, 2002, p. 397). For children, however, there is often less desire to compete, to train for competition, and develop skills in a rule-based manner (Siedentop, 2002).

Value of Performing Sport

Children, especially the boys in the programmes, often praised one another during competitive games and activities. A small group of around four or five boys (different boys depending on day and venue) controlled most games, by passing the ball to each other, telling other children where to stand, and taking the ball off children that they believed were not as competent at the sport. For example, Hugo, one of the older boys, took control of a game of cricket one day.

> 27   On the fielding team, Hugo moves players to positions he thinks will work for the game – When people take their time to throw the ball back or bowl the ball, he would yell "what the hell?" at them.
> The fielders spread out, in no particular place – but Hugo is trying to cover gaps. When a girl comes up to bat, he stands on her off side, very close, with his hands on his knees, which are slightly bent.
> Anthony (who is on Hugo's team) makes a comment about his team winning - and Hugo tells him that he has not got any of the wickets or taken any catches, so it is not him winning.

Hugo's comment to Anthony is one of the more striking moments in this excerpt. Although he was on the same team, Hugo did not consider Anthony's contribution to be valuable, therefore reinforcing the neoliberal meritocracy of sport – where unskilled and lazy individuals are to blame for their incompetence (Littler, 2013). Not all children engaged in the same way Hugo did. Some children - those considered good at sport -

did so in a subtler way. This included only passing to other players and friends whom they thought were good at sport and ignoring those they thought did not perform to a high standard. For example, during a game of futsal,

28   The red team come on – a number of good soccer players on the team dominate possession, but Charlotte calls openly for the ball, goes after and challenges plays. She is ignored every time she is open and ready for the ball to be passed her way, but it does not deter her.

There was a reproduction of meritocratic values with the boys passing to one another in many games – they saw value in each other's skills and assumed that they were the only ones on the team who possessed these values. For the boys, being skilled at sport was a valued commodity. When considering the girls, however, the boys would assume that they did not possess the skills required. Charlotte was one of a handful of girls who attempted to break down this barrier by actively contesting the dominant gendered discourse within this space. I saw hegemonic gender norms throughout the two weeks at each venue, with children engaging and contesting these norms.

The staff members, in comparison to those small groups of boys, were often inclusive and encouraged most children to attempt an activity. Further, outside of the highly competitive games, like those above, the coaches modified games to engage as many children as possible.

Supporting Children's Sport

Although some of the facilities promote sporting excellence, through their design (Olympic standard swimming pools), promotion of healthy lifestyles (posters promoting a better you), or the visibility of elite athletes (such as the basketballers training (see page 141)), it was refreshing to observe the staff modify games and promote more causal styles of play. Positive coaching relationships can enhance young

people's experiences with sport (Fraser-Thomas & Côté, 2009), and when the staff members promote inclusion in activities, it can foster these positive experiences. Most of the staff members in this programme gave positive feedback and engaged all children while emphasising fun.

Côté and Hay (2002) posit that sports need to be fun for children to maintain or develop an interest in them. This is especially important as children first enter into sport, sometimes called the sampling phase (Côté & Hay, 2002). The sampling phase includes playing many sports and activities and emphasises fun through play. Free play and deliberate play are two of the most common styles of play, with deliberate play seen in these case studies. Deliberate play includes aspects of organised sports, with play aspects included, such as kicking a ball around with no end goal. There are explicit rules for organised games and sports; however, these rules may be modified to give more opportunity to those in the game (Côté & Hay, 2002). Modification may mean less emphasis on the techniques of children, and more emphasis on engagement with the activity. Côté and Hay (2002) further note that,

> Adults' concern in the sampling years should be on creating games that allow children to have fun, helping them develop and maintain a positive attitude towards sport, and helping them acquire fundamental motor skills such as running, throwing, and jumping (p.491).

Overall, the staff members provided positive feedback to the children when they play games and sports. Their positive attitudes helped to foster an engaging space. On most occasions, coaches created activities to be as engaging as possible for the children; however, girls and boys still played differently.

Gender and Sport

Sport is a site where social practices reinforce gender norms (Caudwell, 2003; Messner, 1988, 2011; Shaw & Amis, 2001). For example, children and staff members reinforced the stereotype of boys being naturally better at sport, along with the assumption that girls are not interested in sport in all three case studies. The stereotyping went hand in hand with the meritocratic discourse, with boys receiving praise for their effort and skill as they physically control games.

The assumption that girls are not interested in sport emerged in three distinct ways. First, girls would lack the confidence to play sports and would walk off the court or field during games. Second, boys perceived the girls to lack the ability to play games and sports, making it look as though girls did not want to get involved in games. Finally, staff members made assumptions about girls' abilities that normalised the gendered discourse. The following will detail each assumption and how it played out within the MSHP space.

"I am not good enough to play"[21]: *Girls' Self-Perceptions of Ability*

It was common to hear girls, especially those around the age of 9-10, express concerns about their ability to play organised sports and games. If the girls did not think they were going to be competent at the activity, they often sat on the sidelines. By the end of the holiday period (for all cases), most girls' interest had waned in the activities, with small groups of girls sitting out of the structured activities. For example, one of the young girls, Natasha, told me that she did not want to play cricket.

> 29   When fruit salad the game is organised, Natasha stands back up with the group, but turns around and tells me she does not want to play. The same

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[21] Quote from Sarah at Case Study 3

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thing happens when cricket is organised, but her sister, Rebecca hears her:

> Rebecca: Come on… let's go sit down
> Natasha: No, I don't know how to play
> Rebecca: Neither do I, but it will be fun
> Natasha: No, it won't

This comment supports a recent review of the literature, stating that girls are often stereotyped as having poorer competence in a range of tasks (Chalabaev, Sarrazin, Fontayne, Boiché, & Clément-Guillotin, 2013). This perception can be external and internal, with Natasha exhibiting internal stereotyping of her ability.

As noted previously in this chapter, staff members were inclusive and supportive of all children through most of the games. However, even when the staff promoted inclusive practices, some of the girls questioned their ability even to try sports and games.

30   I pass a soft ball around the basketball court with Sarah

> Caitlin: what is your favourite sport?
> Sarah: I love football
> Caitlin: what kind of football?
> Sarah: AFL
> Caitlin: oh, cool, would you like to kick a football around
> Sarah: No, I am not good enough to play it – I played Auskick, but it isn't on anymore.
> Caitlin: oh, you don't have to be 'good' – do you enjoy it?
> Sarah: Yeah, but I don't want to play, I am too hot

She goes and sits down

Sarah's self-perceived lack of ability acted as a barrier to sport participation, which is similar to findings in several studies of girl's participation (Chalabaev et al., 2013; Coakley & White, 1992; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006). Even though the staff members encouraged participation and fun, Sarah believed that she had to have a certain level of skill to engage in sports, and it was not something that she possessed (for AFL at least).

Both examples show Sarah and Natasha opting out of traditionally male sports. Research has explored the frequency in which children engage in self-defined gender-type sports or cross type sports (sports defined as the opposite to someone's sex), and

the relationship between stigma consciousness and participation in sport (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006). Children in the study ranked sports as girls only, boys only, or for both girls and boys. Children overwhelmingly rated dancing and non-contact sports such as gymnastics as feminine, and contact and competitive sports (such as football) as masculine (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006). Unsurprisingly, findings from the study suggest that more girls than boys played feminine sports, and more boys than girls played masculine sports. Further, there was a stigma surrounding those children who played cross type sports, with males taking part in feminine sports often characterised as homosexuals, or "girlie-girls" (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006, p. 552). This sheds light on the potentially gendered nature of sport for children, and the choices children may make when engaging in activities (Chalabaev et al., 2013; Coakley & White, 1992; Hartmann, 2003; Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006)[22].

The construction of gender norms in sport, including the dichotomy of masculinity/femininity, crosses various platforms and forums. For example, the media influence and promote gender norms through their reporting styles and promotion of certain sports over others (Bernstein, 2002; Cooky, Messner, & Hextrum, 2013; Koivula, 1999; McKay & Rowe, 1987; Messner, 2011; Shaw & Amis, 2001). Major sporting events themselves, such as games where men compete while women 'cheer' from the side-lines, can also perpetuate the discourses of femininity and masculinity (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003). Sport is such an integral part of Australian society, and through

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[22] Chalabaev et al., 2013 review literature surrounding the role of stereotypes and gender in sport and physical activity participation. Specifically, they explore the stereotypes associated with sex differences and performance in sports activities, such as the stereotype that men are naturally more competent at sports and physical activity than women. They note that studies considering the internalisation of stereotypes explain the sex differences seen in sports. However, there are several other theories, such as situational psychosocial theories, that impact sex differences in sport performance. Although there is evidence to suggest that traditional forms of stereotyping (internalising stereotypes) are declining, "research on ambivalence stereotyping… suggests that positive stereotypes about females may in fact reflect the maintenance of pro-masculine stereotypes" (Chalabaev et al., 2013, p. 142). For example, PE teachers would provide more praise and technical information to girls more than boys, which they suggest is due to the assumption that girls are less competent at the activities than boys.

the various mediums, such as media, major sport events, and children playing the games themselves, sport can be a socialising agent (Chalabaev et al., 2013).

It becomes difficult to challenge masculine discourse, especially when it is so pervasive in society, including at the MSHPs. Throughout the case study research, there were instances where the staff did attempt to challenge the norm and support the girls who expressed concern regarding their own skills. For example, one staff member in CS1 consistently praised girls whenever they made attempts to engage. Another staff member at CS2 would frequently sit with the girls on the sidelines and ask them why they were not engaging – this was short-lived, however, as the staff member usually had to help the other staff running the activities.

Most staff had around 20 children to deal with at any one time and did not hear the negative ways these young girls were speaking about themselves. They just saw forlorn girls walking off the courts, looking disinterested. Not all girls acted in this way toward the organised sport activities (as evidenced in the subsection "I've got this": Girls who Challenge the Dominant Logic); however, many girls would begin attempting games on the court or field, and if they had no opportunity or support, they often stopped trying. This would undoubtedly make it difficult to counter the moments of insecurity, expressed by girls like Natasha and Sarah. However, as Coakley and White (1992) note, if coaches continue to provide supportive and inclusive spaces, there is every potential that children's experience within MSHPs could help them negotiate the gendered world of youth sport in the future.

Are Boys Just Naturally Sporty?

From all the observations made of sports and organised games, there was never an instance where girls were controlling the games played. Boys at all three MSHPs tended

to take over all games offered. During competitive games, there were very few opportunities for girls to get involved, as boys would often only pass to one another, ignoring the girls on the field. Two observations of different games of soccer provide further insight.

31   The green bib team go to kick the ball in – Melanie (coach) points at Gabriel to take the kick (a boy who hadn't had much of the ball). There are 4 girls who are all free from their opponents, calling for the ball to the right of him. He kicks the ball straight to a pack of boys and loses possession of the ball in the process.

32   The orange team score and the boys in the team all cheer and celebrate loudly, clapping each other on the back. A girl is standing on the court alone, walks towards the boys but is ignored, so does not engage.

It was common to watch boys focus their attention on other boys, ignoring girls in the process. Research suggests that boys perceive themselves as more competent than girls at sport, and often reproduce masculine identity when playing sport (Messner, 2011). The traditional stereotypes surrounding sports for girls and boys played out in these spaces. However, as the examples (31 and 32 above) demonstrate, some girls were excited to play the sports offered, but boys would often ignore the girls, reinforcing the dominant logic of sport as a male domain.

When boys reinforce this logic of sport as a male domain, it affirms the cultural assumptions prevalent for girls' and how they should perform in sport (Messner, 2011). Coaches and boys within the programme often assumed that girls lacked the ability to play in the same way that boys did. For example, coaches amended games with the specific intent of engaging girls (such as Isobel adding extra balls for girls only). These assumptions limited girl's opportunities to engage, and as these programmes are short-term, there was little room for change to occur. The reproduction of sport as a male domain perpetuates the assumption that boys are naturally sporty (Messner, 2011). These spaces are not unique in their reproduction of dominant gendered logic. As noted

above, researchers have also examined the media's role in reproducing dominant gendered norms in sport media (Bernstein, 2002; Cooky et al., 2013), the gendered ways children interact in the playground space (Knowles et al., 2013; Ridgers et al., 2011), and how gender affects junior sport participation (Messner, 2011). The various research shows that, overwhelmingly, male sports and male athletes hold "inherently greater value than [their] female counterpart" (Shaw & Amis, 2001, p. 220). When there is little value placed on girls' sporting pursuits compared to boys', problems may arise for the girls. The girls become a sort of 'other'; they became imposters in the male domain of sport.

Staff Members Hold the Key to Participation

Staff members would often unconsciously reinforce gendered stereotypes during games and sports. Comments made to me or one another about children playing, seem innocuous, but often supported sport being a space for boys. In an interview with one of the staff members, Isobel, the topic of gender and sport came up:

> Me: So, you find that girls are more likely to be a bit resistant to playing sports.
>
> Isobel: Oh, yeah… It is like, the girls, and some of them I find that like, are really not poor at all… but you have to go 'ok remember to play netball, 'cos that is what the girls are gonna do' boys just do it because they have played football. It is the only fair thing.
>
> Me: Do you find the boys will play any game?
>
> Isobel: Oh, yeah. Most of the time, most of the boys will play anything, but it is like… they will go ok! This is a new challenge, which is always the funniest thing to do.

Through Isobel's experience with the programme, she notes that girls were less likely to play stereotypically male sports. This logic aligns with research by Schmalz and Kerstetter (2006) discussed above, where children distinguish between male and female sports. If Isobel is correct in thinking that girls do not wish to play traditionally male

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sports, then she is taking the well-meaning option of providing girls with a chance to play a 'female' sport. However, after observing three different case studies, it would be naïve to assume that girls simply did not want to play 'male sports'. Rather, two problems consistently emerged when girls attempted to play these male-dominated sports (such as soccer) and may deter them from continuing to play. The first point, discussed in the section above, includes the style of play and attitudes towards girls from a small group of boys that could deter others from wanting to play. Second, the language used by staff members that supports the dichotomy of male/female sports, and the assumptions around girls' ability. The second point could be soft essentialism at work; "a belief system that assumes natural differences between boys and girls" (Messner, 2011, p. 161).

If staff members believe there is a natural difference between girls and boys, and playing sports might mean girls sit out, the challenge for staff members thus shifts to 'what do I do for those that do not want to play'. Isobel again offered insight into this difficult situation.

> Me: So, I guess it is sort of like… what would you do with the children that do not really want to be there?
>
> Isobel: That's a challenge.
>
> Me: Can you give me an example? Is there a time where you have seen…?
>
> Isobel: Oh, we have like most of our games… there were the children who always overran everything… so we go…ok you have to take it to five different people before you can score the goal or make five passes – boy, girl, boy, girl… to yeah pass it. Just simple things like ok, I am including the blue ball, and that is for all the girls to throw. 'Cos normally that is the girls that are sitting out. Boys… you get occasionally one or two girls [in the game] … but usually, you get girls say 'oh I don't really want to be here' or 'they're not giving me the ball'… that is prime, like… 'Oh, you haven't given me the ball'… ok well, let's put in a different colour ball so everyone gets a fair turn…

Isobel's solution of putting a different colour ball in the field of play is inventive. However, it still supports the notion that people must modify sport for girls. Isobel was not the only staff member to reinforce this notion of game modification for girls.

> 33   *Melanie: This game is good; it gets people involved and makes them feel like they can win*
>
> *Me: Yeah, it seems a lot more relaxed*
>
> *Melanie: Yeah… like, there is still competition but like… girls can play too*

Adults often reaffirm the myth of natural physiological difference between girls and boys (Messner, 2011), as can be seen with Melanie's statement above. The assumption that games were for boys, and that all boys should be able to get involved pervaded this space. Every staff member seemed to articulate his or her desire for an equal opportunity; however, they often treated girls and boys differently in these case studies.

"I've got this"[23]: *Girls who Challenge the Dominant Logic*

It was not all a glib outlook for young girls, however. Although there were several instances that constrained girls' abilities to play, many girls managed to challenge dominant gendered logic, and the boys at the same time.

> 34   Staff members attempt to separate boys and girls to even out the teams, this does not work well, as the boys who would consider themselves 'good' at futsal only pass to one another, ignoring all other players (the quieter boys and all girls). This does not deter some of the girls, however, who still play competitively even if they do not have as much ball time. They chase and follow the ball, trying to get involved. 2 girls are doing ballet on the futsal pitch while the ball is up the other end, but when the ball comes near, the game is on for them and both girls chase after it, with one of the two quickly chasing the other players for the ball, taking everyone on.

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[23] Quote by young girl playing AFL at case study 2

35   The coordinator holds up a purple drink bottle and a junior girl stands up to claim it. She skips toward him and he holds up his hand and tells her to wait there. He goes through the other items (another bottle, a cap and 2 pairs of goggles) before turning to her and tells her to do 5 push-ups. She goes into the push up position (on toes elbows out) and completes 5 push-ups.

Coordinator: WOW! That is better than most boys!

36   A girl in the intermediate group (Elisa) turns up in a Barcelona FC shirt – her mum introduces her to Melanie, and Elisa runs off looking for a soccer ball – bouncing it from one end of the court to the other playing basketball with it (shooting hoops).

The girls above were actively challenging gendered ideologies and participating in various sports. Similar to research by Wedgewood (2004), the girls in these programmes were able to challenge the norms through alternate forms of gendered embodiment. If girls are shunned, ignored or made to feel less than adequate, then they could lose interest in sport.

The performance of meritocratic and gendered discourse was not a static and constant show. Although many activities promoted meritocracy (measuring ability in a test), children could choose whether they were to conform to the standards set or resist the norms. Gendered discourse pervaded the space in much subtler ways than meritocracy. One concern I had was with the female staff, who were all active outside of the workplace, conforming to the male-dominated discourse of who should play sport. It was interesting to hear and see the way these women navigated through both discourses because on the one hand, they were reinforcing the neoliberal meritocratic hierarchy through their coaching styles, but on the other, they could perform as women who enjoy sport in front of a range of children.

These women performed in ways that challenged traditional masculine views of sport. All of the female staff engaged with the games confidently and competently. However,

their performance did not always match their articulation of gender equity in sport, with the meritocratic (and oft gendered) discourse dominating their conversation and rule-based discussions with the children. Melanie's example above (quote 33) highlights this; as she notes that competition is important as children can measure their success on wins and losses. However, she goes on to say that games can be modified so that '*Girls can play too*'. As Hill (2015, p. 672) notes, this can be problematic, as "girls continue to be highlighted as struggling within a gender order that valorises male or masculine dominant ways of engaging in sport and physical activity". Thus, girls may end up feeling as though they are the 'other' within a space seemingly designed by and for men. This can be even more problematic when the women running the sessions reinforce this logic, as it supports two vastly different perspectives on who sport is for.

One thing I do hope that the children (especially the girls) take away from the performance of the staff members is that you can be a woman, and enjoy sport if you want. Having positive sporting role models is important for young girls to feel confident that they can play (Messner, 2011).

Conclusion

Three dominant themes emerged from the analysis of these MSHPs. The programmes fostered values aligned with healthism, meritocracy, and gender relations. The nexus of merit and gender played out through a broader social understanding of whom sport is for and why. Children and staff members frequently embodied and enacted the dominant health, organised sport, and gender discourses in these spaces. In some ways both groups challenged norms, however many reproduced the dominant logic of healthism and elite sport.

Findings of the thematic analysis, show that these programmes align with Siedentop's three goals of junior sport: public health, elite development, and education. Siedentop (2002) believes that these three goals are essential in defining junior sport programmes. The educative goal "is supported primarily for the developmental and educational benefits it provides participants"; the public health goal "would emphasize playful activity above all and would specifically target for inclusion those children and youths who are most at risk on indices of cardiovascular performance and body composition, exactly those children and youth who typically do not participate in most junior sports programs"; and the elite development goal "is for junior sport to allow the most talented and interested young athletes to pursue excellence, to realize their full potential" (Siedentop, 2002, pp. 394-395).

In relation to these programmes, Siedentop's education goal underpins the overarching pedagogy that occurred in these spaces. These programmes acted as an educative space outside of a school setting and support findings from research in the playground space (see Blatchford et al., 2013; Epstein et al., 2001; Knowles et al., 2013; Ridgers et al., 2011; Thomson, 2007), and the physical education space (Burrows & McCormack,

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2014; Burrows & Wright, 2007; Wright & Burrows, 2004)[24]. Similar to the school research, children in the MSHPs did have opportunities to partake in small acts of resistance against the dominant discourses – be it, a young boy exclaiming he loves to eat junk food, a girl challenging the boys in a game of soccer or a group of children rebelling against a fitness session.

One such way the children expressed knowledge and looked to educate others was through food choice. Children were well versed in their knowledge of 'good' and 'bad' foods and could tie food choices to weight gain and health (for example, Kayla and Jessie spoke confidently about how junk food made you fat, on page 150-151). Staff members, such as James and Catherine, also focussed on body weight as a marker for health. The children's and staff member's articulation of good and bad food choices, and body image are one example of Siedentop's public health goal in these spaces. A second example includes the visibility of the fit and athletic body, on posters, in the gyms, and on basketball courts. The promotion of the fit and active body was not lost on the children, such as Meg, who spoke of her fitness and weight loss goals.

When health and body image are spoken about in such static ways, dominant discourses, such as healthism may permeate the MSHPs, and, much like the school, can often close "off spaces for other ways of thinking about and doing [health and] physical education" (Gard & Wright, 2001, p. 545). For example, the cultural standards set by the staff members when they reinforce the dichotomy of 'healthy/unhealthy' food options and the inherent connection that food has with body image are similar to those learnt in schools (Gard & Wright, 2001). This connection classifies individuals as healthy or

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[24] The following chapter examines the micro discourses, such as the conversations between staff, and children themselves about health, and the organisation of activities that support sport as a male domain. This will assist in building the knowledge base around how children view their bodies in relation to sport, health, and gender, and further strengthen the logic of everyday spaces as sites of socialisation (Prout & James, 1997).

unhealthy, based on their food choices. This can reproduce narrow ideas of what health may mean. For example, the healthism discourse supports the focus of health to be on the body and often neglects other aspects of health, such as social, mental, and spiritual health. Further, when ideas concerning health are static, there are less opportunities to understand the way that health can change over time, and individuality of health as different for each person.

It was not all negative, however, with children actively challenging the dominant healthism discourse at each case study. For example, Ashton was very articulate in his knowledge of what good and bad foods were, however, when given an opportunity to purchase whatever food he liked, he chose fried food rather than a healthy option. For Ashton, and many other children, articulating the knowledge came far easier than actively engaging in the discourse when the opportunity arose. Finally, Siedentop's public health goal is designed to facilitate more children in activities, something that did occur in all case studies (Siedentop, 2002). Where possible, staff members structured and organised games to try and engage the masses.

When the staff members organised minor games and emphasised fun, more children could get involved. However, the meritocratic value of effort and skill pervaded the space and led staff to praise children for being the most skilled. Siedentop (2002) believes that sport needs to offer children who are talented and skilled a pathway in which to achieve elite status. The fitness sessions provide an example of a pathway for talented children to excel. When staff members praise the children in these types of settings, they have the potential to influence children's behaviour and reinforce values that they hold dear (McCallister, Blinde, & Weiss, 2000). When staff members praised the children regarded as 'good at sport', they were not only socialising those children but also normalising the skill-based activities such as beep tests. As Adler and Adler

(1994) point out, adult centred values in activities (such as those seen in the fitness sessions) can often lead to

> Children forego[ing] some of the formative experiences embodied in spontaneous play, including forging collective decisions, learning how to negotiate and resolve problems through communication and cooperation, learning the consequences of stubbornness and withdrawal, and encountering the unfettered consequences of peer group dynamics (p. 325).

Caution is needed when considering the elite development goal, as adopting this model exclusively could drive children to drop out of sport (Siedentop, 2002). There needs to be a balance between elite development with health and education goals.

Along with the fitness sessions, meritocracy intersected with dominant gender logic at all three MSHPs. The staff members and the boys considered good at sport would often engage in the dominant hegemony of male sport. As Messner (1988) notes, sport has historically been a site that validates masculinity – a reality still seen today. Organised sport advocates often espouse that traits such as aggression and desire to win are traditionally masculine, and men (and boys) naturally embody such characteristics (Messner, 2011). This is problematic for both boys and girls as it naturalises boys desire to play sports and games, and may lead to labelling girls who wish to play as 'tomboys' (Wedgewood, 2004). Taken together, meritocracy and gender relations enacted within these spaces may create barriers for girls to continue to play sport. For example, at all sites, there were people constantly praising boys; comparing girls to boys when they perform well (much like a manager did when he watched a young girl complete push-ups), and staff members adapting games for girls. These situations support a space where girls are the 'other' in sport.

Previous research has alluded to similar barriers in school physical education settings (Allender, Cowburn, & Foster, 2006). A review of the literature on barriers to sport and

physical activity participation found that when boys marginalise girls in the PE classroom, and when teachers do not support girls to participate in the activities, girls are less likely to participate in physical education classes (Allender et al., 2006). This provides further impetus to consider these spaces as sites of socialisation and shows that even at young ages (5-12), children have the potential to understand and take up dominant logic surrounding health, gender, and elite sport.

Chapter Nine: Discussion

This thesis has established that MSHPs are part of the broader childcare market, coming to prominence in the past 25 years. They have become one of the most popular childcare spaces, with over 130 currently in operation (as of January 2015). To date, no body of work has explored the unique rise of MSHPs in Victoria or examined their potential to be sites of pedagogical work. This thesis has begun to fill this gap by tracing the emergence of MSHPs and conducting case study research at three different sites. The specific focus of this study was to explore and critically reflect on the emergence of Multi-Sport Holiday Programmes (MSHPs), in Melbourne, Victoria. The aims of this project included

1. Establish a narrative of the political and social conditions that have assisted in making MSHPs possible in Australia from the 1970s, and include

    a. A synthesis of the major political moments that relate to sport, health and physical education, and healthcare from the 1970s

    b. The scope and breadth of holiday programmes operating in Victoria to contextualise MSHPs as one of the most popular formats

2. Explore the structure of three MSHPs and analyse the practices and knowledge that emerges through interactions with staff members and children

To answer aim one, I traced the political and social evolution (chapters one through five) of sport, health, and education over the past 45 years, allowing MSHPs to emerge and become popular in Victoria. Although very little policy directly concerns MSHPs, chapter three highlights the plurality of political texts promoting sport and health in ways that overshadow many other aspects of life. The documents typify sport (and the inherent health benefits associated) as something for all Australians, with very little

negotiation or contestation of this logic. The policies reveal an intersection of children's sport, their health, and the concern for how they spend their time outside of school hours. This intersection has supported the emergence of MSHPs in Victoria.

To answer the second aim, ethnographic methods underpinned the examination of three MSHPs, as these methods allow for the experiential collection of data. The discourses of healthism, meritocracy, and gender emerged at all three case studies, and have the potential to shape how children understand and place meaning on health, and sport.

To synthesise this thesis, the present chapter is in three sections. The first section discusses the themes that emerged in each case study, with emphasis on how these themes varied across sites. The second section considers Siedentop's model for activity programming and repositions it as a neoliberal concept. By seeing the model as neoliberal, I unpack the barriers that people may face when engaging with MSHPs. The third section considers the emergence of MSHPs more generally, showing the inherently neoliberal underpinnings of these spaces, and what this means for MSHPs and childcare broadly.

Part One – Micro Discourses

The exploration of micro-discourses includes analysing social texts, conversations, interactions and communication between individuals within a particular context (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). This section will explore micro discourses occurring within the space of MSHPs, and how they may interact with the broader, macro understanding of children's sport, health, and bodily practices seen in schools, playgrounds, and organised sport spaces. Siedentop's junior sport programme model provides a theoretical platform in which to understand the micro-discourses within the MSHPs.

As noted in the literature review, Siedentop has been an influential figure in physical education and activity research in the USA over the past 40 years. His numerous textbooks in the field of sport pedagogy show his expertise in curriculum design, and methods for getting children active (Siedentop, 1972; Siedentop et al., 2004; Siedentop et al., 1984; Siedentop et al., 1986; Siedentop & Tannehill, 2000; Siedentop & Van der Mars, 2012). In addition, Siedentop has contributed to the policy development of sport education in the USA, through a national plan for physical activity (Siedentop, 2009).

Siedentop (2002) believes that well-run junior sport programmes can foster education, where education includes the development of both physical capabilities and also psychological/emotional skills. These psychological and emotional skills are said to create a well-rounded individual who shows leadership, perseverance, and submerges their own individual goals for a collective group (Siedentop, 2002). Giroux's understanding of pedagogy (discussed in chapter eight) aligns with Siedentop's educative goal. By seeing MSHPs as pedagogical sites, we can begin to explore dominant themes and knowledge that may emerge.

Throughout this thesis, learning has been shown to occur in a multitude of settings outside of the classroom (such as the playground, the home, and MSHPs), with culture shaping much of how we learn (Giroux, 2004). Too often, people limit pedagogy to the classroom, leading people to neglect the effects that public spaces, institutions, and the home may have on children (Giroux, 2004). This project questioned that logic by showing the three MSHPs to be organised in ways that allow learning and reflection. Cultural sites, such as MSHPs, are more than a reflection of economics, and everyday life, but can be sites of contestation and possibility (Giroux, 2004). MSHPs are pedagogical spaces that offer opportunities to staff members and children within to conform to or challenge dominant logic. Pedagogy in MSHPs was not simply top-down

(staff member to child) but also occurred in non-traditional ways, such as learning through the structural formation of space, peer-to-peer learning, and teacher instruction.

MSHPs can be sites of pedagogy; however, the type of pedagogy that occurs remains quite narrow. The emergent themes: healthism, meritocracy, and gender relations provide insight into the types of learning and potential socialisation in these spaces. The following section synthesises and further discusses how these themes intersected and varied between cases. As I synthesise these themes, I will highlight how Siedentop's goals for junior sport reflect neoliberal logic, and what this means for the children within the programmes.

Public Health and the Healthism Discourse

Siedentop's (2002) public health goal implies that the inactivity of children is a direct correlate for the rising obesity trend in the USA and that engaging as many children as possible in sport is a way to combat this trend. Thus, the public health goal of junior sport serves a dual purpose - involve the masses in physical activity and manage the weight of young people. All three case studies encouraged active play to engage the majority of children, which aligns with the first purpose of Siedentop's (2002) public health goal. Nevertheless, if we consider that the second purpose is to manage the weight of the population, then we can align the public health goal with neoliberal ideas of the body. The healthism discourse that emerged in all three case studies provides a lens through which to view public health as neoliberal.

Healthism is a consideration for personal health and well-being; both of which can be attained through lifestyle modification and without therapeutic assistance (R. Crawford, 1980). The neoliberal logic of personal responsibility underpins healthism and assumes that you have the power, no matter the circumstance, to become a healthy person. It is

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inherently tied to morality, in that you are a good person in society if you engage in this discourse (R. Crawford, 1980). Much of the healthism discourse centres on the body; how we view our own body, how we produce healthy bodies, and how we understand other bodies. The way physical spaces are set out can also shape our understanding of healthism (Fusco, 2007).

For example, the physical space of MSHPs can send messages about how we should be using our bodies and normalise certain bodies over others. The following section discusses the various ways the infrastructure of the three MSHPs allowed for the healthism discourse to emerge.

Designing a Healthy 'Space'

MSHPs support healthy living environments and are a product of the healthification of space. Healthification is the political processes within institutions that can incite children and youth to engage in the new public health discourse (where citizenship and consumption of health are key) (Fusco, 2007). Experts have previously cited children's sedentariness as a major problem, suggesting that "an approach is needed which creates living environments that support healthy eating and physical activity as well as encouraging young people and their families to adopt healthier lifestyles" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003, p. 2). All three case studies promoted health through their physical environment. It was however CS1+2 that both had a saturation of messages promoting healthism throughout their spaces. CS2 was proportionally larger than CS1, but the facilities offered at both spaces were near identical. Both sites had a swimming pool, basketball and multi-purpose sport courts, glass-walled gyms and cycle rooms, and vast amounts of name-brand sporting equipment. There were often people playing basketball, sprinting up and down the courts, or people going

through their paces in the swimming pools, paddling up and back. All day, every day, people were committing to various forms of exercise, with children, staff members, and parents viewing this exercise behaviour daily.

Adults wishing to participate in healthy and physical activities benefit most from the design of CS1+CS2 as the centres facilitate a certain kind of interaction with the space. This interaction is based on an adult's notions of sport and physical activity, and reinforces their ideas of what, and how people should engage in physical activity. This notion is like that of the school playground, as these spaces also…

> …[symbolize] an adult (architects, local authorities, play equipment suppliers, teachers) understanding of children and their requirements. This space denotes that adults recognize that children should have some type of dedicated environment in which to express their culture and behaviour. However, it has to be remembered first and foremost that it is an institutional educational space governed by adults' perception of appropriate behaviour (Thomson, 2007, p. 487).

Adults govern MSHPs and support adult-focused programming and acts of physical activity. As such, these adult-centric acts of sport and physical exercise became normal experiences for the children in the MSHP space. Spaces such as CS1+2 may pose problems because much of what children see is structured exercise and physical activity. The structure of these spaces affords very little room for deviation from the adult-version of sport and exercise. For example, none of the adults swimming laps were splashing around and playing, and the games of basketball were competitive. The promotion of structured and organised activities may lead children to form ideas and draw on these experiences when shaping their understanding of physical activity later in life. Research posits that children may have more positive experiences in sport and physical activity if there is less structure throughout the games and spaces they play in (Côté & Hay, 2002).

The design of CS1+2 supports adult-defined sport and physical activity, and there was very little subtlety when it came to the goal of these facilities, especially CS2. CS2 brands itself as the premier sport and recreation facility in the southern hemisphere. The physical space encouraged people to be active and exercise. Along with the facilities, several posters placed around the centre could further shape how children come to view health, sport and exercise. These posters provide a subtler example of the healthification of space. They contained images of athletic, slim individuals, engaging in physical activity. For CS1, these images were outside of the gym and pool areas, on A3 glossy paper. The children had to walk past these images to enter the pool area every day. CS2 had images of scantily clad athletes, ten-foot-high right near the entrance to the centre (see figures 10 and 11). No children spoke about these pictures, but they viewed them daily – while walking in and out of the centre with their parents and walking past them on their way to and from the pool. Although not explicit, these posters provide children with a daily reminder that certain body types hold value over others.

These posters promote a healthy, ideal body, focussing on the physique of the individual. Children's exposure to these images may provide them with more resources that tie ideas of health to the body. Past research has found that pedagogic environments (such as the PE classroom) normalise the body as a marker for health (Burrows & McCormack, 2014; Evans et al., 2008; Kirk, 1994; Tinning & Glasby, 2002). Further, these spaces often promote the notion that the health of the individual centres on the body (Wright & Burrows, 2004). CS1+2 provides an example of the potential sites outside of the school that can be healthified and promote the body as a marker for health. This study furthers the conversation on children's socialisation of health and the body occurring outside of the school.

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"I always have healthy food"[25] *– Children's Food 'Choices' in MSHPs*

Further to the constant exposure of slim and athletic bodies, a connection to food choice and health occurred at all three MSHPs. Children spoke with certainty about theirs and others' food choices, often labelling foods as good or bad. Research conducted in health and physical education classrooms (Wright & Burrows, 2004), and summer camps (Daigle et al., 2007) has explored children's understanding of health. Daigle et al. (2007) found that children over the age of eight would often describe health as behaviour-driven, and a responsibility, such as eating 'good' food, and steering clear of 'junk' food. This is similar to research in the classroom, where children were well versed in the discourse of body-specific health practices, including exercise and food choice (Wright & Burrows, 2004). Children believed that if you ate right, exercised, and steered clear of alcohol and drugs, you would become a healthy person (Wright & Burrows, 2004). This, however, does not account for many of the social, economic, or political complexities hidden within the notions of healthy eating, exercise, and drug use (Wright & Burrows, 2004).

Similarly, children and staff members in the MSHPs often engaged uncritically with the health food/healthism discourse. The children, and some adults in the MSHPs made healthy eating a positive practice through praise and self-adulation. For example, in CS1, Ashton showed off his 'healthy' lunch to receive praise from the staff members. In addition, the children would single out those who made the 'wrong' food choices.

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[25] Quote from Ashton in Case Study 1

These children were explicitly practising what Wacquant (2004) called the "*dialectic of corporeal mastery and visual mastery*" (p.118)[26]. The mastery in these case studies relies on the collaborative pedagogic environment. In this instance, children learn from others, such as viewing and scrutinising others' food choices; drawing on their own knowledge learnt in the school or home; viewing coaches and facilitators as experts in food choice. However, it becomes complex when all children are not well-versed in the dominant logic of healthy food choices. As Wacquant (2004, p.118) notes, "you do not truly see what you are doing unless you understood a little with your eyes, that is to say, your body". The children who were chastising others over food choices only did so while comparing the food to their 'healthy' options. Those few that knew the subject, such as Ashton, were able to take up the health food rhetoric (corporeal) and evaluate others (visual) on their food choices. Whether those around them took up the knowledge, it is unclear – however, it does pose a larger question around the pervasiveness of dominant healthism discourse outside of the school and home. Even if those children did not listen to, or understand Ashton, these sites become yet another space where healthism is normalised.

Children's demonstration of food knowledge provides a second example of the pedagogic environment of MSHPs. Any time a child pointed out whether the food was 'good' or 'bad', they were educating others about food choices. Although not as overt, this finding is similar to research in holiday camps (Jennings et al., 2016; Seal & Seal, 2011; Skluzacek et al., 2010). In the holiday camp research, children received health

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[26] In his ethnographic examination of a boxing gym, Wacquant (2004) explains that pedagogy occurs in three ways: through the coordination and synchronization of group activities; the visual modelling of oneself, and others around you; and assistance from seasoned boxers. Through the act of training, you learn to "better differentiate, evaluate, and eventually reproduce these movements" (2004, p.117-118). However, you can't draw on what he terms the '*dialectic of visual and corporeal mastery*" (p.118) until you understand with your eyes (and in his case, the body). He further notes that "Every new gesture thus apprehended-comprehended becomes in turn the support, materials, the tool that makes possible the discovery and thence assimilation of the next" (p.118).

education sessions alongside their regular holiday camp activities. Findings for these studies suggest that children improved their health food and nutrition knowledge after the health education intervention (Jennings et al., 2016; Seal & Seal, 2011; Skluzacek et al., 2010).

Although the research in MSHPs was not interventionist like the holiday programme research above, discourses still emerged in all three spaces. Through peer-to-peer education practices, the children in the MSHPs may be educating others on a narrow view of food as either 'good' or 'bad'. This knowledge did not seem to come from the MSHP space. Rather, it may have arisen from previous learning experiences such as the school. Research asserts that children may learn a version of health that focuses on the body in PE and health classes (Wright et al., 2006). Thus, MSHPs may also be vehicles for the reproduction of prior learning, such as knowledge surrounding healthism. In addition, no one questioned what children said about food in CS1+2 (in CS3 a staff member made comments contradicting the children's logic), leading the healthism discourse to play out without critical reflection. This may be an issue for the children in these MSHPs, as thinking critically and challenging norms of food and health were rare.

It was one thing to be well versed in the dominant health food discourse, and another to take it up in its entirety. Parents were often the gatekeepers to food choice for children, with children bringing a lunchbox of prepared food to the MSHPs. Across all three sites, children's lunchboxes had similar contents - usually a sandwich, fruit, muesli bars, and yoghurt. Rarely did children have packaged, sugary foods in their lunchboxes. Researchers posit that parents are motivated by the desire for their children to eat healthy and nutritious foods (Russell, Worsley, & Liem, 2015), and through these motivations, they are engaging in the dominant food discourse. This engagement with

the discourse is a demonstration of good parenting techniques. When children were in control of their food choice, such as when purchasing items from the cafeteria at CS1, they would opt for fried and sugary treats (see figure 19 for an example of the food on offer).

These cafeteria choices did not resonate with the rest of the programme mantra of healthy and active lifestyles. A possible explanation for this lies in research conducted by Burrows and McCormack (2014). When exploring how children understand public health agendas, they found that some children could uncritically take up the knowledge, while others, contested the dominant logic.

> Some children are 'doing it for themselves' in the sense that they appear to have swallowed food and exercise imperatives whole. They 'know' what they should be eating, how they should be moving and try their best to enact food and exercise guidelines in their daily lives, albeit with varying degrees of success. Other children interrupt the seemingly ubiquitous tactics, to re-read and/or mis-read the message. They duck sideways when hailed to say, do and understand things that fail to resonate with their life worlds. They metaphorically turf the message out with their lunch wrappers. These children are 'doing it for themselves' in a critically engaged manner, slicing and dicing circulating discourses to make sense of health and bodies in ways that fit with their own shifting subjectivities, personal and cultural values and lived experiences (Burrows & McCormack, 2014, pp. 167-168).

Some of the children in CS1 were "doing it for themselves" and questioning the dominant healthism logic. It is entirely possible that some (or all) children in CS2+3 could "do it for themselves", and purchase fried food and ice cream, but those children had no opportunities to do so. Further, these food choices were only available to children who had money to purchase them. Thus, you could only challenge the dominant healthism logic if you had the economic means to do so.

Interestingly, the children purchasing energy-dense, low-nutrient foods seemed to do so as a way to exhibit economic capital. This is in contrast to past research that shows

an association between low socioeconomic areas and greater access to fast-food restaurants, which traditionally sell low-nutrient foods (Smoyer-Tomic et al., 2008). Although the relative access to fast food for low-income earners is greater than those in high SES neighbourhoods, there is little evidence to suggest that greater access is

The pervasive health-based messages that appear in sport programmes are also prevalent in the intersectional sport and health policies (such as Healthy Weight 2008, 2003). The messages enable the normalisation of 'healthy' foods for children and condemn the processed options on offer in the cafeterias. However, the children within these spaces treated the cafeteria food with reverence. The juxtaposition of consuming this 'unhealthy' food in a sport camp provides much to consider: how are these sorts of food framed within the home? Are they a treat, or something consistently eaten? Do children see the connection between sport programming and healthy eating? How far does their knowledge extend with regard to this connection of healthy food and sport?

On the one hand, we have children unquestioningly taking up and repeating the dominant logic of healthism, especially in the form of food choices. On the other, we have children openly diverting from the rhetoric, challenging the norm, and eating what they please. And although, as Wright and Burrows (2004) have said in the past, we must be cautious of the reproduction of uncritical, knowledge provided to children, and the certainty with which they speak, I think the MSHP space can challenge the healthism discourse. The potential to challenge the logic is reliant on staff members speaking up when children speak of health in narrow/singular ways or challenging when children scold each other for eating what they would like.

Be Fit or Be Damned![27]

Caution lies ahead if healthism remains as the dominant discourse in spaces such as MSHPs. Healthism is inextricably linked to the moral panic of obesity, and as such, the discourse of healthism can close off alternate ways of thinking about and doing health and physical activity (Gard & Wright, 2001). The reimagining of spaces for children is also a concern as,

> "The healthification of space may be lauded as an opportunity for salvation and consumption, but can also be regarded as part of a wider strategy to protect and defend hegemonic and normative interests" (Fusco, 2007, p. 57).

This is problematic, as the healthism discourse does not allow for alternate ways of thinking about and engaging with health. This leaves fewer opportunities for children to challenge or question the logic of what it means to be healthy and how they understand the body. For example, the healthy body in these spaces became normalised through measurable techniques, such as the beep test, and defining food as good or bad. These techniques support those who are white and middle-class and is health promotion that often leaves little room for the various forms of cultural difference to play out (Oyserman, Fryberg, & Yoder, 2007) [28].

Children are not merely passive recipients of the dominant discourse. If the children are only repeating things they have learnt and are not yet ready to practically apply what it means to be healthy (such as the children buying 'junk' food in CS1), then there are still opportunities for them to question and challenge narrow ideas of health. The

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[27] Be fit or Be Damned! Is the title of Percy Cerutty's (1976) book promoting personal health and the threat of disease. He poses the problem of the high incidence of cardiovascular deaths in Australia, and notes that any man has the potential to overcome such ills, if he engages in physical activity.

[28] Oyserman et al. (2007) offer valuable insight into the white, middle-class notion of health promotion, and the erasure of alternate cultural understandings of health and the body. Their research suggests that in a USA sample, health, and health promoting behaviours are more likely to be a white, middle-class privilege, and something that those of lower socio-economic status and minority groups do not resonate with (Oyserman et al., 2007).

physical landscape provides one method of understanding the healthism discourse through the reproduction of the slim body=healthy. However, the findings suggest that children in these spaces, especially those that purchased food from the cafeteria, could challenge the logic of healthism. The children challenging the logic, through eating fried or fatty foods, or those disinterested in the physical testing (beep test), provide insight into the opportunities we have in disrupting the dominant discourses in these spaces, and the potential for children to think differently about doing health. Undoubtedly, the children engaging in these sites are socialised in various ways; however, it seems that there are opportunities to challenge or resist dominant logic still available.

It is important for children to learn and understand the importance of health and healthy behaviours. However, when the discourse of healthism comes to dominate a space (such as MSHPs), we may be left wondering if children are getting all the knowledge required to help them make informed decisions about health, or if they are only receiving a narrow slice of health information. The narrow slice of information that forms healthism focuses on the body as a marker for health and neglects many social inequalities that may prevent people from engaging in healthy practices, to begin with. Therefore, it is important to consider alternate ways of thinking about, and engaging with health, and what health might mean to different people. The MSHP space could be one such site where alternative ways of thinking about health and the body receives greater consideration.

The Elite Development Model and Meritocracy

Siedentop (2002) contends that, in the USA, attention should be on the elite development goal of young people. The prominence of sport in the USA schooling

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system allows for the elite development model to become the most prominent of the three goals of junior sport (Siedentop, 2002). However, as Siedentop (2002) notes that a risk is present when promoting the elite goal over the educative and the public health goal as you may neglect the majority of children and youth who wish to participate in sport. In some ways, the three case studies supported the elite development goal, through the neoliberal concept of meritocracy. Meritocracy appeared in the fitness testing, structured and competitive games with one winner, and the, oft unconscious, exclusionary tactics by those considered good at sport.

The neoliberal notion of meritocracy promotes social mobility through individual acts of hard work, effort, and intelligence (Alon & Tienda, 2007; Castilla & Benard, 2010; Kaufman & Wolff, 2010; Littler, 2013). In a meritocratic society, you succeed or fail based on your aspiration to work hard and put in the effort (Miller Jr. & McNamee, 2014). It is believed that social factors such as economic status, gender, ability, and race are irrelevant to the process of meritocracy and social mobility; however, it is these factors that reinforce the status quo and impinge on one's ability to climb the social ladder (Castilla & Benard, 2010; Coakley, 2011; Connell, 2010; Son Hing et al., 2011).

Although scholars have refuted claims of meritocracy's value, it seems that meritocracy is still prevalent in the sporting world. As Sewart (1987, p. 176) notes,

> Sport has long been singled out as one of the few spheres of social life where rational meritocratic values are truly operational. The most consistent characteristic of sport is that an individual's status is objectively measured in terms of performance or merit according to an agreed upon set of norms. Subjective factors, family connections, or political influence are of no consequence on the playing field or in the arena: one can hit or catch a ball or not. Commercialization and commodification have steadily eroded the ethic of skill democracy.

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Sport meritocracy imbues the values of a level playing field and fair play (Kaufman & Wolff, 2010). Advocates of sport meritocracy argue that someone who has come from nothing has the opportunity to become the best (Bloomfield & Harris, 1988). Although Sewart (1987) notes that once on the field, skill and effort are the only determinants of sporting success, I argue that access to that field relies exactly on those subjective factors. Structural inequities surrounding sport such as cost to access sport, gender, and race can impact a person's involvement in the sport. For example, female sport still receives very little attention when compared to men's sport in the media, and scholars note that the lack of attention reproduces the notion of sport as a male domain (Cooky et al., 2013). When the media portrays sport as a male domain, and girls are under-represented in sport (ABS, 2012), we must consider that a potentially meritocratic, and masculine hegemony may be operating, providing fewer opportunities for girls to participate in sport.

Meritocracy is an inevitability of sport that is competitive and performance-based. However, the coaches made attempts to create inclusive games and steer away from highly structured and overly competitive environments. Children were often the advocates of highly structured games and activities, with boys from every programme enforcing rules and playing games competitively. These boys valued sport performance, with some of them openly commenting on other boys' lack of contribution to the games (such as Hugo, in excerpt 27).

Other boys were subtler in their reinforcement of meritocratic logic. For example, some boys only acknowledged other boys whom they considered valuable on the field by passing the ball to them. A small number of children persistently controlled games, often ignoring most other children on the court. Some children attempted to challenge this dominant logic, but most ended up accepting the meritocratic hegemony. This

finding is similar to the research conducted in the playground space, where older and bigger boys would often dominate the soccer pitch. This domination often left others, such as boys deemed less competent and most, if not all girls on the margins of the field, watching (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Epstein et al., 2001).

The playground research, and the findings in the present study dispute previous research stating that sport is supposed to provide a fair playing field, and is open to all (Kaufman & Wolff, 2010; Sewart, 1987). The children considered good at sports were engaging in the reproduction of meritocratic logic that left many children out of the games. However, engagement in meritocratic practices of competitive and hierarchical games meant that nearly all boys could benefit from the discourse. I think it is worth referring to Messner (1988) at length here to help unpack the bigger picture of boys positively impacted by meritocracy.

> Given [the] physiological differences between the sexes and the fact that major sports are organised around the most extreme potentialities of the male body, "equal opportunity" as the sports media's dominant framework of meaning for presenting the athletic performances of women athletes is likely to become a new means of solidifying the ideological hegemony of male superiority. With women competing in male-defined sports, the sports media can employ statistics as objective measures of performance. Equal opportunity within this system provides support for the ideology of meritocracy while at the same time offering incontrovertible evidence of the "natural" differences between males and females. And male reporters can simply smile and shrug: "We just call 'em as we see 'em." (p.206).

Although Messner is speaking of adult athletes here, I can draw a comparison to the findings in this study. The competitive sports organised at the MSHPs were male-defined sports, such as soccer, AFL, and cricket. It is only in recent years that these sports have become mainstream for women and young girls, with a national AFL competition for women established in 2017. During these games, when some boys had opportunities to pass to girls standing on their own, they opted to throw the ball into

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groups of boys in the hopes a male teammate would come out best. Again, this is similar to findings from the playground research, where boys would contest girls involvement in soccer, as it people assumed they did not possess the skills, or interest in the game to play with the boys (Clark & Paechter, 2007). This reaffirms Messner's argument that meritocracy clouds equal opportunity, and misdirects girls and boy's engagement as a "natural" difference (Messner, 2011).

Observations of the children playing games provide one example of the meritocratic discourse emerging in the MSHPs. The fitness sessions provide an example of the staff member's engagement in the meritocratic discourse. When staff members organised activities that ranked the children (such as the beep test), they became actively involved in the process of categorising the children as either skilled or unskilled. There was no acknowledgement of the children who had not completed a beep test before. Further, there seemed to be a disregard for those children who were not interested in completing a multi-stage fitness test. This aligns with the neoliberal commodification of sport, where effort is acknowledged, and unskilled individuals are to blame for their incompetence (Adler & Adler, 1994; Littler, 2013).

Outside of the fitness sessions, staff members would organise games and activities that emphasise fun and limit the amount of control they have. In doing so, they were fostering a positive environment that has the potential to keep children engaged (Côté & Hay, 2002). For the most part, staff members challenged the meritocratic discourse of hard work and effort found in competitive sports at CS1, instead opting for less structure to promote equal play between all children. Less structure in games resonated closely with the deliberate play theory established by Côté and Hay (2002). Deliberate play includes games and sports played with modified rules to fit the needs of the children (Côté & Hay, 2002). In all three MSHPs, most of the children enjoyed when

games included deliberate play, with very few children sitting out. There were some instances where boys would try to include rules in the games and compete with one another, but this never lasted long, with staff members, especially those at CS2+3, taking over and reinforcing general play.

The identification of meritocracy in these MSHPs sheds light on a potential new direction for children's sport research. This includes how children and staff view meritocracy, and would complement a number of already established areas of children sport research such as the school playground (Blatchford et al., 2003; Clark & Paechter, 2007; Epstein et al., 2001; Knowles et al., 2013; Rogers & Department of the Interior, 1925; Thomson, 2007) organised sport dropout rates (ABS, 2012; Crane & Temple, 2015), free and deliberate play (Côté & Hay, 2002), and sampling vs. specialisation (Macphail et al., 2003).

Meritocracy Reigns Supreme

If we consider the research that has explored why children and adolescents drop-out of sport (Crane & Temple, 2015), we can see that highly structured environments may not be the most productive space for children between the ages of 5-12 years. When children cite a lack of enjoyment, pressure from coaches, and a lack of competence (Crane & Temple, 2015), we gain insight into the types of activities that will help retain their interest in sport and physical activity in years to come. In addition to the ways that children view sport, the activities organised, and the way the staff members engage with the children can contribute to children's sport socialisation (Coakley & White, 1992). There were two distinct coaching situations occurring in these three case studies. 1) The staff member instigated sports and activities that promoted ranking one another, and high levels of competition, or 2) staff members facilitated less structured games and

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activities to promote sport to the masses. As noted, the less structure imposed on a game, the higher the participation rate in the activities.

Several boys at all three sites displayed a high level of skill in the sports played. Even though the staff members expressed the importance of fun and inclusive games, there were still instances where they lauded this skilled performance. This has implications for both boys and girls in the MSHPs, as coaches encouraged those who exhibited skilled performance. Research suggests that with young people, their "decisions to begin participation in a sport, as well as decisions to continue participation, were tied to encouragement and support from others who were important in their lives… For young people over age 16, the significant others were more likely to be adults who served as advocates or models for them" (Coakley & White, 1992, p. 30). Although Coakley and White's (1992) research explores children over 16, it is worth considering that younger children may also see their coaches as role models.

The staff members were inclusive; however, the meritocratic discourse still managed to emerge in all three spaces. This was through a select few children at each programme. These children were well versed in the rules of games and had very little empathy for children who did not know the rules, or who were not as interested in the high level of competition. This may have implications for those who were actively engaging in the rhetoric, and those negatively impacted by it. These implications may include how children perceive ability and skill, and their competence, and the normalisation of economic and gender barriers to sport as a personal fault.

Sport is for Boys… Or so it Seems

There was an intersection of meritocracy and gender throughout the case studies. This intersection revolves around assumptions of ability and interest in sport, with

assumptions of ones' gender and sport ability forming a social stereotype. Research has shown that social stereotypes can occur in children's sport and physical activity, with gender reported as a common form of stereotyping behaviour (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006). One such example includes children identifying sports as 'girl' or 'boy' sports, with more competitive and aggressive sports labelled as masculine, and sports with coordinated movements, such as ballet, labelled as feminine (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006).

Further, research shows that girls were hesitant to play typically masculine sports from fear of injury, and boys feared stigmatisation if they played feminine sports (such as being labelled as a girl or homosexual) (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006). Contesting this logic, research in the playground space has shown that some girls do in fact wish to get involved in the traditionally masculine sports such as soccer (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Epstein et al., 2001; Knowles et al., 2013; Rogers & Department of the Interior, 1925; Thomson, 2007). However, persistent stereotypes and assumptions surrounding girl's ability to competently engage in the playground continue to exist (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Epstein et al., 2001; Thomson, 2007).

The research from the playground space aligns with the findings of this thesis. This research shows gender stereotyping occurring through the assumption that girls were less competent at sport compared to boys. The following section will explore how boys in all three programmes engaged in this stereotyping, and a potential reason this may have occurred. This will complement the above meritocracy research and add to the field of social stereotyping in junior sport.

Boys, Stigma, and Commodification

There was a small group of boys at each MSHP that controlled most of the games and activities. These boys not only ignored the girls playing but also ignored the boys whom they did not consider to be good at sport. The 'good at sport' boys were often insistent on following the rules of the game to maximise competition. These boys reinforced traditional notions of the masculine sport environment, by playing competitively to show off their abilities. Considering the work in the playground space above, boys that played in competitive and aggressive ways could have been doing so to reinforce dominant gendered logic. In addition, they may have felt that non-conformity would lead to stigmatisation (Thomson, 2007).

Along with the boys' investment into the organised games, around 5-6 boys at each MSHP would wear sports-brand athletic gear. All the jerseys worn had a male international athlete's name on the back, with large corporate logos on the front. Since 1990, there has been a hyper-commodification of the sport industry (A. J. Walsh & Giulianotti, 2001). This commodification includes an explosion in the market value of sport products, the professionalisation of athletes, use of major venues for sporting events, and increases in the sale of club merchandise such as jerseys (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2001).

An example of the club merchandise explosion includes Cristiano Ronaldo's move to Juventus, which brought the club an estimated $60million from jerseys sold in the first 24 hours (Daily Telegraph, 2018). As G. Crawford (2004, p. 49) notes, "[for] many fans, part of their identity as a sport fan and their connection with their chosen sport, will be expressed and displayed through the use of sport related consumer goods". This identity is not static, nor is it based solely on consumption of goods (as parents were

likely to be the ones purchasing these items for their children); rather, it could be seen as a performance of their identity in the space (G. Crawford, 2004). These boys wish to look competent and, through their jerseys, visually display their competencies when it comes to soccer. The jerseys also created an opportunity for a peer group to be formed, through an association with those who also had jerseys on, and distinctions from those who did not (G. Crawford, 2004).

The boys in this space were able to benefit from the hyper commodification of sporting goods. This is due to commodification and brands focusing on male athletes (Shaw & Amis, 2001). As Shaw and Amis (2001, p. 227) note,

> "…if sport sponsorship is seen as a viable medium through which to influence actual and potential male consumers, then could it not be used to influence females in a comparable way? We see no evidence, or logic, to suggest that it could not".

Although it does defy logic, sports marketing and media moguls still argue that women's sport is inferior to that of men's (Messner, 1988). The media frame females as inferior when comparing male and female 'natural' difference. Taking this tact however leads to a delegitimisation of women's sport and their achievements (Messner, 1988). Thus, if the media do not consider women's sport as legitimate, it is unlikely that sports brands will see value in the commodification of the female brand and sportswear.

Those boys who wore athletic supporter gear looked to be reinforcing their competence at a sport, prior to them touching a ball. As Coakley and White (1992) contend, young people are more likely to participate in sport if it extends their competence. In the case studies, boys showed competence by wearing the jerseys and playing competitively. This does, however, have implications for all the other children. When the boys exert

control over games by dressing like elite athletes and only passing to one another, they create a barrier for other children to join them. Thus, if other children have few opportunities to participate in the games, whether it is through gender stigmatisation, or assumed incompetence, there may be implications on their socialisation into sport.

The Place of Girls in Sport

Cultural assumptions about girls and sport pervaded all three spaces. For example, when staff amend games so that girls can get involved, or make special reference to the inclusion of girls, they are reaffirming the sentiment that sport is a masculine domain (Hartmann, 2003). This may be pose issues for both girls and boys, as it perpetuates the notion of 'soft essentialism' (Messner, 2011). Soft essentialism is the assumption that there is a natural difference between boys and girls. As Messner (2011) notes,

> "…youth sport is an ideal site for seeing the workings of soft essentialism. As an institution that makes visible people's bodily abilities and limitations, sport has historically created and conveyed cultural assumptions and values about essential differences between women and men, more so than most other institutions" (pg. 161).

When the staff members change rules to accommodate the girls, they are sending a message that organised sport in its original format is for boys. There was never a question of boys' commitment to organised sport. The dichotomy of masculine/feminine and the role of girls and boys in sport emerged in these MSHPs. Data found in the MSHPs is similar to past research, where,

> …In American football, male athletes are portrayed and perceived as tough, hard players who rarely express emotions other than aggression and anger and only smile to celebrate victory, while women play the role of cheerleaders, who are perceived by the viewer to be feminine and glamorous, exhibiting cheerful emotions and glittering smiles, demonstratively cheering on "their guys". Any change to this dichotomy of roles in American football would be considered somewhat ridiculous and would be resisted. In this way, discourses of

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masculinity and femininity are socially created, taken for granted, and rarely changed" (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003, p. 351).

Although an extreme example, the above supports the notion that sport often acts as a socialising agent, and masculine and feminine discourses will frequently pervade the space. In the MSHPs, the discourse of sport as a masculine environment emerged in more subtle ways. For example, some staff and managers saw that sport was a choice for these girls, and there was no expectation that all girls would want to participate.

Staff members, such as Isobel, articulated that games were for boys as they were more competitive and that they had to modify games played for everyone to be involved (or rather, girls to be involved). This notion is similar to Hartmann (2003) who cites that "some scholars envision new, more humane or even feminine sports—marked less by an emphasis on winning, record setting and spectatorship, and more by open participation, enjoyment and fitness" (pg. 19). The staff members comments threading through chapters seven and eight, provide insight into the gendered logic of sport, noting that girls need less emphasis on competition and that girls were less interested in organised sports more generally.

Research in the playground space supports this logic, where teachers were seen to hold a bias toward male participation in sports at recess and lunchtimes, believing that girls were not interested in participating competitively (Clark & Paechter, 2007). In addition, at the MSHPs, coaches would reinforce the logic of sport as a masculine domain when they view boys' competitive behaviour as natural in sports, and when they modify games and tell girls that 'they can play too'. Messner's (2011) comments on the differential treatment of girls and boys in organised sports assist in understanding this complex issue.

I argue that coaches' different treatment of boys and girls serves as an add-on

to differences that have been socially constructed through a myriad of gendering processes that shape boys and girls at deeply emotional levels. In turn, the coaches' actions and discourse about children serves to naturalise these differences, thus helping to re-establish an ideology of gender essentialism (pg. 164).

As I have noted previously, children have the potential to be socialised and learn in many environments. MSHPs are not unique, but they do provide further contextualisation of spaces where the socialisation process can occur. For example, staff members reinforced meritocratic values of hard work and effort in the games and sports played at MSHPs, which often meant that boys who were good at sports were the ones praised for their actions. One explanation for this could be the consistency of traditionally male sports played daily. The staff members did not challenge this gendered view of sport, instead reaffirming the importance of gender difference through the modification of games, commenting on girls sitting out, or comparing girls' efforts to boys.

The staff members were not the only individuals reinforcing the gendered logic of sport. As discussed above, the way in which the boys played the games had broader implications for others in the MSHPs. This extends to how girls play and how the girls perceive themselves during the games. Through my time at all three MSHPs, I saw girls and boys attempting many games and engaging in various ways. Even when the girls played the games, the boys considered 'good at sport' would ignore them and only pass to one another. It became a complex situation for those girls to navigate. They wanted to play, I watched them chasing after the balls, and calling out for the balls in games, but overwhelmingly at all three sites, the boys would control the games. As stated above, the research surrounding gendered play in the MSHP space builds on the research in the playground space. For example, Clark and Paechter (2007, p. 268) note that during games of soccer at lunchtime:

> When girls did make contact with the ball they were often met with responses that either derided their skills or questioned their right to touch the ball. The girls' reluctance to do so seemed to result both from messages from the boys that girls do not belong on the pitch, and from their own inhibitions about desire and conviction that relate to dominant concepts of feminine behaviour and expectations.

Although none of the boys were overt in excluding the girls in the MSHP space, it is likely that the behaviour they were exhibiting was not new; rather, it may be a reproduction of the school playground space. Much like the playground space, girls were hesitant to engage in the games. Boys controlled the space and staff members praised skilled performances in the competitive games. These sites may be one of many spaces seen to provide cultural barriers for young girls to participate in sport in the same way boys do. This barrier can also be found in similar places, such as schools (Coakley & White, 1992). For example, Coakley and White (1992) explored young people's experiences in school sport and PE, and found that for young women…

> What had happened on school teams or in physical education classes served as the basis for what they expected in future sport experiences. Sometimes these memories were positive, but more often they were negative and affected current motivation and interest in a negative fashion. The major themes in these negative memories revolved around boredom and lack of choice, feeling stupid and incompetent, and receiving negative evaluation from peers (pg. 31).

Perceived competence was a factor impacting some of the girls at all three case studies. Researchers in other fields of research also cite the assumed lack of competence amongst girls (see Chalabaev et al. (2013)). However, it is sport, where girls' competence (or lack thereof) is unquestioned. Messner's (2011) notion of soft essentialism explains this assumption. Soft essentialism is an assumption that boys are naturally talented at sports, and girls will not possess the same natural ability. MSHPs are by no means the only space that allows this ability/competence nexus to emerge, but we must be mindful of the effect that these stereotypes have on both girls and boys.

Role models are important actors in young people's lives (Coakley & White, 1992; Messner, 2011); thus, we need to consider the impact that the staff members can have on young girls. Just as the articulation of meritocratic values can narrow children's understanding of who sport is for, silence can be deafening for young people. As Coakley and White (1992) note, "sport participation was not a separate experience in young people's lives; the decision to participate in sports was integrally tied to the way young people viewed themselves and their connection to the social world in which they lived" (pg.32). Considering this will allow for a better understanding of how both boys and girls understand sport, and what sport can do for them. Because nearly every child engaged in minor games and looked to be having fun. However, once competitive sports began, I saw girls ignored, and in turn, sitting out of activities. While coaches control the games, further thought needs to be on how coaches amend sport to be as fun as possible for all children, not just those gifted?

Future research can thus explore the role of coaches and facilitators in these spaces. Most of the staff running the programme fit within a particular cohort: Young adults in their mid-20s who had a passion for sport, and spent their time working casually while completing an undergraduate degree. The coaches had little to no formal training outside of operational training and first-aid training days. As evidenced in chapters three and four above, policies emphasise competitive and organised sport for children. Thus, operational and physiological/biomechanical knowledge that many of these young coaches and staff have is seen as an integral skill to run these programmes. It would be good to see organisations running these programmes engaging in non-traditional education for sport. For example, training and education could also focus on

social benefits of sport, the various ways people from different communities understand and want to engage in sport and physical activity; and child-centred coaching practices. This is by no means an exhaustive list; however, these areas could provide organisations with more holistic approaches to children's sporting experiences.

A barrier to holistic children's sport emerges when there is a continued focus on winning and competition in sport. If we cannot see past sport as merely a tool to create athletes, then we will struggle to find coaches who can and will engage in lateral and varied approaches to coaching. Further, at present, the government exempts sport-based childcare services from requiring staff members to hold a childcare/education certificate (State Government of Victoria, 2013). Thus, the organisations running these programmes can be as selective as they like in whom they hire. Coaches within the case studies had a passion and knowledge of sport, rather than ability and qualifications to work with children.

Micro Discourses, Dominant logic, and the MSHP space

The MSHP space is complex and often contradictory. The dominant, neoliberal messages such as healthy eating, health = slim body, and meritocracy, permeated these spaces. Some children took up these neoliberal imperatives without question; however, some children challenged norms and questioned the dominant logic. Although there were children contradicting the dominant logic of healthism and meritocracy, several practices within the programmes promoted these discourses. These practices included the running of certain structured activities (beep test), food choice, and knowledge of health.

The pervasive logic of healthism, the merit-based activities, and the gendered actions occurring in games were all present due to the staff members actions. However, we

must remember that most of these staff members were young, part-time employees, looking to make some money on the school holidays. Most staff were young, undertaking sport science degrees, and had no formal childcare qualifications. However, staff members may have felt increasing pressure to engage children in educative, challenging, and fun sport practices daily. This problem emerges when we see parents wanting children to be in pedagogic environments, but only asking undergraduate students to ensure these children have the necessary resources to develop skills in sport and life.

I have shown that the dominant discourses within these spaces provide children with only a narrow view of sport and health. The narrow view of health and sport pervading the MSHP space is not unique, with research showing that schools (Burrows & McCormack, 2014), the playground (Clark & Paechter, 2007), and sports clubs (Messner, 2011), construct similar discourses. Therefore, when MSHPs promote narrow ideas of health, the body, and how to play sport, they may be part of a broader culture of children's socialisation. Children have less room to contradict, challenge, or even make up their mind about health, the body, and sport. It is especially pertinent to consider the return customer of these programmes. These children come into a space that reinforces dominant logic and can limit the way they understand health and the merit of sport performance.

Part Two –Siedentop's Junior Sport Model: Does it work?

Throughout this thesis, I reflect on Siedentop's model of junior sport, to see, if at all, MSHPs fit in this approach, and in what ways they do so. Siedentop (2002) iterated that the three goals of junior sport (education, public health, and elite development) need not be mutually exclusive, nor do sport programmes need to adopt them in their entirety. Rather, it is at the discretion of policy and programme implementers to figure out what would serve sport programmes best. He posits that the most viable option for the development of sport programmes includes aspects of all three goals, but the focus should be on public health and education. I show in section one of the discussion that all three goals emerged in various ways.

Along with this focus, there are three important aspects to consider for sport programmes to flourish: Access to programmes, membership in an exclusive group with caring adult leadership, and challenging activities with tangible results. Siedentop (2002) was idealistic with his model.

> The persisting group with competent, caring adult leadership, when formed around a sport, provides an initiation in the practice of that sport and allows for the development of social capital among girls and boys. It is within this community of caring that many good things can happen. Without it, without the community of caring and expectations, without the moral overtones of a practice, few good things result except performance, and even great performances are not sufficient to sustain practices. If performance and entertainment become the focus, the practices eventually devolve.

> When initiated into and sustained in a sport practice, children and youth can learn to care about that sport and care about its future in a sport culture. This happens because to become a member of a sport practice, one must learn about and accept the standards of excellence in that sport (pg.399).

Considering Siedentop's (2002) theory, children do have the opportunity to flourish in sport programmes, in a range of ways, including through improved skill, personal

development, and better health outcomes. On paper, the junior sport model provides a positive starting block on which to base sport programmes. However, it lacks a critical understanding of the broader social inequities that may impinge children's opportunities to participate in sport. In order to understand these inequities, I consider Siedentop's (2002) three aspects – access, membership, and challenging activities - as neoliberal. As previously noted, neoliberalism underpins much of our understanding of health and sport programming for children, including the MSHP space. I will now detail how each aspect can be neoliberal and why it is important to consider them as such in relation to MSHPs.

Access

When Siedentop notes the importance of access to a facility, he is talking about the physical access, i.e. distance. However, I want to consider that access, in a neoliberal sense, may come to mean more than this. Here I will note that access can be both positive and negative.

Access is Positive

The proximity of facilities for children has become only one consideration for parents in the past two decades (Alexander & Stafford, 2011; Carver et al., 2008; Timperio et al., 2004). This is largely due to parents increased perception of unsafe neighbourhoods, including levels of stranger danger and traffic congestion (Karsten, 2005). Distance becomes less of a factor when children have access to a safe space. Further, a safe space also includes knowing that children are not engaging in delinquent behaviour. Around the period when MSHPs were emerging, political rhetoric supported the establishment of organised activities for children to combat the threat of childhood delinquency.

> Research linking the level of the provision recreational facilities for young people and levels of juvenile delinquency is limited…Whilst there is no definitive evidence to suggest that the provision of recreational facilities will prevent such acts from occurring, I am quite convinced that the provision of appropriate recreational facilities in deprived areas… would give many young people a non-violent outlet for their energies and angst (Australian Labor Party, 1980, pp. 62-65).

The establishment of safe spaces, such as holiday programmes, gives parents peace of mind that their children are in a caring space, and they are not led toward delinquent behaviour. Access to holiday programmes, including MSHPs, could alleviate the perceived stress surrounding children's safety and potential delinquency. However, much of this relies on the parent and their concerns/desires for their children. The rhetoric frame parents as having a choice; the choice to ensure their child is in a safe and structured environment (Nichols et al., 2009). A positive choice would be to enrol their children in such spaces; however, there is more to access than a safe space.

Access is Negative

Parents face a challenge when considering the economic impact of accessing a programme. MSHPs in Melbourne charge $50-60AUD a day, and not all parents are eligible for a 50% government rebate. This leaves many parents out of pocket at least $30 a day per child. The cost incurred can establish a barrier for many families. In addition to economics, research shows that most MSHPs (77%) are in the metro and eastern suburbs, within 30km of Melbourne. The location of these sites poses another barrier for many parents, especially those who live in outer suburbs, or on the western/northern side of the CBD. Do those families not close in proximity choose to drive to the eastern suburbs, which takes time and money?

Finally, and most significantly, the enrolment process could be a potential barrier in accessing the programmes. I discuss the long and arduous process of enrolling for one

of the case studies in the introduction to Sports Domain (page 135). Several key barriers exist within the enrolment process. All three case studies support online enrolments. Even though the number of people with Internet access in Australia is increasing, many people are still without access in their home. In 2016, 86% of households in Australia had Internet access (ABS, 2018). The level of household income impacts people's likelihood to have internet access, with 25-33% of households in the lowest two income quartiles not having access to the Internet in the home (ABS, 2018). Although access to these forms is not impossible (they could call the holiday programme and request a paper-based option, or fill one out at the local library), there is an increasing number of steps required to fill in the form. In addition, enrolment forms are only available in English. This is an important barrier to consider, as 21% of Australian households speak a language other than English in the home, and 49% of the population were born, or one or more of their parents were born overseas (ABS, 2017). The diversity of our growing population, and the lack of diversity in accessing and filling out the forms to even enter such a programme show us whom the programme managers target: the white, middle-class, dual-income family.

I have shown that access is more complex than the distance to a programme. Access can be both positive and negative, with parents bearing most of the decision-making burden. For parents, access can be positive – MSHPs can provide children with a safe environment. Access can also be negative - Parents may not be able to access the programmes if they cannot afford it, if it is too far away, if they do not have access to a computer or Internet in the home, or if English is their second language. Access to MSHPs is thus affected by the neoliberal notion of choice. However, a good parent must do more than weigh up these choices when considering what to do with their children during the holiday period (Nichols et al., 2009). They must be able to overcome

all the access barriers, before entertaining the thought of enrolling their child in such a programme.

Membership

Siedentop (2002) sees membership into a social group as an important component in sustaining a programme and keeping children engaged. As shown in all three case studies, children established informal groups based on skill. This allowed for the meritocratic values of sport performance to emerge, a theme that was clear in CS1. Children were more likely to create these informal groups when coaches organised highly structured and competitive games. Those few children who possessed a high level of skill controlled the games and delivered outcomes and results by scoring goals and showing competence. These children became part of an exclusive group that receives praise from peers and staff for their sporting prowess. Further, these boys could be exhibiting a form of social capital in all three MSHPS.

Sport in Australia is central to many people's lives and engaging in sport can be an important activity in which to build social capital (Sherry & Shilbury, 2007). Previous research shows that social capital in sport can benefit marginalised disadvantaged people (Sherry & Strybosch, 2012). For example, a longitudinal study of the community outcomes for a street soccer programme found that women benefitted from the establishment of a women's only soccer team, as they felt intimidated playing in the mixed teams (Sherry & Strybosch, 2012). In addition, the street-based soccer games provide a "stable, safe and welcoming environment for marginalized and socially excluded participants from a broad range of communities, including people in crisis, those experiencing homelessness, substance or alcohol abuse, mental illness,

intellectual disability and refugees" (Sherry & Strybosch, 2012, p. 505). For those in need, sport can be a positive vehicle for social cohesion, social capital, and inclusion.

In contrast, the research from this thesis shows that social capital can divide groups and serve to profit a select few. The boys who were 'good at sport' in the case studies gained social capital in symbolic ways (Bourdieu, 1986). The staff members and other children (usually boys) revered the boys good at sport, placing them on a metaphorical pedestal during the more organised games. Social capital was a form of membership into a particular group "which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 86). Thus, you did not have the credentials to achieve the social capital in these spaces if you were not as competent or confident at sport. A large proportion of children did not receive the affirmation tied to social capital. This conflates with much of the work supporting sport as a level playing field and open to all (for example, Kaufman & Wolff, 2010). In these case studies, involvement in competitive sport became dependent on the level of skill a child had.

The opportunities for sport to be a positive vehicle for social capital look to be context and quite possibly, content-specific. As noted in Sherry and Strybosch (2012), sport can provide a space for disadvantaged people to come together and feel part of a community. In the MSHPs, sport performance was a commodity, and value placed on skilled performance of sport narrowed the scope for who could gain social capital. Thus, a question arises surrounding how we can shift the discourse of elite sport/merit in MSHPs to a more inclusive programming model so that all of those in MSHPs can benefit from sport in the same way as the above research, and the boys 'good at sport'?

One of the first areas for consideration includes how children understand the space and the potential socialisation within. The way children formed their peer groups created a meritocratic environment, which is similar to research in holiday camps asserting that physical ability dictated peer-group dominance (Savin-Williams, 1979). Researchers have since contested this finding (Hanna, 1998); however, the research contesting this focused on non-competitive environments (Hanna, 1998; Yuen et al., 2005). Similar to Savin-Williams (1979), the research in this thesis suggests that the neoliberal logic of meritocracy was underpinning the way children chose some peer groups.

Sport is complex, multi-faceted, and means different things to do different people. It can foster positive social capital, cohesion and positive relationship building between and within communities in the right environment. However, seeing sport as one-size-fits-all, as Siedentop does in various ways, limits who sport is for, and how people benefit from it. Siedentop's membership model is difficult to implement in the MSHP space, as his model only considers sport to foster positive peer relations if people engage in the same way (Siedentop, 2002). In the current state, there is not enough research to say why children participate in sport. If we do not know why they wish to play sport, then we cannot assume that all children will enjoy a structured and competitive environment. Further investigation into children's sport experiences will assist in unpacking and establishing ways to create sport programmes that benefit all, and in doing so foster positive sport membership, no matter how you engage in sport.

Challenging Activities (outcome/results)

For children to have outcomes and results from sport, there is usually some form of competition involved. However, there is no level of skill required to enter MSHPs, which means that the children attending could have varied skill levels. For those with

higher skill levels, there is an expectation that their level of gameplay is acceptable, but in reality, most of the children do not (especially younger children) play highly competitive sports. Further, when children's programmes and activities are organised and led by adults, children have less time to create their games through personal, imaginative time. Parents have previously reported their desire for more structured activities, rather than free play in organised spaces (Hirsh-Pasek et al., 2004). However, as shown in the case studies, masculine hegemony emerged through highly structured games, such as soccer. Previous research has shown that children have opportunities to question masculine norms and logic surrounding play and sport when given more freedom, and when shown alternate forms of media that may challenge their view of sport and physical play (Honey & McDonald, 2012). If children do not get opportunities to participate in free play, and only engage in structured sport, they may lose the chance to explore alternate play styles, and potentially challenge the merit-based logic (Honey & McDonald, 2012).

Siedentop did not pose this programming model as wholly competitive, and I believe that less structured spaces can still provide challenges for children. However, when coaches and children respect outcomes and results in a highly structured environment, it leaves little room to consider the possibilities that less structured environments can have on children's development.

Seeing Siedentop's Model as Neoliberal

Access to programmes, membership into activities, and games with challenges and outcomes can have positive and negative effects. The day to day organisation of MSHPs are not solely based on Siedentop's activity programming; however, we can see that they can contribute to our understanding of how these programmes are structured.

The exploration of MSHPs shows that there are distinct neoliberal underpinnings running and maintaining these spaces. The neoliberal themes underpinning the structure of MSHPs include the good parent, positive youth development, meritocracy, and economics. These neoliberal values are repackaged as common goals for all children, and as discussed above, provide the cornerstone for Siedentop's successful programming (access to programmes, informal membership, and challenging outcomes). When neoliberal values, such as those mentioned, come to dominate the logic within the space, there is little room left to question alternate ways for children to play sport, think about health, and access these programmes. These values are not inherently bad, but as discussed, they become exclusionary and benefit those who have money, and are already good at sport. Further, the research shows that MSHPs are one of many spaces that exposes children to dominant neoliberal, masculine, and healthism-based logic. The spaces are not unique, but if these dominant discourses pervade most, if not all of children's spaces, then we must consider what this will mean for children's understanding of health, sport, and gender relations in years to come.

Part Three – Big Picture

MSHPs are a product of the political, social and educational reforms that have occurred in Australia over the past 45 years. The political moments and economic shifts concerning childcare, children's physical activity, and children's health have all shaped how we care for children outside of school hours. Further, the MSHP philosophies all embodied political ideals of organised sport for children, sport as a site of youth development, and the desire for children to be in safe, structured environments. The first section of part three will discuss the broader political rhetoric that has shaped the emergence of these programmes. The second section will focus on the three MSHP philosophies, how policy, literature, and society have shaped these philosophies, and whether the programmes achieved the aims of their philosophies.

Policy Guides the Way

The policy documents and economic reforms that I discuss in chapter three play an integral role in understanding the emergence, and current format of MSHPs in Victoria. Policy documents revealed the reverence that politicians, sport pundits, and commentators placed on organised and elite sport in Australia. Elite, organised sport was espoused as integral to the Australian way of life through many documents, especially in Labor Party policies (such as Australian Labor Party, 1980). This devotion to elite sport began with Gough Whitlam, and although funding and resources to sport stagnated in the late 1970s, funding eventually began trending upward up through the new millennium. Much of the logic underpinning elite sport funding came from a desire to be seen as the best, and most athletic nation (Cashman, 1995; Coles, 1975; Stewart, 2004).

The early stages of sport policy in Australia included very little information regarding

children's sport, with children expected to emulate their elite heroes (Coles, 1975).
Consideration of how children spend their time became a prominent political and social
theme from the 1980s. The concern for how children spend their time can be traced
back to Gough Whitlam's (1972) opening speech, where he cited delinquency as the
result of idle time. From here, the government supported several policies pertaining to
children's engagement in structured activities, to combat idle time and potential
delinquency (Bloomfield, 1973; Coles, 1975). However, these early policies do not
establish specific guidelines for engaging children. The release of the Junior Sport
Policy (1994), and Active After School Communities (Australian Sports Commission,
2007) both highlight the coordinated efforts to engage children in sport. Along with the
push for children's enrolment in physically active spaces, subsidies for childcare
occurred. This included moving childcare payments from the programmes to the
parents using the programmes (Wilkins, 2014).

The coordinated investment in children's sport programming to promote physical
activity also came with the proposal of a social benefit: that of building social capital.
The alignment of social capital and organised sport, is not a new topic, with sport often

> "seen as an integral aspect of community building and developing social
> cohesion, as sporting events bring disparate people together. Governments at all
> levels provide facilities, infrastructure, financial support, and programs which
> aim to provide sport and recreation opportunities for their community, in the
> belief that providing opportunities for community building will result in a
> healthier community overall" (Sherry & Shilbury, 2007, p. 425).

Most policy documents reviewed in this thesis reveal similar rhetoric of organised sport
providing conditions for improved social capital. For example, the government's
advocacy for sport as a space for social cohesion emerged in the 1985 curriculum report.
The report initially cited physical education in the field of "personal development", as
there was belief that sport could build character (Ministry of Education, 1988, p.22).

Further, Gough Whitlam's rousing speech also focuses on the importance of sport for our social welfare (Whitlam, 1972). This political commentary aligns with research in the field of positive youth development (PYD), with both areas contributing to the emergence of MSHPs, and school holiday programmes in general (K. A. Henderson, Bialeschki, et al., 2007; Hickerson & Henderson, 2014).

PYD did not emerge as a dominant theme in the case study research but is nonetheless important in understanding the continued popularity of MSHPs. This is due to PYD's relationship with citizenship, reduced delinquency, and improvements in academic performance (Berlin et al., 2007; Burnett, 2014; Madden, 2015). The problem, as discussed in the literature review, is that PYD is difficult to measure, and includes anecdotal accounts of children's behaviour change (Madden, 2015).

With the policy and research both citing the developmental benefits and development of social capital through organised sports, parents are increasingly encouraged to enrol their children in programmes that stimulate and educate (Nichols et al., 2009). Thus, how we understand the good parent is enmeshed in ideas supporting structured and organised activities for children outside of school hours (Nichols et al., 2009). The good parent has a direct impact on the emergence of MSHPs, as parents should buy into the product of MSHPs, and see value in them for children to then engage in the programmes. Additional to the safe and educational offerings, part of the appeal of MSHPs includes the intersection of sport and health within these spaces.

Parents are faced with a moral imperative to provide children with healthy food choices and structured activity for their development (J.A. Henderson et al., 2009; Nichols et al., 2009). These imperatives are often considered to be a key component of good parenting (J. A. Henderson et al., 2009; Nichols et al., 2009). Parent's face many

pressures when considering what is best for their child. For example, both parents and children were bombarded with multiple messages on the *right* way to look, what foods children *should* eat, and the *correct* ways to exercise while walking into the MSHPs. This pervasive messaging towards parents and their children may pose problems, as there may be little opportunity to critically reflect on what is best for their child.

The rhetoric of healthism, and how we should think about children's health (especially parents) is evident in several political documents. For example, healthism emerged in documents that refer to the poor health of the nation, and children's sedentary behaviour as a problem for all people (Australian Sports Commission, 1994, 1997, 2007; Bloomfield, 1973; Board of Studies, 1995; Commonwealth of Australia, 2003; National Public Health Partnership, 2005; World Health Organization, 1986; Whitlam, 1972). Bloomfield stated that "Australian's are facing unprecedented physical problems as a result of this physical inactivity. The number of very obese people, often quite young, whom one sees in Australia, is an indication in itself of the state of the nation's health" (Bloomfield, 1973, p. 1). Here, Bloomfield aligns the notion of health and the body and ties it to physical activity.

More recent policies have similar narratives, including the Junior Sport Policy Framework (Australian Sports Commission, 1994), ALP Sport and Recreation Policy (Australian Labor Party, 1980) and Healthy Weight 2008 (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003). These policies tie ideas of health to the body and use physical activity as a solution to the problem 'bodies' (such as obese bodies). For example, the ALP Sport and Recreation Policy proposed that,

> Research in the last few years has revealed some startling facts about our youth. According to a survey conducted by the NSW Sport Science and Research Centre, Australian children are much more obese than British children…

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(Australian Labor Party, 1980, p. 94)

To combat this obesity trend…

> Major emphasis should be placed on teaching children, starting from kindergarten and elementary schools, to actively participate in physical exercise and sport. A good elementary school physical education should have the following elements: daily instruction, active participation by all children, wide range of movement experience, qualified, competent teachers, adequate facilities and equipment (Australian Labor Party, 1980, p. 96).

The promotion of health is important, as good health can decrease the burden of cost on the healthcare system, and lead to improvements in quality of life. However, the way that these documents frame health is cause for concern. According to the documents, health is an individual issue, one that simplifies the idea of health to that of the body/weight. The documents state that the problem of health needs to focus on obesity, and physical activity is the key to controlling weight. The provision of physical activity in these policies was to occur in the school system. However, as the WHO, and the commentary provided by John Howard through the AASC state (see chapter three), the time outside of school hours is integral for engaging children in physical activity (World Health Organization, 2002). Thus, MSHPs could be a productive space outside of school hours for children, where they can participate in physical activity, play with friends, and learn about sports.

In turn, these programmes can help shape our understanding of children's sport and health, and the role that child care plays in many people's lives. There has been a considerable amount of research conducted on children's sport, and the logic of healthism in recent years (Burrows & McCormack, 2014; Gard & Wright, 2001; Kirk & Tinning, 1994; Tinning, 1985; Tinning & Glasby, 2002; Wright & Burrows, 2004). However, to date, no research has explored the intersection of these fields of research in the space of school holiday programmes. More broadly, no research has explored the

potential socialisation that can occur in these spaces. My research opens a dialogue about the potential effects these programmes can have on children, staff, and parents in these spaces. Further, my research has contextualised the existence of MSHPs in Victoria, including why they are significant to the school holiday phenomenon.

It is important to consider that the onus is not actually on children to better themselves. It is most often the parent's responsibility to engage in the healthism and organised/structured activity rhetoric. When multiple agencies (the school, policy, through media) thrust the above messages (such as figures 17 and 18 above) at parents from, we must consider that they may indeed struggle to question dominant logic. I am not advocating that we completely throw out the dominant healthism and merit-based system of junior sport; however, it is the lack of consideration for various alternatives that do not fit in this white middle-class meritocracy of MSHPs. Maybe what is needed is greater education on the various ways children can play and learn outside of school hours. Where concepts of healthy eating include social and mental health and do not focus on the body; where children are encouraged to free play and enjoy making up their own games; and where parents are not made to feel guilty or bad for choosing *other* activities for their children.

Do MSHPs Achieve their Philosophy?[29]

Broadly, the three MSHP philosophies align with political and social rhetoric that encourage parents to enrol children in a safe and structured environment (Carver et al., 2008; Timperio et al., 2004), one that promotes physical activity outside of school hours (Australian Sports Commission, 2007), and one that provides an entertaining and educative experience for children enrolled (Catalano et al., 2004; K. A. Henderson,

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[29] Each philosophy is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven: Introducing the Case Studies

Whitaker, et al., 2007; Hickerson, 2010; Thurber et al., 2007).

The overarching philosophy in the MSHPs was the opportunity for "kids [to] develop their basic skills including kicking, throwing, balancing, spatial awareness, technique and game-sense" ("Kelly Sport Holiday Programmes," 2018). Engaging in any activity where there are repeated movements, like those mentioned in the above quote is likely to help someone develop their skills in that activity. Thus, all three MSHPs are engaging in skill development, to varying degrees. Many games and activities can embody repetitive movements, including deliberate play (Côté & Hay, 2002), as seen in the MSHPs. Deliberate play can "help [children] acquire fundamental motor skills such as running, throwing, and jumping" (Côté & Hay, 2002, p. 491). As deliberate play emphasises fun, along with less emphasis on structured games, this becomes an ideal way for children to engage in skill development.

Through deliberate play, coaches and facilitators provide less feedback regarding the 'correct' way to participate in activities, while fostering an inclusive environment. However, when coaches and facilitators actively instruct the children on correct technique, such as staff member Melanie in the volleyball session (excerpt 7), the children learn a type of skill acquisition and development that promotes the 'right' and 'wrong' way to play games. This is further compounded when those running sessions have been instructed to "individually assess" ("VU Sport Camps," 2016) children to place them in skill-based groups. The experience that these coaches have to assess children stems from "studying Bachelor of Sport Science and Masters of Sport Science" degrees ("VU Sport Camps," 2016). The coaches rely on the knowledge learnt through university degrees that promote merit, healthism, and physiological based testing. Although not negative, it does pose three potential problems:

1. MSHPs only run for 2-4 weeks at any one time.

2. Teaching children the right and wrong way to play games can lead to more structure and competitive games, and this often promotes a meritocratic system of play that is not as inclusive as other styles, such as deliberate play

3. When staff have a narrow understanding of how to teach health and physical activity, then there are fewer opportunities for children to challenge dominant logic of competitive sport

Most children have had previous exposure to playing games and sport a particular way, through spaces such as the playground (Thomson, 2007), junior sport programmes (Messner, 2011), and PE class (Victorian Board of Studies, 1995). Generally, it is boys that have had more opportunities to play structured games and organised sport, with statistics showing that more boys than girls participate in organised physical activity in Australia (ABS, 2012). Further, research in the school playground shows that boys will often organise structured ball sports during lunch periods, and offer few to no opportunities for girls to get involved with them (Clark & Paechter, 2007; Epstein et al., 2001; Knowles et al., 2013; Thomson, 2007). Thus, children, generally boys exposed to competitive and rule-based game play, may be more likely to engage in the rule-based and competitive style of play over other types, such as deliberate play. Moreover, when activities focus on skill development in structured and competitive ways, those who are already competent are more likely to control the space.

Further, as MSHPs only operate for two weeks at a time, this leaves little time for other children to learn skills and catch up to be as competent as those considered good at sport. Although those running the MSHPs actively promote the philosophy of skill development, when staff organise competitive games, most children do not play. This means that very few children actively invest in the philosophy of skill development.

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Thus, onus lies with the coaches/facilitators to challenge logic of structured and competitive sport. The use of deliberate play can hopefully breakdown these potential barriers for children in engaging in the activities and support fun and inclusive environments.

However, the difficulty of implementing inclusive practices arises when those facilitating the sessions have only a narrow understanding of sport and physical activity – an understanding they have learnt through their undergraduate degrees. For example, the sport science degrees currently operating from a Victorian university focus on physiology, biomechanics, growth and development of the human body, and psychology ("Bachelor of Sport Science," 2018). Very little emphasis is on the sociology of sport, or ethics and historical significance of sport in society. This may narrow a student's understanding of sport science to the body and how the body moves in space, with little regard as to the ways people can or cannot access, why they are involved in sport/physical activity and the benefits of physical activity outside of physical health.

Through the philosophies, a need arose for MSHPs (and other junior sport programmes) to be productive spaces that offer a multiplicity of social, physical, and emotional benefits. And it is while to cite that the government, the education sector, junior sport organisations, and childcare spaces have all shaped the emergence of MSHPs. With the investment of several organisations and industries, it is no surprise that the goals, philosophies and practices of MSHPs are broad. As evidenced above, these spaces offer multiple goals, such as, get children fit and healthy, build social capital, develop sport skill, and make friends. These spaces are positioning themselves as a 'catch-all' programme for many different types of children, but it does bring up what their role is in society. When considering sports organisations broadly, Sherry and Shilbury (2007)

note:

> Governments, sport organisations, and the broader community find themselves in an ongoing discourse about the role of sport in the Australian community: sport as business, professional sport, corporate sport, sport as a means to develop social capital, to produce a positive economic impact, to aid in international trade and diplomatic relations, or as a repository for national identity. This multiplicity of expectations on the role and inherent values of sport adds to the complexity of the social context within which sport organisations must operate" (428).

This complexity is not lost in the MSHP space. Parents pay large sums of money to enrol their children in a programme that promotes meritocratic goals of improving skill, while also supporting notions of a safe and inclusive space (although, as noted in chapter eight, not all children have the same opportunities to participate in the same ways throughout the holidays). When there are such varied goals, it is undoubtedly fair to say that these programmes and sports organisations in general, may not achieve all they set out to do.

The three MSHPs examined were all built on philosophies of welcoming environments, inclusive and supportive games and activities, and skill development. On the surface, they do achieve these philosophical underpinnings. However, the neoliberal logic embedded in these programmes limits the access to these programmes, and limit who will benefit the most while in them.

Chapter Ten: Future directions and conclusion

<u>Implications of Research</u>

This thesis has identified that sport, health, and education policy have set the foundations for the emergence and popularity of MSHPs in Victoria, Australia. Further, the case studies show the sorts of knowledge and dominant logic that have become embedded within these spaces. This logic includes healthism, meritocracy, and gender relations. Following this, my research may have political implications in the following two ways.

> 1. Inform future policy surrounding children's sport and health-based school holiday programmes
>
> 2. Consider the positive effect these programmes can have, and look to establish similar programmes in rural and outer suburbs

Future policy surrounding children's sport and physical activity need to emphasise the importance of fun and enjoyment of sport. Too many times I read policy citing an elite sport model, where children should emulate athletes. When there is an expectation for children to follow the path of highly competitive sport, it leaves little room for more informal and fun style games to occur. As the case studies showed, when children were competitive, many children missed out on playing games. It is unlikely to eliminate the issues surrounding meritocracy in organised junior sport; however, if policy reflected a more holistic and informal model of sport, we may find that children have more opportunities to engage in less structured activity in the future.

It might also be pertinent for the government (local and state) to consider subsidising the establishment of these programmes in outer suburbs. Although not policy, the

government investment into such programmes could be beneficial outside of metro Melbourne. As I have shown in chapter four, most programmes are within 30km of metro Melbourne. These programmes are in areas where there is a glut of activities for children. More access to such programmes in areas outside of this 30km radius may improve children's sport and activity engagement from a young age.

Finally, when policy constantly ties sport to children's physical health, it reduces the potential benefits that sport can have for children. Sport can provide many positive benefits, including improvements in social, and mental health (Eime, Young, Harvey, Charity, & Payne, 2013). However, when people position sport as an activity for fitness, we are narrowing the potential ways that children (and adults) understand sport, and their reasons for taking up organised sport. The policies that have emerged since 2000 highlight this intersection of sport and health, and if this continues, then we risk neglecting the many positives that can emerge from sport and physical activity.

Limitations

This project was not without its limitations. Ideally, children and parents would be part of the interview process. However, in the early stages of the project, it became clear that interviewing children (in focus groups) was an incredibly difficult task, and did not yield relevant information regarding the structure, or their feelings toward the programmes. That is not to say that the children were not a valuable source of information, rather, it was far easier to talk to them in informal settings where they could 'chat', such as at lunchtimes. A single focus group ran as informally as possible, with children encouraged to bring their lunch and eat while they talk. However, the children seemed to revert to classroom behaviour when the focus group was running. They sat quietly and even raised their hands to talk. In contrast, children would often

run up to me and talk about food, health, and sport throughout the day. In keeping with the inductive nature of the project, the focus groups did not continue.

The parents had very little to say both formally, and informally. Approaching any of the parents was a barrier, with most of them glued to their phones or rushing in and out of the MSHPs to get to work or home. Parents had very little interest in me as a researcher, merely seeing me as another staff member. Those that did stop to talk about my project expressed little interest in an interview, often stating that they had other children, chores, or work that was more pressing. Future research could consider interviewing parents using online surveys. This, of course, would not yield as much depth in potential answers, but could at least open dialogue from the parent's perspective about the role of MSHPs in their lives.

Future Directions

The future directions of this research are threefold. First, future research may consider that seemingly ubiquitous spaces, such as MSHPs can and do socialise children in many ways. Research needs to focus attention on the ways these spaces (and other similar spaces) can impact how children understand sport, physical activity, and health. The case studies shed light on the potential socialisation that can occur in MSHPs; however, a more in-depth analysis of such spaces would be beneficial. The themes that emerged in the three case studies are similar to research emerging in physical education, junior sport, and playground space. It is worth considering that these fields of research complement one another, and MSHPs may indeed be a product of the knowledge developed in the school, the playground, and junior sport fields. Future research may explore the thematic similarities and differences that emerge from between these spaces, and what this may mean for children's socialisation into health, physical activity and

their knowledge of the body.

The second consideration for future research includes gathering data from a broad range of stakeholders, such as parents, children, managers, and organisational heads to understand their role and reasons for involvement in such programmes. By developing depth and diversity in the types of participants involved in the research, then we can begin to fully understand the role of MSHPs in our current social climate.

Finally, an in-depth analysis of children's sport, physical activity, education, and health policy will help future research in the field of children's studies. An in-depth analysis that highlights the themes stemming from each era of political governance, and the subtle nuances between sport, health, and education policy, can help us better understand where policy may be lacking, and how to inform it in the future. In doing so, we may find ways for more children to benefit from access to programmes such as MSHPs.

Conclusion

This thesis traced the emergence and significance of multi-sport holiday programmes (MSHPs) in Victoria and examined how three MSHPs operated, including the values ascribed to the spaces by children and staff. Chapters one-four explored the emergence of MSHPs through a political and social lens. In these chapters, I mapped out Australia's investment (monetary and social) into childcare, and the changes that have allowed an intersection of sport, health, and education to take place in the childcare market over the past 45 years.

The rise of neoliberal rhetoric, both in policy and society, support these changes. Of importance is the role of neoliberalism in influencing the privatisation of the childcare

market and a meritocratic approach toward organised sport. Through the privatisation of the childcare market, parents began to see a myriad of options to choose from. One such space included organised sport-based childcare, which became a valuable developmental option for children (and parents). Pundits promoted organised sport as a bastion of hope for children; however, a lack of coordinated policy and peer-reviewed evidence led to a particular brand (meritocratic) of organised sport programming. Sport evangelists were the loudest voices promoting this type of programming, including health and psycho-social benefits of sport as beneficial for all Australians. Alternate forms of organised sport, or what organised sport could mean for different children received little attention, such as those who have not grown up with the pervasive 'sport=organised, structured and competitive sport' mantra that controlled much of the political commentary.

Chapter five complements the political and social introductory chapters and is in two sections. The first section presents a historical overview of the research conducted in summer camps, holiday programmes, and MSHPs around the world. This area of the literature review revealed a lack of critical analysis of summer camps/holiday programmes, including how they have come about, why people engage with them, or what they enjoy about them. As very little data exists on how and why these programmes have emerged from an academic perspective, section two of the literature explores the Australian context of junior sport more broadly to contextualise the significance of MSHPs.

Results from section two suggest that PYD and healthism both dominate the commentary of junior sport spaces. For example, several papers suggest that organised junior sport will inherently promote aspects of PYD, with little consideration for how children engage with sport, their reasons for engaging, and who actually benefits from

PYD. Healthism emerged as a dominant and oft unconscious discourse within PE classes, with children frequently exposed to narrow, body focussed ideas of health. This section also highlighted the complexity of understanding gender relations through play and sport. Although qualitative data suggests that boys are just 'more' active, qualitative data highlight the issues that girls face when navigating male-dominated sport spaces and performativity of feminine identities.

The literature review is broad and covers both a historical and contextual perspective. PYD and Healthism discourses emerged in many areas of the literature review, and the review illustrates the lack of critical work undertaken in the MSHP field, further providing justification for the research chapters.

Chapters six-nine details the methodology employed, and case study research in three MSHPs. I used field notes and interview transcripts to present the findings from each space. I found that, along with the similarities in day-to-day operations, similar values/discourses pervaded the MSHPs. The discourses included healthism, meritocracy, and gender relations. In showing the dominant discourses, I consider that MSHPs may be sites where socialisation can occur. This is an important consideration, as no previous literature presents holiday programmes as sites of socialisation.

Results from the case studies showed that MSHPs are complex spaces where there are reproductions of contradictory knowledge surrounding health and physical activity. For example, coaches and staff encouraged children in the engagement of sport and physical activity; however, messages about the right and wrong ways to look and what foods to consume when engaging in physical activity pervaded the spaces. Some children were able to question dominant logic of the healthism discourse through their food choices;

however, others swallowed these messages whole, taking up the healthism knowledge uncritically.

Further, the assumption that sport is a boy's space persistently emerged in the three case studies. This gendered logic impacted the way that young girls engaged in games and how female coaches ran activities. The contradiction of these strong female coaches presenting themselves as competent athletes yet running activities so that 'girls could play too' was a striking finding. It highlights that hegemonic masculinity may be deeply entrenched in these spaces. Future work could explore this interesting juxtaposition to break down the stigma for young girls engaging in sport.

The findings suggest that the MSHPs studied were meritocratic spaces. Children exhibited forms of capital through their sporting skills and their knowledge of healthy food choices. Staff would support those children who embodied healthism and PYD traits, which would lead to a recurring cycle of dominant meritocratic logic embedded in the spaces. The findings in this study were similar to previous research in school playgrounds, PE classrooms and organised sport centres. If we are going to support and promote sport as spaces for all children to enjoy, we must consider addressing the taken for granted logic embedded in organised junior sport spaces such as MSHPs.

To close the thesis, I summarise the implications that the intersection of sport, health, and education policy has had on the establishment of MSHPs. These implications include the value placed on organised and structured sport, health food, and the body and align with the dominant discourses that emerged in these sites - specifically healthism, the body, gender relations, and meritocracy. Thus, I contend that these seemingly ubiquitous MSHP spaces can socialise children in several ways. This

socialisation may contribute to children's narrow understanding of health, sport, and their own bodies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

INFORMATION TO HOLIDAY PROGRAMMES INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled Active holiday programmes and the (re)production of the (in)active child.

This project is being conducted by a student researcher Caitlin Honey as part of a PhD study at Victoria University under the supervision of Dr Brent McDonald and Dr Fiona McLachlan from the College of Sport and Exercise Science.

Project explanation

Active holiday programmes are sites which provide active care to primary aged children throughout the holiday periods, and consist in two main forms: single sport and multi-sport programmes. These sites can be considered an essential site in terms of childcare, however the ideas surrounding the construction of these programmes has gone largely unchallenged. Being that these sites have gone unchallenged, there is no research surrounding the effects that these programmes may have, in particular on the children enrolled. Rather than assuming that these programmes are neutral, this research will trace how active holiday programmes have come to be normalised, looking specifically at the potential these programmes have in 'shaping' children's ideas and experiences. This will be analysed in relation to the 'active child', how this idea has been made possible, and in what ways it can shape the way children understand themselves in these spaces.

What will I be asked to do?

Your role as an active holiday programme would include providing access to the programme for a 2-week period in order to conduct observations and a focus group study. The student researcher (Caitlin Honey) will be conducting the observations in a participatory capacity, along with focus group interviews with 4-10 children enrolled in the programme.

What will I gain from participating?

This study provides this programme with the chance to be one of the first active holiday programmes studied in relation to its construction and maintenance. Further, this creates an opportunity for both children and adults to openly discuss the role that organised physical activity has in their lives.

How will the information I give be used?

The student researcher, Caitlin Honey will be collecting the information provided and qualitatively analysing its contents. This will be done by first translating all voice recorded data, then removing all identifiable data (names/places possibly discussed throughout) to ensure anonymity throughout. Once this occurs, a textual/discourse analysis of data will occur.

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

It is unlikely that any potential risks may arise from participating within this study, and it is very unlikely that any distress will be caused.

Participation is voluntary and all are free to withdraw at any time throughout the study.

If any participants would like to speak to psychologist regarding their time during this study, Dr. Glen Hosking will be available for counselling and can be contacted on glen.hosking@vu.edu.au or (03) 9919 2266.

How will this project be conducted?

Before conducted the fieldwork within active holiday programmes, a textual analysis of government data will be conducted in order to place active holiday programmes within the context of an institution – a site which can potentially 'shape' behaviour. Once this has been completed, the student researcher will attempt to read the physical space of the active holiday programmes, through engagement of the programmes, informal and semi-structured interviews with parents, and also focus group interviews with a sample of the children enrolled.

Field notes will be taken throughout the engagement of each programme studied, and voice recorded informal interviews will be conducted throughout, citing participant's feelings regarding the programmes and construction of the active child.

Who is conducting the study?

Victoria University is the major organisation involved in this research project.

Chief Investigator: Dr. Brent McDonald, College of Sport and Exercise Science: Phone: (03)9919-4656, Email: brent.mcdonald@vu.edu.au

Student Researcher: Caitlin Honey, College of Sport and Exercise Science: Phone: 0402754722, Email: caitlin.honey@live.vu.edu.au

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above. If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

<u>Appendix 2</u>

CONSENT FORM FOR HOLIDAY PROGRAMMES INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS:

We would like to invite you to be a part of a study into…

A study which will examine the potential that active holiday programmes have in the (re)production of the (in)active child. Active holiday programmes are often considered an essential site in terms of child care; however, the construction of these programmes has gone largely unchallenged. With this in mind the study will trace how active holiday programmes have come to be in society, and what effects these programmes may have on the children within them.

Fieldwork will be the major method of data collection within this study, along with focus group interviews with (4-10) children, and informal interviews with staff and parents. The fieldwork involves immersion within the programme for a 2-week period, collecting notes and developing a rapport with all within the programme. With regard to the focus group interviews; all children will be invited to participate, and a random sampling of children will occur to select the 4-10 children who may be interested.

CERTIFICATION BY MANAGER

I, Coordinator/Manager of Holiday Programme -

Certify that I am at least 18 years old* and that I am voluntarily giving my consent for this study to occur: Active holiday programmes and the (re)production of the (in)active child being conducted at Victoria University by: Dr. Brent McDonald, Dr. Fiona McLachlan and Caitlin Honey

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed hereunder to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Caitlin Honey

And that I freely consent to participation involving the below mentioned procedures:

- Fieldwork study involving the student researcher to be conducted within the holiday programme
- Informal interviews with parents and staff within programme
- Focus group interview with children within programme

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I have been informed that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

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Signed:

Date:

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the researcher

Dr. Brent McDonald

(03) 9919-4656

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email Researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

[*please note: Where the participant/s are aged under 18, separate parental consent is required; where the participant/s are unable to answer for themselves due to mental illness or disability, parental or guardian consent may be required.]

INFORMATION TO STAFF INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled Active holiday programmes and the (re)production of the in/active child.

This project is being conducted by a student researcher Caitlin Honey as part of a PhD study at Victoria University under the supervision of Dr Brent McDonald and Dr Fiona McLachlan from the College of Sport and Exercise Science.

If you are interested potentially completing the semi-structured interviews, please contact

caitlin.honey@live.vu.edu.au

Project explanation

Active holiday programmes are sites which provide active care to primary aged children throughout the holiday periods, and consist in two main forms: single sport and multi-sport programmes. These sites can be considered an essential site in terms of childcare, however the ideas surrounding the construction of these programmes has gone largely unchallenged. Being that these sites have gone unchallenged, there is no research surrounding the effects that these programmes may have, in particular on the children enrolled. Rather than assuming that these programmes are neutral, this research will trace how active holiday programmes have come to be normalised, looking specifically at the potential these programmes have in 'shaping' children's ideas and experiences. This will be analysed in relation to the 'active child', how this idea has been made possible, and in what ways it can shape the way children understand themselves in these spaces.

What will I be asked to do?

As staff members, you will have the opportunity to participate in semi-structured interviews being conducted. These interviews will include questions surrounding your personal experiences with these programme(s), your thoughts on the organised sport culture for youth and the ideas surrounding the 'active child'. A total of 20 interviews will be conducted at the various sites. The interviews will last for 30-60 minutes and consist of 5-10 questions, being conducted at a convenient time and place for the participant to ensure comfort. The adoption of pseudonyms will occur to provide confidentiality. Information and expression of interest will be made available at an information session prior to the observations held at the programme you work at.

It is important to note that there will be no repercussion if you choose not to participate as it is a voluntary exercise. Management/staff members will not be notified of participation/non-participation. If at any time you wish your discussions with the researcher to be removed from the study, feel free to contact either her or one of her supervisors (see contact information below).

What will I gain from participating?

This study will provide you with the chance to openly voice your opinion on the construction and maintenance of active holiday programmes, as well as organised sport for children, and its importance in your life/society.

How will the information I give be used?

The student researcher, Caitlin Honey will be collecting the information provided and qualitatively analysing its contents. This will be done by first translating all voice recorded data, then removing all identifiable data (names/places possibly discussed throughout) to ensure confidentiality throughout. Once this occurs, a textual/discourse analysis of data will occur.

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

It is unlikely that any potential risks may arise from participating within this study, and it is very unlikely that any distress will be caused.

Participation is voluntary and all are free to withdraw at any time throughout the study.

If any participants would like to speak to psychologist regarding their time during this study, Dr. Glen Hosking will be available for counselling and can be contacted on glen.hosking@vu.edu.au or (03) 9919 2266.

How will this project be conducted?

Before conducting the fieldwork within active holiday programmes, a textual analysis of government data will be conducted in order to place active holiday programmes within the context of an institution – a site which can potentially 'shape' behaviour. Once this has been completed, the student researcher will attempt to read the physical space of the active holiday programmes, through engagement of the programmes, informal and semi-structured interviews with parents and staff, and also focus group interviews with a sample of the children enrolled.

Field notes will be taken throughout the engagement of each programme studied, and voice recorded informal interviews will be conducted throughout, citing participant's feelings regarding the programmes and construction of the active child.

Who is conducting the study?

Victoria University is the major organisation involved in this research project.

Chief Investigator: Dr. Brent McDonald, College of Sport and Exercise Science: Phone: (03)9919-4656, Email: brent.mcdonald@vu.edu.au

Student Researcher: Caitlin Honey, College of Sport and Exercise Science: Phone: 0402754722, Email: caitlin.honey@live.vu.edu.au

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above. If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

CONSENT FORM FOR STAFF MEMBERS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS:

We would like to invite you to be a part of a study into…

A study which will examine the potential that active holiday programmes have in the (re)production of the in/active child. Active holiday programmes can be considered an essential site in terms of child care; however, the construction of these programmes has gone largely unchallenged. With this in mind the study will trace how active holiday programmes have come to be in society, and what effects these programmes may have on the children within them.

Semi-structured interviews will be conducted in order to gain in-depth experiences and thoughts surrounding the rise of active holiday programmes, from the perspective of the staff member.

You have been provided with an interview topic guide along with this consent form, and although these questions may not be used in their entirety, they provide the researcher with a guide for the questions.

Each interview will consist of 5-10 questions, each surrounding the production and maintenance of active holiday programmes, and the increased importance of children being active in society. This interview will run for 30-60 minutes, with question time at the beginning and end, to clarify any questions you may have. Each interview is anonymous, and it is encouraged that you decide on a pseudonym for the data analysis.

CERTIFICATION BY Staff Member

I, _____

Certify that I am at least 18 years old and that I am voluntarily giving my consent for this study to occur:

Active holiday programmes and the (re)production of the (in)active child

Being conducted at Victoria University by: Dr. Brent McDonald, Dr. Fiona McLachlan and Caitlin Honey

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed hereunder to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Caitlin Honey

And that I freely consent to participation involving the below mentioned procedures:

- Semi-Structured Interviews

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I have been informed that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

Signed:

Date:

Chief Investigator: Dr. Brent McDonald, College of Sport and Exercise Science: Phone: (03)9919-4656, Email: brent.mcdonald@vu.edu.au

Student Researcher: Caitlin Honey, College of Sport and Exercise Science: Phone: 0402754722, Email: caitlin.honey@live.vu.edu.au

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above. If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

[*please note: Where the participant/s are aged under 18, separate parental consent is required; where the participant/s are unable to answer for themselves due to mental illness or disability, parental or guardian consent may be required.]

x

DISCLOSURE OF RESEARCH

This form acknowledges:

- *The research project active holiday programmes and the (re)production of the in/active child will be conducted at this site.*
- *The project is being conducted by a student researcher Caitlin Honey as part of a PhD study at Victoria University under the supervision of Dr Brent McDonald and Dr Fiona McLachlan from the College of Sport and Exercise Science.*
- *The research considers the effects that these sites have on those within – namely the children and parents of those enrolled.*
- *The staff roster will not be affected by the research.*
- *Caitlin Honey (student researcher) will be performing her role as researcher, and in no way, should be considered as 'staff'.*
- *Any information you provide to the researcher is completely voluntary, and can be withdrawn at any time.*
- *Managers will not be notified of compliance/non-compliance*

Project explanation

Active holiday programmes are sites which provide active care to primary aged children throughout the holiday periods, and consist in two main forms: single sport and multi-sport programmes. These sites can be considered an essential site in terms of childcare, however the ideas surrounding the construction of these programmes has gone largely unchallenged. Being that these sites have gone unchallenged, there is no research surrounding the effects that these programmes may have, in particular on the children enrolled. Rather than assuming that these programmes are neutral, this research will trace how active holiday programmes have come to be normalised, looking specifically at the potential these programmes have in 'shaping' children's ideas and experiences. This will be analysed in relation to the 'active child', how this idea has been made possible, and in what ways it can shape the way children understand themselves in these spaces.

How will this project be conducted?

Before conducted the fieldwork within active holiday programmes, a textual analysis of government data will be conducted in order to place active holiday programmes within the context of an institution – a site

which can potentially 'shape' behaviour. Once this has been completed, the student researcher will attempt to read the physical space of the active holiday programmes, through engagement of the programmes, informal and semi-structured interviews with parents, and also focus group interviews with a sample of the children enrolled.

Field notes will be taken throughout the engagement of each programme studied, and voice recorded informal interviews will be conducted throughout, citing participant's feelings regarding the programmes and construction of the active child.

Who is conducting the study?

Victoria University is the major organisation involved in this research project.

Chief Investigator: Dr. Brent McDonald, College of Sport and Exercise Science: Phone: (03)9919-4656, Email: brent.mcdonald@vu.edu.au

Student Researcher: Caitlin Honey, College of Sport and Exercise Science: Phone: 0402754722, Email: caitlin.honey@live.vu.edu.au

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above. If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781

Appendix 6

Australian Women in the Workforce Datasets

Table 11 provides Australian population data from 1954-2014. The table has been collated using information from several sources including the ABS Labour Force Survey's and ABS Year Book data (ABS, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010b, 2014).

Table 11: Representation of the Australian Labour Force 1954-2014

Labour Force	Pop 15+	Males in Workforce	Females in Workforce	Total Workforce	%Female in Workforce	% Male in Workforce
1954	6,423,196	2,821,500	826,700	3,648,200	23	77
1970	8,931,790	3,628,500	1,661,900	5,290,400	31	69
1980	10,918,500	3,960,100	2,213,900	6,147,100	36	64
1990	13,343,797	4,609,600	3,199,500	7,809,100	41	59
2000	15,234,957	5,034,300	3,870,700	8,905,100	43	57
2010	18,081,351	5,991,700	4,979,900	10,971,600	45	55
2014	19,067,850	6,234,400	5,267,800	11,502,200	46	54